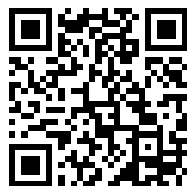

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VOL. XXXIII, 1

NEW SERIES, VOL. XXVI, 1

I.—WILLIAM GODWIN AS A SENTIMENTALIST

I

Virtually all the current discussions of William Godwin devote the bulk of their attention to the elucidation of the anarchic social philosophy of his *Political Justice* (1793), and, as a rule, they give serious consideration to his first subsequent novel, *Caleb Williams* (1794). They deal perfunctorily and apologetically with *St. Leon* (1799), and generally refuse to extend their discussion beyond it so as to include *Fleetwood* (1805), *Mandeville* (1815), *Cloudesley* (1830), and *Deloraine* (1833). There is, indeed, much to be said for this lapsing of the spirit of inquiry, as any reader of the uninspired minor fiction of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century knows. But the neglect of Godwin's novels and, more particularly, the failure to examine their relationship to *Political Justice* result, I think, in a misconception of their tendencies and the diverse nature of their appeal to his generation. Preoccupation with *Political Justice*, and, in a less degree, with *Caleb Williams*, has thrown into bold relief the frigid

rationalistic elements in Godwin's thought. This is, of course, the place where the emphasis belongs in a discussion of Godwinism, but at the same time this point of view overlooks some important qualities of his later work. The fact is that a reader coming to Godwin's novels would, unless he were very observant and analytic, have difficulty in distinguishing between Godwin's fiction and the sentimental literature with which he was already familiar. He would find that whatever might be his theory, in practice, at any rate, Godwin reveals a constant inclination for the rhapsodic and lachrymose situations of contemporary literature. Certainly the reader would discover little emotional restraint in Deloraine's description of Emilia as "a being just descended from celestial spheres, new lighted on the earth" or in the account of Julian, who, haunting Cloudesley's grave, "threw himself on his knees on the earth, kissed the turf that covered the dead body of his protector." These are the usual excesses of Rousseauistic children, a Saint Preux, a Werther, or a René, but they create an unexpected impression in the work of a recognized rationalist. In this paper the object is to take full account of Godwin's sentimental tendencies and to attempt to show their relationship to his rationalism. If we can explain this paradoxical union of reason and feeling, we shall, perhaps, understand even better than before why he had such a profound influence upon his contemporaries.

The sentimentalism of Godwin's novels may well raise a question whether they break completely with the spirit of *Political Justice*, or whether they are a development of some of its tendencies. The truth would seem to be that sentimentalism was already implicit in *Political Justice*, but disguised by Godwin's cold intellectual statement of his principles. Great as were his obligations to Swift, and

more particularly to the French Encyclopædists for the rationalistic elements in his philosophy, it is significant that he did not adopt their view of human nature. Helvétius and Holbach, following such thinkers as Hobbes and Mandeville in England and La Rochefoucauld in France, believed that, as man in his conduct is governed entirely by his feelings of pleasure and pain, he always selfishly considers his own welfare and performs only such actions as he feels assured will give him an agreeable sensation. The ultimate consequence of this doctrine is the denial of the reality of genuinely altruistic conduct, and Helvétius is consistent when he declares that when Brutus sacrificed his son to his love for his country, he was actuated by the purely egoistic motive of self-gratification.¹ According to this view, actions which we describe as "good" because their results are beneficial, are, as a matter of fact, essentially selfish. Believing, however, with other utilitarians that as the constitution of social life demands, the effect of man's conduct should be the achievement of "the greatest good of the greatest number," Helvétius argues that that result can be brought about only by an appeal to self-love; so that the individual, purely out of regard for himself, will be induced to perform actions of public benefit. At heart, both Helvétius and Holbach were genuine philanthropists; one has only to read their books to realize that the sympathy which these two men of wealth and social position had for the suffering in the world, adequately answers the cynicism of their doctrines. Nevertheless, no one can deny that the tendency of their theory of morals is to degrade human nature and to cheapen and vulgarize virtue by polluting its very source.

From first to last, Rousseau protested with all the power

¹ *De l'Esprit* (1758), Discours II, ch. v.

of his eloquence against the conclusion of the sceptical philosophers like Hobbes and Helvétius who claim man by nature is egoistic. In Rousseau's opinion they have erred in attributing to innate viciousness passions that are the result of a bad education and an abnormal social system. It is Rousseau's conviction that the benevolent impulses which in a state of nature restrain man from injuring his neighbor and supply the place of law, are instinctive, and derive their validity, not from the reason, but from the feelings. Indeed, they exist prior to reason and impel us without reflection to hasten to the aid of persons in distress. One sentence of quotation is enough to define Rousseau's position, "Je n'ai qu' à me consulter sur ce que je veux faire; tout ce que je sens être bien est bien, tout ce que je sens être mal est mal."²

Godwin's conception of human nature contains elements in agreement and elements in disagreement with the views of both Rousseau and Helvétius. On the one hand, he is most decisively in opposition to Rousseau's doctrine that emotional intuitions are the source of moral sanction, and with his usual precision of phrase characterizes what he regards as the evil of charity, unregulated by reason:

Philanthropy, as contradistinguished to justice, is rather an unreflecting feeling than a rational principle. It leads to an absurd indulgence, which is frequently more injurious than beneficial even to the individual it proposes to favor. It leads to a blind partiality, inflicting calamity without remorse upon many, perhaps, in order to promote the unorganized interest of a few.³

On the other hand, Godwin joins with Rousseau in his rejection of the "selfish theory," and speaks with disap-

² *Emile*, Livre IV, p. 257 (*Œuvres Complètes*, Paris, 1905).

³ *Political Justice* (London, 1798), vol. I, book IV, chapter V, Appendix.

proval of the cynicism of La Rochefoucauld.⁴ The essence of his argument in behalf of disinterestedness is that benevolent actions performed, in the first instance, to exempt ourselves from a disagreeable sensation at the sight of others' pain, become, in the course of time, through the operation of habit, genuinely altruistic, and are then performed for their own sake; moreover, the tendency to consider our neighbor's good is continually strengthened by motives which reason advances in favour of such actions. But though he is here denying the conception of human nature which both Helvétius and Holbach had supported, yet Godwin did not reject their criterion of virtue. Like them, a rigid utilitarian, Godwin sets up the public benefit as the goal of all moral conduct, but whereas Helvétius and Holbach had claimed that to induce men to act for the public good an appeal must be made to their self-love, Godwin relies upon disinterestedness and the understanding to supply sufficiently powerful altruistic motives to accomplish the same result. So Godwin, under the guidance of Hume, disentangles utilitarianism from the meshes of the "selfish theory."

In the issue Godwin's conception of human nature made him perilously sympathetic with Rousseauistic moods. Both Godwin and Jean-Jacques were favorably disposed toward human nature *per se*, and it made little difference

⁴ *Political Justice*, vol. I, book IV, chapter X. In a letter to his friend, Thomas Wedgwood, Godwin bases his judgment of Dr. Johnson on grounds that are significant in this connection: "Allow me to recommend to you a very cautious admission of the moral apothegms of Doctor Johnson. He had an unprecedented tendency to dwell on the dark and unamiable side of our nature. I love him less than most other men of equal talents and intentions, because I cannot reasonably doubt that when he drew so odious a picture of man be found some of the traits in his own bosom." Kegan Paul, *William Godwin*, vol. I, p. 312.

that one regarded a kind deed as the flowering of innate excellence, and that the other regarded it as a revelation of a noble disinterested feeling, developed by habit and pregnant with possibilities of further expansion. Neither saw in human character an egoistic force continuously and persistently antagonistic to the growth of virtuous impulses. For each, emotional susceptibility had an independent value as an indication of man's capacity for sympathy. At the same time that Godwin urges that to be truly moral, sympathy must be restrained and disciplined by reason, he lays great stress on the joy of disinterested action, and by his insistence tends to blur the distinction between benevolent action as an end in itself, and benevolent action as a stimulus to pleasurable emotion. If one wishes proof of this influence, read Godwin's account of the gratifications of a benevolent man, described in phraseology typical of the sentimental literature of the eighteenth century.

The sublime and the pathetic are barren, unless it be the sublime of true virtue, and the pathos of true sympathy. The pleasures of the mere man of taste and refinement, "play round the head, but come not near the heart." There is no joy, but in the spectacle and contemplation of happiness. There is no delightful melancholy, but in pitying distress. The man who has once performed an act of exalted generosity, knows that there is no sensation of corporal or intellectual taste to be compared with this.*

Although it must be admitted that such passages are of rare occurrence in *Political Justice*, yet here, at all events, Godwin exalts sympathetic feelings with so much fervor that he invites the emotional epicure, the man of "exquisite sensibility," to indulge his compassionate impulses that he may enjoy the warm thrills, the subdued, but cherished raptures of benevolence.

* *Political Justice*, vol. I, book IV, chapter XI.

There are other ideas in Godwin's ethical system which point in the direction of sentimentalism. Like Helvétius, he discarded the doctrines in accordance with which man is conceived as coming into the world with definite predispositions, and in consequence he believed that man is the product of his education—or, as we should say, of his environment—that vice is “an error of judgment,” and that society is responsible for existent evil. When this theory, that character is molded by external forces beyond the control of the individual, is held by any one who, like Godwin, is of the opinion that man is not by nature egoistic, it is akin in its ultimate implications to the Rousseauistic idea of innate goodness, and flings wide open the door for sentimentalism, because it urges a beneficent tolerance that justifies the bestowal of sympathy upon every erring creature. Indeed, I think we feel this covert sentimentalism in Godwin's criticism of penal codes and in his plea that we should consider the motives of crime. In *Caleb Williams* Godwin's position is unequivocal, and certainly more than once we hear the reassuring, charitable “He meant well” of the sentimentalist.

Still another significant tendency reveals itself in *Political Justice*. Although thinkers like Helvétius and Holbach were eager for the realization of the ideal of “the greatest good of the greatest number,” yet they did not incline toward sentimentalism, because they conceived that man had to be bribed, as it were, to perform an action of social benefit. Godwin, as we have seen, was not so sceptical as to the essential nature of such actions. Man's interest in the welfare of humanity is not rooted in sordid motives of self-love, but springs from a praiseworthy satisfaction in the happiness of others. This disposition to help others, Godwin believes, has a capacity for infinite develop-

ment; for as reason gradually teaches men to prefer, to the trivial and partial good, the more comprehensive good, so human affection, now confined to one's family, friends, neighbors, and fellow-countrymen, will expand until it includes the whole of mankind. It is true Godwin's statement of his theory of universal benevolence in *Political Justice* gave deep offense to many of his contemporaries, because he insisted that this ideal could be realized only at the sacrifice of the tender domestic attachments, and that when on the point of conferring a favor, the bestower was under obligation, if he would be just, to calculate precisely who of the several possible beneficiaries was most likely to contribute most to common welfare. Before he wrote *St. Leon*, he modified the harshness of his theory, but even at this time, whatever its rationalistic bases, Godwin's ideal of universal benevolence, I think, in its general effect made an appeal to the imagination and the feelings. It glorified human nature because it rested on a faith that such a noble mode of conduct sprang from an impulse of disinterested kindness. Moreover, however difficult and indeed impossible of fulfillment, this ideal, nevertheless, conjured up visions of benevolent achievement that would not leave the emotions cold and unmoved. Consequently it would seem fair to conclude that Godwin's utilitarian ideal brings him in sympathetic contact with the doctrine of brotherly love, derivative from Christian ethics; and although temperamentally he may not always be able to envelop his faith in human benevolence with an iridescence of emotional suggestion, as could Jean-Jacques, yet his exaltation of the philanthropist as the noblest type of character suffuses, as we shall see, much of his fiction with sentimentalism, and harmonizes its spirit with Rousseauistic literature.

In *Political Justice* Godwin summarily rejects as fanciful Rousseau's theory of man's degeneration from a state of innocence. He idealizes, however, the simple life, enriched, indeed, by intellectual pleasures, but free from titles, luxury, ostentatious wealth, and artificial standards of decorum. His individualism, as in the case of Rousseau, explains the appeal of this unadorned mode of existence. The conventional man of society cannot possess the great desideratum, absolute independence, because he stakes his happiness on external circumstances over which he has no control—money, honors, and social position. On the other hand, the man who lives in simplicity alone is free and happy, because he seeks his enjoyment, not in perishable material objects, but in the things of the spirit. Godwin does not, to be sure, glorify the apathy of ignorance, but, nevertheless, he is in sympathy with the Arcadian ideal, and in so far as he is so, he is in sympathy with the great body of sentimental literature that depicts the delights of a thatched cottage and a humble repast of curds and cream. It is clear that Godwin's praise of the simple life, and his ethical system with its emphasis on disinterestedness, its solicitude for the wrongdoer as the victim of circumstances, and its enthusiasm for universal philanthropy, suggest emotional possibilities that have little kinship with the relentless rationalism that the majority of Godwin's critics have led us to associate with his name.

II

When we turn to Godwin's novels, we discover that these principles of which we suspected the tendency in *Political Justice*, now clearly define themselves in their application to such a concrete problem as the creation of character and situation. What was implicit in Godwin's

theory that man is only what circumstances have made him, is now explicit and proves a fruitful source of sentimentalism. In *Caleb Williams* a spirit of too great tolerance is conjured up, and, in many cases, our sympathies are enlisted in behalf of those who ordinarily are the objects of social censure. Falkland, accomplished man of the world, discriminating appreciator of literature, possessor of all those qualities which are the flower of a noble heart, candor, humanity, and "ardent enthusiasm," commits murder, but deserves our pity because he fell a sacrifice to a mistaken ideal of honor. As Caleb—sagacious youth—comments: "If he have been criminal, that is owing to circumstances; the same qualities under other circumstances would have been, or rather were, sublimely beneficent." Moreover, Godwin undertakes to stir up our feelings by a long procession of wretched creatures, victims of the maladministration of justice and irrational penal codes, all of whom, with sentimental exaggeration, he graces with striking virtues. One might infer that a prison was the abiding place of moral energy and even culture. Hawkins and his son, both worthy fellows, are subjected to diabolical persecution by their landlord, Tyrrel, and can obtain no legal redress. In the end, although they are innocent, they are executed for Tyrrel's murder, merely on circumstantial evidence. A peasant who has accidentally killed a man that had insulted him, is forced to languish a long time in prison before he is tried. "He also was innocent, worthy, and benevolent." Brightwel—the very name is calculated to set susceptible emotions gently vibrating—is "a common soldier of a most engaging physiognomy . . . and accustomed to draw his favorite amusement from the works of Virgil and Horace;" and yet his refined culture does not save

him from imprisonment for theft on slight evidence and death from a disease contracted while awaiting his trial. In confessing to "a melancholy pleasure" in the recital of his troubles, Caleb identifies himself with the host of sentimentalists who make capital out of their own and others' misery. Obviously Godwin has made the prison scenes the vehicle of insufficiently motivated feelings by an exaggerated appeal to our pity.

The sentimental attitude toward vice receives even a more significant exemplification. Inspired by his distrust of established authority and his rampant individualism, Godwin follows in the footsteps of Schiller and idealizes the social outcast. There is no need to describe Caleb's experiences among the thieves who, though they were unfortunately "habituated to consider wounds and bludgeons and stabbing as the obvious mode of surmounting every difficulty," were, in general, "strongly susceptible of emotions of generosity." Raymond, the robber chief, in *Caleb Williams*, is dignified by his integrity and magnanimous spirit, but he still retains his resemblance to average humanity. In his delineation of St. Elmo, the robber chief in *Cloudesley*, however, Godwin casts aside all restraint and provides him with a splendor of virtue. He assures us, "He would have been distinguished among savages, among the feudal followers of Charlemagne, or among the crusaders, as well as in the wars of Camillus and Scipio, or in the heroic games of Olympia." * He and other young Corsican nobles had cherished an ambition to liberate their country, but when their hope was cruelly disappointed, they had retired in bitter disillusionment "to the caves and dens of earth," resolved, at all cost, to preserve their independence. With the impudence of a

* *Cloudesley—A Tale* (3 vols., London, 1830), III, p. 84.

shameless individualist, St. Elmo "regarded what is called civilized society as a conspiracy against the inherent rights of man, and determined to pay no attention to its regulations."⁷ When these heroic bandits die upon the scaffold, Godwin's sympathy, as usual, is with the criminals, and not with society. Certainly the ethical fallacy that shifts all responsibility for wrong doing from the transgressor to the community opens the floodgates of compassion, and would invite to tears the reader of "acute sensibility."⁸

Other sentimental elements reveal themselves in Godwin's novels. His belief in disinterestedness and exaltation of benevolence leads him to endow all his virtuous characters with delicacy of feeling. Reason indeed does not always discipline their emotions; for, acutely sensitive to suffering or to nobility in others, without any effort at reserve they give way to pity or lapse into raptures of admiration. When Mandeville discovers his beloved Mary in a peasant's cottage, helping a "poor old friend" who is ill, he cries: "It was a sight on which an angel might have dwelt with rapture."⁹ Lord Alton possesses the fine taste of a man of feeling in his appreciation of the thrilling appeal of distressed beauty. Having rescued a fair young Greek from Turkish pursuers, he confesses: "Beauty in sorrow is the adversary that has thrown down its arms, and no longer defies us to conquer its powers. It is the

⁷ *Cloudesley*, III, p. 109.

⁸ In her tragedy, *Rayner*, Joanna Baillie represents the hero as associated temporarily with a robber-band, but her treatment of the situation is in no sense anti-social. In *The Borderers* Wordsworth employs the convention of the noble robber to expose Godwinian fallacies.

⁹ *Mandeville—A Tale of the Seventeenth Century in England* (3 vols., New York, 1818), vol. III, pp. 124 seq.

weak and tender flower, illustrious in its lowliness, that asks for a friendly hand to raise its drooping head.”¹⁰ St. Leon is extravagant in his grief for his mother; Travers in *Deloraine* and Julian in *Cloudesley* are no less so upon the death of a friend. All three haunt the graveyard to cull from the mound that covers their dead, flowers of sweetest woe. St. Leon, with the feeling peculiar to sentimental characters, seeks his mother’s burial place “when nature assumed her darkest tints,” and Travers with equal judgment resorts to William’s grave “by the light of the starry heavens,” both evidently realizing how the midnight hour subtly enhances the pleasure of melancholy brooding.

Godwin is also faithful to the traditions of sentimental literature when he represents Caleb, Brightwel, Falkland, Fleetwood, Emily, and Laura, all finely responsive to the beauties of poetry. Obviously the sentimentalist cherishes the appreciation of poetry, because it betokens a heart quivering with feeling, and he finds in verse the stimulus he craves. Often emotional sympathy draws together two tender hearts. Werther’s reading of *Ossian* precipitated a passionate scene with Charlotte. For Godwin also, literature is the link of sympathy between Fleetwood and Mary, Deloraine and Emilia, and Travers and William. Godwin, too, was loyal to the Petrarch cult of eighteenth-century sentimental fiction. In *St. Leon* the hero and his bride thrill in the fervor of the Italian’s sonnets. It will be remembered that the Italian was one of the few poets that Saint-Preux recommended to Julie.¹¹ Valencourt also read Petrarch to Emily, and in the copy he left with her, he underscored the passage that expressed

¹⁰ *Cloudesley*, I, p. 231.

¹¹ *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Première Partie, Lettre XII.

the feelings he dared not utter.¹² In her comedy, *Enthusiasm*, a satire on sentimental excess, Joanna Baillie, ridiculing this admiration for Petrarch, represents Lady Worrymore as crying: "O I have worshipped Petrarch, dreamt of him, repeated in my sleep all his beautiful conceptions, till I have started from my couch in a paroxysm of delight."¹³ In these rhapsodies over poetry what is most evident is the entire absence of any definite principles of literary criticism. The effect upon the feelings—that is the sole test. Such a test, founding its validity in the capricious taste of every reader, is characteristic of an age of individualism, and indicates Godwin's detachment from the rationalistic standards of classicism.¹⁴

In the discussion of *Political Justice* we pointed out how Godwin's individualism led him to adopt, except for some modifications of his own, Rousseau's theory of the advantages of the simple life. Beginning with *St. Leon* and continuing through his subsequent fiction, he draws

¹² *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (3 vols., Exeter, 1834), vol. I, ch. VI, p. 55.

¹³ Act I, Scene II. In *Sense and Sensibility* (chapter III) Marianne objects to Edward Ferrars as a lover because he read Cowper "with such impenetrable calmness, such dreadful indifference."

In *Sainclair* Mme. de Genlis thus describes the sensibility of the young widow Clotilde: "Tout la portoit à l'attendrissement; l'amitié, les arts, le spectacle de la nature; la lecture d'un drame lui causoit des suffocations; on fut obligé de l'emporter de sa loge à l'une des représentations de *Misanthropie et Repentir*."—*Œuvres de Madame de Genlis* (Paris, 1825), LIV, p. 207.

¹⁴ Rousseau, of course,—and in this respect especially Mme. de Staël is his disciple—gives an important place to emotion in criticism. Referring to Lord Bomston, Saint-Preux writes to Julie: "Il me parla cependant des beaux-arts avec beaucoup de discernement, mais modérément et sans prétention. J'estimai qu'il en jugeait avec plus de sentiment que de science, et par les effets plus que par les règles, ce qui me confirma qu'il avait l'âme sensible" (Première Partie, Lettre XLV).

the familiar roseate pictures of patriarchal existence. In the narrative of St. Leon's pastoral life at Soleure and later his sojourn at the cottage on the Lake of Constance, in the account of M. Ruffigny's Swiss home in *Fleetwood*, and in the description of the rural charms of the Willis cottage in *Mandeville* with its delightful garden where, as in Julie's, "the trees were unshorn" and "the walks were neither straight nor forced into strange serpentizing involutions"—in all these scenes we recognize borrowing from Rousseau's Wolmar household. Godwin sentimentalizes over these pictures as might Jean-Jacques himself, nor are we cheated of the usual chatter about "the best ages of Rome" and the admirable habits of Regulus and Fabricius. Moreover, in the presence of the beauties of nature, Godwin's characters know no restraint whatsoever, but their whole soul expands with rapture. Godwin's attitude toward animals is significant. Uncle Toby's apostrophe to the fly and Sterne's lamentations over the ass have their parallel in Godwin's loss of perspective in his eulogy of St. Leon's dog, Charon, whose energies, he assures us, "were always employed in acts of justice and beneficence, never in acts of aggression."¹⁵ This passage was deservedly ridiculed by the anonymous author of the satire, *St. Godwin*.¹⁶ Godwin delights to describe the sentimental rescue which is an incentive for falling in love. Falkland saves Emily from a fire, in *Deloraine* William saves Margaret from drowning and his friend, Travers, from a man-eating shark, and in *Cloudesley* Lord Alton saves Irene from savage pursuers. Then, too, Godwin indulges in unrestrained rhapsodies over the "heavenly"

¹⁵ *St. Leon*, 4 vols., London, 1816; for whole episode, vol. III, pp. 17 seq.

¹⁶ *St. Godwin—A Tale of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Century*, by Count Reginald de St. Leon, London, 1800, p. 31.

beauty and "celestial" virtue of his heroines, so that one might maliciously suggest that he did not wish to put too much reliance upon the appeal of their rationality. Be that as it may, it is certainly curious that in spite of the indignant ridicule which Mary Wollstonecraft had directed against the sentimental descriptions of women as an insult to her sex, Godwin employs the familiar extravagant jargon.¹⁷

The evidence we have gathered together is sufficient to prove that in his novels Godwin departed far from the rationalistic spirit of *Political Justice*. He has such an immoderate desire for emotion for its own sake, that, like many other sentimentalists, he makes no attempt to proportion the intensity of feeling to the importance of the object that excites it. The net result is extravagance, strained, ineffectual pathos, and frequently the defiance of common sense.

III

Two of Godwin's novels, *St. Leon* and *Fleetwood*, are deserving, I believe, of special treatment. Leslie Stephen and more recent critics, following in his footsteps, are

"The whole passage deserves transcription as a significant criticism of prevailing taste and as a proof of the writer's extraordinary common-sense. She is speaking in particular of Dr. Fordyce's language. "Florid appeals are made to heaven, and to the *beauteous innocents*, the fairest images of heaven here below, whilst sober sense is left far behind I particularly object to the lover-like phrases of pumped-up passion, which are everywhere interspersed. . . . Speak to them (women) the language of truth and soberness, and away with the lullaby strains of condescending endearment! Let themselves be taught to respect themselves as rational creatures, and not led to have a passion for their own insipid persons. It moves my gall to hear a preacher descanting on dress and needle-work: and still more, to hear him address the *British fair*, and the *fairest of the fair*, as if they had only feelings" (*A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, New York, 1890, p. 150).

prone to judge them merely by standards of literary excellence, and in consequence they rightly feel that they are justified either in ignoring them completely or in discussing them with rather flippant indifference. But this method of approach, while satisfactory enough as far as it goes, neither throws light on the relation of the novels to revolutionary thought nor explains the impression they made on many of Godwin's contemporaries.¹⁸ As has been again and again emphasized, Godwin, after his marriage with Mary Wollstonecraft and in the interval between the publication of *Caleb William* and *St. Leon*, came to see the error of his inflexible statement that, under the guidance of his reason and without regard for the disquieting emotions of gratitude, patriotism, and love of kin, the individual is always under obligation to regulate his actions with a view to their ultimate utility to society, as it is thus only that he can achieve the ideal of justice and philanthropy. Godwin now admits the importance of feeling as a motive for conduct; instead of deprecating its influence, he grants its ethical justification, and in his Preface to *St. Leon* expresses the conviction that the cultivation of family affections is absolutely indispensable to the complete development of the individual, and, instead of checking, fosters wider social sympathy. Whether or not "the culture of the heart" invalidates the rationalistic theories of *Political Justice* is not the question here, and, at all events, it is a conclusion which Godwin himself denies. As we have seen, underneath the forbidding exterior of *Political Justice* and more unmistakably in *Caleb Williams*, there flowed a current of sentimentalism, and Godwin's

¹⁸ E.g., Amédée Pichot compares Godwin not unfavorably to Byron (*Essai sur la vie, le caractère et le génie de lord Byron*, Paris, 1830, p. 79).

later attitude toward the tender emotions is probably not so much a complete change of front as a consistent outgrowth of existent tendencies. The upshot is that in *St. Leon* and in all his subsequent novels this new faith in domestic affection and his doctrine of love reinforce one another and gradually merge together into a sentimental gospel of love. So impressed by *St. Leon* was Mr. Fellows, one of Anna Seward's correspondents, that he thought Godwin on the way to become a Christian and "the able champion of revelation."¹⁹ Certainly Godwin now neglects the rôle of sage for that of a hysterical rhapsodist.

In *St. Leon* Godwin shows the necessity of revising the ideals dominating the life of the individual. His method is to start his hero out in life under the guidance of false ideals, to subject him to a varied and painful experience in which his ideals, being tested, prove delusions, and, finally, to lead him by degrees to the perception of essential ethical values. *St. Leon* is an aristocrat, cherishing the typically false notions that wealth, display, and princely luxury, are the only means to happiness. Reduced in circumstances, he lives in retirement with his noble wife and four children what is really an idyllic existence, but he scarcely appreciates his blessings. When he learns from a stranger the secret of immortality and the philosopher's stone, all his sleeping ambitions burst into life. His imagination is inflamed by the hope of realizing splendid dreams of earthly glory and of restoring his wife and children to the position in society which was theirs by birth. With impressive, even if extravagant irony, Godwin exposes the fallacy of *St. Leon's* hope. His wealth

¹⁹ *Letters of Anna Seward* (6 vols., Edinburgh, 1811), vol. v, Letter LI.

increases his wants, and makes him dissatisfied with his peaceful life; and his inability to explain satisfactorily the source of his wealth estranges him from his son, breaks the heart of his wife, and entails unutterable misery upon himself.

In the terms of revolutionary philosophy what is the significance of *St. Leon*? In unmasking the hollowness of wealth, luxury, and worldly ambition Godwin meant to illuminate as truths the principle of human brotherhood and the joy and wisdom of a simple life. To these ideals *St. Leon* had, at first, been indifferent, but when it was too late, he realized their supreme value. The man who does not crave for the sympathy of his fellows, is abnormal, because, as Godwin insists, love is not an occasional or incidental need of man's nature, but a fundamental requirement of his soul. It quickens and, in fact, conditions the development of his whole spiritual being. Indeed, the possibilities of emotional life can be realized only in social communication; pleasurable feelings are intensified by the responsive joy of our fellows, and painful feelings are assuaged only by the sympathy of others. So the demands of his inmost being weave about the individual a network of a thousand ties which bind him inevitably and for his own good to the society in which he lives. Domestic affection is no longer selfish in its tendency and at variance with the principles of absolute morality, as Godwin had asserted in *Political Justice*, but it is a noble manifestation of a deeply rooted instinct. No wonder *St. Leon*, contemplating his family, cries, "What are gold and jewels and precious utensils? Mere dross and dirt. The human face and the human heart, reciprocations of kindness and love, and all the nameless sympathies of our nature, these are the only objects worth being

attached to.”²⁰ Moreover, this affection does not blight the growth of social sympathy; rather, indeed, do the tender duties of the family circle awaken into activity a desire to help others not akin to us.

The love of wife and children does not, however, satisfy man's need for sympathy, Godwin assures us. The dependence of the individual upon society is portrayed with poignant force in St. Leon's awful realization that his superhuman powers have blasted a chasm between him and the whole human race. He perceives with anguish that, by reason of his exemption from earthly cares, his hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, all will be of another order, such as no mortal can comprehend. The very gift of immortality seems a curse, and he shrinks with loathing from the contemplation of the future to which he is doomed. It will be his cruel destiny to see the coming and going of successive generations of men, and love for him will be a futile passion because every mortal must inevitably be torn from him by death. “I can no longer cheat my fancy; I know that I am alone. The creature does not exist with whom I have any common language, or any genuine sympathy. Society is a bitter and galling mockery to my heart; it only shows in more glaring colors my desolate condition.”²¹ The philosophers of the “selfish theory” had claimed that man sought social intercourse not out of love of his kind, but merely for the sake of the personal material advantages which such an intercourse afforded. Godwin comes to the rescue of human nature, and shows that St. Leon, placed by his peculiar powers beyond all need of mortal assistance, craves, nevertheless, the society of men.

²⁰ *St. Leon*, I, p. 248.

²¹ *St. Leon*, IV, p. 8.

The sentimental literature of the day glorified charity. Rousseau's Julie distributes alms to beggars, and Harley in *The Man of Feeling* aids old Edwards and his family. Götz von Berlichingen befriends the oppressed, Karl Moor relieves widows and orphans and supports young men at college, Lord Nelvil in *Corinne* saves the whole town of Ancona from destruction by fire, and in Bage's novel Hermsprong, a possessor of a great fortune, who devotes his time to assisting suffering merit, succors the victims of a storm, as well as Cornish miners, who are on a strike. But the philanthropic schemes of St. Leon outstrip them all. Filled with an ambition to achieve something commensurate with his superhuman powers, he journeys to Hungary, and, assuming the function of a god, undertakes to relieve the whole nation from the misery into which it has been plunged by the war. He builds innumerable houses, imports corn, and plants a vast area with grain. Wherever he appears, he is followed by the blessings of the people; "the very children are taught with their infant tongues to lisp the virtues of the Saviour of Hungary."²²

Over against St. Leon, the lover of his species, Godwin sets the Titanic misanthrope, Bethlem Gabor. Like Karl Moor of Schiller's *Robbers*, he is the embodiment of tremendous energy, his passions have superhuman violence, and in the blindness of egoism he would annihilate the whole human race for a personal wrong. But here a very definite distinction must be drawn between Godwin's attitude toward misanthropy and that of many other writers of the romantic period. The active misanthropy of Karl Moor as well as the contempt for mankind which is

²² *St. Leon*, iv, p. 61.

implied in the *Weltschmerz* of such characters as Saint-Preux and Werther, is portrayed as an expression of cynicism that is justified by the manners and insipidity of the average man; Rousseau, Goethe, and Schiller are, in reality, voicing their own discontent. Godwin, however, did not take misanthropy as his theme because he had lost faith in human nature. Far from it. To cherish bitter feelings toward mankind, he believes, is no assurance of superiority of soul, but a spiritual misfortune, cutting off the individual from all the ennobling advantages of social intercourse. The hatred of mankind is not sanctioned because evil may exist in human nature; in truth, misanthropy betokens a lamentable blindness to the excellence that is the possession of every man, woman, and child. In its origin Godwin regards misanthropy as a perversion of the inborn human craving for love. Taking, perhaps, suggestions from the calamity that befell Macduff, Godwin represents Gabor's inveterate hatred as the result of his intense affection for his wife and children, who were slaughtered in his castle during his absence. As St. Leon, the philanthropist, tells us, he felt no repulsion in the company of Gabor, because he knew that "all the unsocial propensities that animated him were the offspring of love," and he took pleasure "in examining the sublime desolation of a mighty soul." ²³

Had he possessed the lyrical power of Rousseau, Godwin's exaltation of this gospel of love would remind us more often of Jean-Jacques. At any rate, he floods his book with feeling. This excessive emotionalism has been justly struck at by the anonymous parodist of *St. Leon*, who, after burlesquing one of Godwin's domestic scenes, bursts out rapturously, "It was indeed a delicious sight,

²³ *St. Leon*, iv, p. 129.

and I think I have well described it. I am but a bad hand at sublime description, but at the tender, pathetic, *homely scene*, I do not know my equal.”²⁴ From our point of view this ridicule seems well deserved, but the fact remains, to judge from the comments of Godwin’s contemporaries, that *St. Leon* deeply impressed many of its readers. We may be assured it appealed to a host of Rousseauists who had been indifferent to the austere statement of the doctrine of benevolence in *Political Justice*. It is a book completely of its time, born of glowing optimism, and valuable as a revelation of what a revolutionary idealist thought of human nature. In its delineation of the tragedy of the individual cut off from opportunity to satisfy the longing of his being for companionship, it is in harmony with the spirit of the *Ancient Mariner* and *Frankenstein*. If other evidence were wanting, these three works would show how deeply the age was feeling about the doctrine of brotherhood.

IV

Fleetwood clarifies still further Godwin’s judgment of the unhappy individual who is bound to society by no ties of sympathy, and reveals him in reaction against that particularly ignoble form of sentimentalism, the *Weltschmerz*. In so far as that is the case, the novel is interesting as Godwin’s commentary on an emotional pose that many of his generation, and Byron is particular among Englishmen, regarded as distinctly “the correct thing” among fashionable swaggerers. Significantly enough, Godwin would cure this sentimental pessimism by a doctrine of optimism scarcely less sentimental in its own way.

²⁴ *St. Godwin*, p. 31.

Fleetwood is the spiritual brother of those languid epicures in feeling, Saint-Preux and Werther, Chateaubriand's René, Madame de Staël's Lord Nelvil, Sénancour's Obermann, and Lamartine's yet unborn Raphael. Nurtured among the wild Welsh mountains and in the pathetic solitude of a motherless childhood, Fleetwood has developed a most exquisite sensibility. After a period of dissipation on the continent, where he is deceived by two mistresses in turn, and after acquaintance with the insincerity of literary life and the corruption of politics, he realizes the chasm between the ideal and the actual and tastes all the bitterness of disillusionment. In his loneliness he travels for years to discover relief for his *ennui*, but all in vain. He finally arrives at the age of forty-five, hopeless of finding a true friend, contemptuous of all human interests, convinced of the insipidity of life and the spiritual emptiness of a world in which no one of his ideals comes to fruition. When we see Fleetwood in this mood, we expect that, like many another victim of impotent idealism, he will attempt to escape from hideous reality by suicide. Werther took the fatal step; Saint-Preux, René, Obermann, and Raphael contemplated it.

At this very point Godwin reacts, and reacts decisively, against the solution which most of his contemporaries would have given to Fleetwood's spiritual dilemma. He represents Fleetwood as becoming acquainted, at this crucial moment of his career, with Macneil, a disciple of Rousseau. This gentleman, who has a sublime faith in the essential goodness of humanity, quickly exposes the sophistry of Fleetwood's convictions. In protest against Fleetwood's contempt for man, Macneil assures him that almost every individual of the species is "endowed with angelic virtues," and that whenever he sees a man, he

recognizes him as "something to love—not with a love of compassion, but with a love of approbation."²⁵ Fleetwood's life is unnatural, because even a rapturous love of nature and of brute creation cannot satisfy man's inborn need for the society of his kind. A life of solitude is spiritually barren; to complete his existence Macneil urges Fleetwood to marry. "The discipline which arises out of the domestic charities has an admirable tendency to make man, individually considered, what a man ought to be. . . . If you are now wayward and peevish and indolent and hypochondriacal, it is because you weakly hover on the outside of the pale of society."²⁶ For a time Fleetwood shrinks from the responsibilities which marriage would thrust upon him, but finally he weds one of Macneil's daughters. Although his love for his wife is great, yet when he is forced to change his habits, his nervous irritability makes him resent every trifling sacrifice, and before he is able to adjust himself, he almost wrecks his marriage through his unreasonable jealousy. Godwin undoubtedly shows genuine psychological insight in his representation of the conflict between Fleetwood's love and his undisciplined impulses.²⁷

What is the exact bearing of Godwin's reaction against the *Weltschmerz*? In the first place, convinced of the essential solidarity of the human race and the value of social intercourse, he rejects the notion that any individual can afford to hold himself aloof from his fellows in fancied superiority. To appreciate the importance of this protest

²⁵ *Fleetwood* (2 vols., New York, 1805), II, p. 29.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 47.

²⁷ Contrast *Fleetwood* with Constant de Rebecque's novel, *Le Mari Sentimental* (1785), in which a man of feeling marries a woman of the world and, deeply wounded by the lack of sympathy between his wife and himself, puts an end to his own life.

one has only to read the literature of the romantic period to find, constantly recurring, the idea that genius is synonymous with martyrdom; to be harried by duties from which his talent should exempt him, and to be scorned by a dull, uncomprehending world is conceived as the unhappy lot of every finer spirit.²⁸ In the second place, Godwin shows the utter futility of pursuing an unattainable ideal that alienates the individual from the world, and fallaciously enough, seems to relieve him of the necessity of doing what good lies in his power. The ideal is to be found in the actual; so Fleetwood discovers that in marriage he has realized the ideal of friendship for which he has sought so long.²⁹ Furthermore, Godwin in this novel and elsewhere argues against sentimental passivity when he insists that it is nothing less than immoral for an individual to cherish unduly painful emotions that will incapacitate him for useful benevolent activities.³⁰ That delicacy of feeling which impairs a man's energy, is only another name for selfishness. To cure the *Weltschmerz* Godwin urges the hopeless sufferer to substitute altruistic motives for the egoistic impulses governing his life. Suicide is only a cowardly escape from every man's duty to do as much good as he can in the world.³¹ In a word, then, St. Leon wrecked his life, because he did not heed the gospel of love until it was too late; Fleetwood, after a bitter spiritual struggle, carries it into practice and enjoys the blessings

²⁸ E. g., Mme. de Staël's *Corinne*. The *Hortense* of Mme. de Genlis effectively burlesques the literary affectations of *Corinne*.

²⁹ Compare: Lothario's conviction that "here or nowhere is America" (*Wilhelm Meister*, Bk. VII, Ch. III).

³⁰ *St. Leon*, III, p. 131. *Deloraine* (2 vols., London, 1833), I, p. 279; II, p. 198.

³¹ Compare Godwin's letter to a despondent friend (Kegan Paul, *William Godwin*, I, p. 142).

which St. Leon had thrown away. Godwin should, indeed, have great credit for reacting against the peculiarly morbid form of sentimentalism that flourished more on the continent than in England, and of which the victims deserve pathological investigation no less than literary study. Without question his criticism of the pessimistic pose and his recognition of the power of social intercourse to discipline and develop character show the soundest thinking, but unfortunately his tendency to believe so well of human nature that he will not tolerate the attitude of the misanthropist, is tainted more than once by almost maudlin optimism. Curiously enough, Godwin's solution of the spiritual trouble of his age is akin to Goethe's ideal of self-renunciation; but whereas in its consummation Faust's philanthropy is purged completely of egotism, the altruism of St. Leon and Fleetwood is always associated with the delicious self-consciousness of the sentimentalist, seeking opportunities for indulging his feelings and enjoying the contemplation of his own benevolence. Godwin's doctrine of philanthropy is too deeply rooted in sentimentalism to attain to the noble dignity, the restraint, and self-forgetfulness of Goethe's ideal.⁸²

⁸² It is unnecessary to discuss *Mandeville* in detail. It is sufficient to quote the most significant arguments by which Henrietta strives to reclaim her brother from misanthropy. "By the very constitution of our being we are compelled to delight in society. . . . If man could meet man in an uninhabited island how would he rejoice in his good fortune! . . . Oh, then, how should beings of this wonderful structure, hail each other's presence, love each other's good, and strain their utmost nerve, to defend each other from injury. He [i. e., man] is just what his nature and circumstances have made him. . . . If he is corrupt, it is because he has been corrupted. . . . Give him a different education, place him under other circumstances, . . . and he would be altogether a different creature. He is to be pitied therefore, not regarded with hatred;

This study has made clear that Godwin's novels more and more approach in character the typical sentimental story of the day. He repeats the conventional situations and drains them of their tears. The truth is that Godwin in *Caleb Williams*, and, to a much greater degree, in his subsequent novels, rarely sees the necessity of putting any restraint upon the expression of emotion, providing he deems the object that excites it a worthy one. His conviction that the character of every individual is determined by the forces that play upon him in his environment, enables him to regard as a martyr the man whom society has branded as a criminal, and accordingly he can indulge without compunction in the luxury of compassion. His rejection of "the selfish theory," his belief in the universal, instinctive hunger for the sympathies of social relationships, and his ideal of philanthropy stimulate the imagination and tap inexhaustible sources of feeling. Certainly, if experience does not justify Fleetwood's and Mandeville's sweeping contempt for their fellows, it no less fails to support Macneil's simple faith that every man is "fully prepared and eager to do a thousand virtuous acts the moment the occasion is afforded him."³³ We have tried to show that these sentimental tendencies are not so much a departure from, as an unfolding of, some of the principles of *Political Justice*. The rationalistic structure of Godwin's philosophy disintegrated, as it were, under the influence of ideas and emotional tendencies that he had

to be considered with indulgence, not made an object of revenge; to be reclaimed with mildness, to be gradually inspired with confidence, to be enlightened and better informed as to the mistakes into which he has fallen, not made the butt and object of our ferocity" (vol. I, pp. 190 seq).

³³ *Fleetwood*, II, p. 31.

assimilated from Rousseauism. If our contention be correct, this discussion not only illumines the system of Godwin's own thought, but also indicates additional reasons why his influence upon his contemporaries was so great. Whether he would have admitted it is a question, but the fact is that the inmost shrine of his philosophy might be entered by way of either the reason or the feelings. The preference seems to have been for the latter way, if we can judge by the character and writings of some of his most ardent disciples, enthusiastic reformers like John Thelwall and young Shelley. Undoubtedly they conceived themselves as the advocates of a most austere intellectualism, but in reality they were responding to an appeal of a very different order.

B. SPRAGUE ALLEN.

II.—DESCRIPTION IN THE DRAMAS OF GRILLPARZER

Description as commonly understood is portrayal in language; specifically, poetical description is the esthetic representation of objects through the medium of speech. I shall assume for the purposes of the following discussion that such representation is possible, that poetry is, though not exclusively, a "representative" art. Such an assumption does not equate poetry and painting, since the media of an art determine the substance and form of that art. Now the media of poetic representation, mental images, have indeed many points of likeness to the actual sense perceptions through which the painter affects us, since mental images have their origin in percepts; otherwise they would be poor means of representing objects. But there exist also many obvious differences between images and percepts, such as different degrees of intensity, permanence, specificness. These differences condition differences between poetry and painting. There are other differences. The formative artist, for example, is confined to an appeal to the sense of sight, while the poet knows no such limitation. I shall take occasion in the course of the following discussion to call attention to such matters, when the examples are before us.

We may divide descriptions into epic, lyric, and dramatic, in accordance with the kind of work in which they occur and the different purposes they serve. The specifically epic description is historical. Its purpose is to bring to our realization a presumably unfamiliar, and certainly absent *milieu* or person. It is the purest type of description. The purpose of the lyric description is essentially

self-expression, not portrayal as such. The poet seizes upon some object in his experience, and by reproducing it or by giving it emotional significance (or both) gives form to the particular poetic or creative impulse within him. Description in the drama may be either epic or lyric. In Shakespeare it is predominantly epic. Such descriptions as those in the third act of *Romeo and Juliet* are rare.

It is the purpose of the following paper to present the distinguishing qualities of the descriptions in the more specifically poetic dramas of Grillparzer, the so-called Hellenic dramas: *Sappho*, *The Golden Fleece*, and *Hero*. I have examined the descriptions chiefly from two points of view. It is clear, in the first place, that a description must justify its existence in a drama in some special way. Particularly in Grillparzer's dramas. For Grillparzer was of the opinion that the essential quality of a drama is, that it is a progressive action in present time. Goethe says, "das Drama ist eine Gegenwart," and Grillparzer in quoting him calls this utterance "ein ewig wahres Wort." A description would seem, except under special circumstances, to be little compatible with such an action. The demonstration that description may be a legitimate device of the dramatist will be our first task. In the second place, it seemed valuable and interesting to analyze the many descriptions for the methods which Grillparzer employs. The results of these examinations are here presented in summary.

The subjects which Grillparzer treats descriptively are limited in number: the chief characters in the drama, the *milieu*, and certain things which play an important part in the drama, such as Hero's lamp or the golden fleece. We may examine first the descriptions of the chief characters. It is pertinent to ask whether there is need of

describing persons whom we see before us. The answer is not far to seek. The stage obscures the finer details of personal appearance by make-up, unnatural lighting, and its distance from the spectator. The dramatist is quite within his rights when he supplies these deficiencies. Moreover the actor who is playing a *rôle* is rarely able to "look the part" in all its subtler *nuances*. These the poet may well draw in for us with his pen. A third reason brings us into contact with a fundamental principle of Grillparzer's technique, a principle he has himself stated with considerable vigor. "Zuhörer," he says, "sind wie ein Rudel Schulknaben, denen man immer wieder 'Aufgepasst!' zurufen muss." We are poor listeners, poor observers; we do not see much that we might see for the looking; the poet must definitely call our attention to such matters as are important for us to see. We are not, it may be added, perhaps wholly to blame for our lack of observation. We are so accustomed to having to ignore inconsistencies between the actor and that which he is portraying, that we are inclined to pass by without notice the points in which an appropriate relation exists.

Description of persons in the drama is description of one character by another, and so may be made a very useful dramatic device. Let us review some examples. Sappho takes occasion perhaps half a dozen times¹ during the play to describe Phaon, and each description is the reflection of her changing feelings toward her lover. Hebbel insists that art is a *Veranschaulichung*, a translation without residue of the abstract into sensuous terms. Grillparzer, though he phrased the matter differently, worshipped at the same shrine. When he causes Sappho to let her changing attitude toward Phaon shine through

¹ Notably 72 ff., 240 ff., 370 ff., 843 ff.

a series of descriptions, he has given us this change in concrete terms, artistically, and dramatically, for he has represented it, not related it. In the same way Medea betrays her attitude toward Kreusa. These descriptions are worth quoting. The first one, on the occasion of the meeting of the two women, is quite impersonal. Medea says (*Med.*, 383 ff.):

Ein Königskind, wie du, bin ich geboren,
Wie du ging einst ich auf der ebenen Bahn,
Das Rechte blind erfassend mit dem Griff;
Ein Königskind, wie du, bin ich geboren,
Wie du vor mir stehst, schön und hell und glänzend,
So stand auch ich einst neben meinem Vater,
Sein Abgott und der Abgott meines Volks.

Later, when Medea knows Kreusa a little better, she ventures farther (*Med.*, 414 ff.):

Du bist, ich seh's, von sittig mildem Wesen,
So sicher deiner selbst und eins mit dir;
Mir hat ein Gott das schöne Gut versagt.

The culmination of Medea's affection for Kreusa finds expression in the beautiful lines (*Med.*, 678 ff.):

Ich seh' dich an, und seh' dich wieder an,
Und kann an deinem Anblick kaum mich sätt'gen.
Du Gute, Fromme, schön an Leib und Seele,
Das Herz, wie deine Kleider, hell und rein!
Gleich einer weissen Taube schwebest du,
Die Flügel breitend, über dieses Leben
Und netzest keine Feder an dem Schlamm,
In dem wir ab uns kämpfend mühsam weben.

When Medea feels herself betrayed by Kreusa we have a different note (*Med.*, 1121 ff.):

Du auch hier? weisse, silberhelle Schlange?

And again (*Med.*, 1144 ff.):

Du aber, die hier gleisend steht und heuchelnd
In falscher Reinheit niedersieht auf mich,
Ich sage dir, du wirst die weissen Hände ringen,
Medeens Los beneiden gegen dein's.

There are some descriptions of persons, the purpose of which is only secondarily, if at all, to reveal the state of mind of the speaker, but rather to create in the audience a desired attitude toward the described character. Such are, for example, the descriptions in *Eucharis' récit* (1900 ff.), which prepare us to receive a Sappho much changed from the woman who left us.

Wer sie jetzt sah. . . .
Als Überird'sche hätt' er sie begrüsst.

With this difference in mind we may look through the descriptions in the dramas which concern us. I have purposely combined the two groups in order to avoid an over-emphasis on what is not infrequently merely an academic distinction.

In *Sappho* we have, from the lips of Phaon, a description of the heroine at Olympia, the purpose of which is twofold (221 ff.). The lines give us a pretty clear idea of Sappho's distinguished position and at the same time betray the nature of Phaon's passion for her. It is not love of the woman Sappho, but adoration of the distinguished poetess, hero worship, and as such, unstable. Melitta is the first to perceive Phaon as Sappho's triumphal procession approaches: her brief comparison of him to Apollo (31 ff.) is an indication of the future course of events and at the same time prepares Phaon's entrance. The descriptions of Melitta are fairly numerous. Sappho's sharply derogatory words betray her jealousy (964 ff.):

"Ein albern Kind mit blöden Mienen." Phaon tells us what most impressed him in Melitta (608 ff.):

Die jungfräuliche Stille glänzte lieblich
Durch all den wilden Taumel des Gelags.

She seems to him "ein süßes, liebes, unbefangnes Kind" (646). The elaborate picture of the little girl at her bath which Eucharis gives us (991 ff.), is intended so to warm our hearts toward Melitta that we shall thoroughly understand Phaon's desertion of Sappho in her favor.

The descriptions of persons in the *Golden Fleece* are not materially different from those in *Sappho*. We have in both plays the same triangular relation of the main characters, and the descriptions are limited pretty largely to these. The descriptions of Jason by Medea explain her sudden enamoration (*Arg.*, 540, 558, 1028, 1041). Moreover, Grillparzer conceived Jason as a brilliant hero,² and such figures are unfortunately rare among professional actors. The poet throws the illusion of splendor over the disappointing reality. Just as Melitta comments on Phaon's fine appearance, Kreusa gives us a little picture of Jason (*Med.*, 601 ff.):

Er sang das Liedchen noch als Knabe,
Als er bei uns, in unserm Hause wohnte. . . .
Es ist nur kurz und eben nicht sehr schön;
Allein er wusst' es gar so hübsch zu singen,
So übermütig, trotzend, spöttisch fast.

We have already discussed some of the descriptions of Kreusa. In general they are not very significant, for Kreusa is a rather typical figure. Almost the only quality to which reference is made is her "whiteness," symbolical

² Backmann, *Die Anfänge der Medeadichtung*, Weida, 1910, pp. 54 and 77.

of course of her purity and simplicity (*Med.*, 672, 2210 ff.). The little picture of her with Jason's helmet held above her yellow hair (*Med.*, 743 ff.) shows us the despairing reawakening of Jason's love for her. The descriptions of Medea are by all means the most important. They serve a variety of purposes. Medea as Grillparzer conceived her was a complex character in whom innate possibilities for good were constantly opposed by induced potentialities for evil. Such complexity, if it is to have a full artistic representation, must be evident to the senses, must find expression in the contradictory elements of Medea's outward aspect. But such a complexity might long fail to find an entirely adequate impersonation, or even if it were well represented by the features of the actress, might well fail to impress the audience. The limitations of reality can again be offset by the resources of poetical description. It is therefore the enigmatical, the contradictory in Medea which is oftenest expressed in the descriptions. Phryxus says of her that she seems to be half a Menad and half a Grace (*Gst.*, 242 ff.). To Jason when he first sees her in her tower she is a "doppel-deutiges Geschöpf" (*Arg.*, 427 ff.). When Milo sees the barbarian in her, Jason sees her beauty (*Arg.*, 1100 ff.). Later he opines that she only seemed ⁸ beautiful "im Abstich ihrer nächtlichen Umgebung" (*Med.*, 463). In a curious description the Colchian woman Gora is sketched for us, not for her own sake, but that we may realize how Jason felt toward her and Colchis. Jason says to her (*Med.*, 200 ff.):

Die Hand zuckt nach dem Schwert: geh, weil's noch Zeit ist!
 Mich hat's schon oft gelüstet, zu versuchen,
 Ob deine Stirn so hart ist, als sie scheint.

⁸ Gr. is at considerable pains to impress the reality of Medea's beauty upon us (*Gst.*, 253 ff., *Arg.*, 902, 1315).

The very elaborate descriptions of Hero and Leander in *Hero* serve to individualize, to make more real, the two chief persons of the drama, a peculiar necessity in the dramatization of so well known a story. But they serve more particular purposes in addition. Naukleros' description of Hero (622 ff.) makes evident to us in a way that is not to be mistaken Hero's unfitness for the conventual life of a priestess of that heavenly Aphrodite who is "geschlechtlos, weil sie selber das Geschlecht";

Die Priesterin selbst; ein herrlich prangend Weib!
 Die besser tat am heut'gen frohen Tag
 Der Liebe Treu zu schwören ewiglich,
 Als ihr sich zu entziehn so arm als karg.

The description, like Eucharis' picture of Melitta at her bath, has a mildly amorous effect upon the hearer and strengthens in him the realization of Leander's passion. Naukleros' descriptions of Leander are partly expository; they reveal to us what Leander has been previous to his discovery of Hero, and they help to make comprehensible Hero's sudden love. Hero's descriptions of Leander are mostly of her dead lover. They reveal her adoration of him, and by disclosing the fearful physical shock of the touch of his death-cold hand, they help to convince us of the possibility of Hero's death.

The descriptions of *milieu* in the different dramas serve various purposes and are of different kinds; for the relation of the *milieu* to the action is more or less close in different plays, or at different times in the same play. The location of the action of *Sappho* on the island of Lesbos has comparatively little significance. The action would have gone on no whit differently in Athens or Syracuse. This does not necessarily imply that the place of action is reduced to the absolute neutrality of the classic

French drama. There is, on the contrary, a great deal of what Sauer calls "marine insularity" in the atmosphere and language of the play. Grillparzer seems indeed to have had an unusually clear picture of his stage before him, for his characters make ever and anon references to their surroundings. These references take frequently in *Sappho* the form ⁴ of a sensuous elaboration of the word "Hier," and they serve most often to give sensuous form to the emotional state of the speaker: they are lyric descriptions in the strict sense of the word (456 ff., 878 ff., 1197 ff.). Once at any rate the description is intended to give the *milieu* emotional significance. *Sappho* tells us in a few lines (48 ff.) what Lesbos means to her. Her words bind the action and the place more closely together. Quite similar is Phaon's later summary of his experiences in Lesbos (1613 ff.). He urges Melitta:

Hier setze dich auf diesen Rasensitz,
 Hier, wo dein mildes, himmelklares Auge
 Zum erstenmale mir entgegen glänzte
 Und, wie des Tages goldner Morgenstrahl,
 Des Schlafes düstre Bande von mir löste,
 In den mich jene Zauberin gesungen;
 Hier, wo die Lieb' ihr holdes Werk begann,
 Auf dieser Stelle sei es auch vollendet!

In the *Golden Fleece* the descriptions of places have quite another character, for here the *milieu* is a factor in

⁴The form is perhaps a reminiscence of Rudenz's lines in *Wilhelm Tell* (1094 ff.):

Hier, wo der Knabe fröhlich aufgeblüht,
 Wo tausend Freudes Spuren mich umgeben,
 Wo alle Quellen mir und Bäume leben,
 Im Vaterland willst du die meine werden.

The most striking parallel is *Sappho* 48 ff., where the poetess tells her compatriots that her newly-won laurels are meaningless to her everywhere except in Lesbos. Her words are thus both an expression and a proof of the enduring hold of early environment.

the action. Grillparzer, who was chiefly interested, he tells us, in explaining the character of Medea, felt that her character and actions were explicable only if she was conceived as a native of a land of harsh contours and climate. In his poem, *Die tragische Muse*, he describes the background of clouds and grim mountain fastnesses from which the figure of Medea disengaged itself:

über Berge bin ich gekommen,
Durch Schlünde dir gefolgt.
Kein Pfad ist, wo ich trete, keine Spur,
Fern herauf tönt der Menschen Stimme,
Tönt der Herden fröhliches Geläut'
Und des Waldbachs Rauschen;
Über mir Duft und Nebel,
Lügend Gestalten!

In consonance with this feeling and purpose we find many descriptions of Colchis. They do not as a rule portray, but rather they supplement the visual impressions which we receive from the stage setting,⁵ and they lay much emphasis upon the effect Colchis has on those who tarry within its borders. Milo and Jason and other Argonauts join in a thoroughgoing condemnation of the country (*Arg.*, 310 ff., 1178 ff.), and Milo especially feels the effect to be very deleterious to character. He feels that the Argonauts are becoming barbarians, Jason not less than the others (*Arg.*, 1612 ff.). Thus Grillparzer makes evident also how such a man as Jason could become enamored of such a woman as Medea (*Med.*, 455 ff.):

Wir sahen Colchis' wundervolles Land.
O, hättest du's gesehn in seinen Nebeln!
Der Tag ist Nacht dort und die Nacht Entsetzen,
Die Menschen aber finstler als die Nacht.

⁵ Sauer speaks somewhere of the "genial skizzierter Hintergrund" of the trilogy. There is little to add to his generalization.

Da fand ich sie, die dir so greulich dünkt;
 Ich sage dir, sie glich dem Sonnenstrahl,
 Der durch den Spalt in einen Kerker fällt.
 Ist sie hier dunkel, dort erschien sie licht,
 Im Abstich ihrer nächtlichen Umgebung.

The descriptions of Greece are less frequent and less important, for the reason, apparently, that Greece is more familiar to us. Such descriptions as we find are intended to give the scene historical or emotional significance. There is one direct contrasting⁶ of the two countries (*Arg.*, 1234 ff.). The lyric description is represented by only one or two rudimentary examples (*Arg.*, 379 ff., *Med.*, 2071 ff., 2288 ff.), for the *Golden Fleece* approaches the form of an historical drama, whereas *Sappho* and *Hero* are more poetical.

Hero differs from both the foregoing dramas in the relation of the action to the *milieu*. It bears in this respect a closer resemblance to *Sappho* than to the *Golden Fleece*. Though it is in no sense a *milieu* drama, the action and the scene are very closely woven together. In an external way the geography of the play is of importance; the location of Hero's tower by the sea, the difficulty of approach, the Hellespont, Leander's cottage whence the light in Hero's tower may be perceived—all these things affect the outer course of action, and the needful information is conveyed to us in descriptions of greater or less length. The lyric-scenic description which is found so often in *Sappho* has given place to a lyric description of a different kind, which, however, has its representatives in the earlier play. Phaon voices his love for Sappho in a description of the things about him and of

⁶ Gr. claimed that the contrast between Greece and Colchis formed "die Grundlage der Tragik" in the trilogy (*Werke*, Cotta, XIX, p. 101).

the summer eventide. In *Hero* we have a number of descriptions of the time of day which are likewise expressions of the mood of the speaker. These are mainly of the night. Hero describes the morning and the evening of her consecration day (12 ff., 1027 ff.). Leander tells Hero how dark the night was before her lamp gleamed on the horizon (1105 ff.). And Hero describes the cool evening breezes that lull her into her fatal sleep (1809 ff.). The Temple Guard describes the mysteriousness of the night (1304 ff.):

Und oben war's so laut, und doch so heimlich,
Ein Flüstern und ein Rauschen hier und dort.
Die ganze Gegend schien erwacht, bewegt:
Im dichtsten Laub ein sonderbares Regen,
Wie Windeswehn, und wehte doch kein Wind;
Die Luft gab Schall, der Boden tönte wieder,
Und was getönt und wiederklang, war nichts.
Das Meer stieg rauschend höher an die Ufer,
Die Sterne blinkten, wie mit Augen winkend,
Ein halb enthüllt Geheimnis schien die Nacht.
Und dieser Turm war all des dumpfen Treibens
Und leisen Regens Mittelpunkt und Ziel.

It is no new thing in literature to find nature in more or less mysterious consonance with the action. It is one of the privileges of the poet to make a harmonious picture, if he so wishes. There is perhaps a less obvious reason for the long description here. Grillparzer has to leave the events of the night of Hero's union with Leander unrecorded; he offers us an innocent substitute in the form of a description of nature in one of her restless and disturbing moods.

The elements of the tragedy of *Hero* are few in number and have most of them symbols or representatives in the form of concrete things; the sea, the tower, the couch, the temple, the lamp, the night. Each one of these things is

described at one time or another, and so described that their symbolism, though not stressed, becomes duly impressive. Leander says of Hero's lamp (1074 ff.):

Ich sah dein Licht
Mit hellem Glanze strahlen durch die Nacht.
Auch hier war's Nacht und sehnte sich nach Licht,
Da klomm ich denn herauf.

Another sort of matter which in all the dramas rather frequently serves as a subject of description is the vision. Grillparzer thought in dramatic terms. A report of a past event or a prophecy of a future one appears in the form of a dramatic scene, of a picture. Sappho cannot put out of her mind the picture (" jenes tief verhasste Bild ") of Phaon surprised in the act of kissing Melitta (1794). Medea prophesies to Kreusa, " Du wirst stehn und die weissen Hände ringen " (*Med.*, 1146), the same prognostication that Aietes had made about Medea (*Arg.*, 1357). In a real hallucination Medea sees the Furies rise before her (*Gst.*, 503). Hero pictures to herself and Naukleros the death struggle of Leander (1954 ff.). Closely related to these visions, perhaps technically speaking of the same nature, are the scenes out of Jason's past life in Corinth with which he entertains Kreusa (*Med.*, 801-805). They appear in essentially pictorial form and the representation of them is often descriptive, though it keeps close to the border line of narration and crosses it from time to time. Such pictures are common only in the *Golden Fleece*, where they serve to bind more closely together the somewhat dispersed action inherent in the trilogic form.

There are a number of descriptions of one sort or another incidental to the not very numerous *récits* of the dramas. The matter involved is, I think, of minor importance.

All narration, to which division of rhetoric the *récit*, in its outer form at least, belongs, involves some description. The fact that such occurs is all that need be noted here.

The many descriptions of the time of day must be especially mentioned. Grillparzer felt that he was more than usually sensitive to the different effects of morning, noon, and night, and made, as a boy, some very exaggerated statements of the precise nature of this effect. It is less important for us to comment on Grillparzer's sensitiveness, which he as a matter of fact shares with most mortals, than it is to note the fact that he makes use of this human trait as a *motif* in his dramas.

It appears from this review that the descriptions in the dramas, as far as the subject matter is concerned, do no violence to the dramatic form. The descriptions of both persons and things supplement to reënforce our visual impressions or are a concrete expression of the emotional state of the speaker. It appears further that in the great majority of cases—the exceptions are very rare, perhaps four or five in all—the descriptions deal with things we can see or have seen. A third important characteristic must be noted. Practically none of these descriptions causes a pause in the action of the drama. On the contrary, description serves Grillparzer as one very welcome instrument in those portrayals, for which he is so justly famous, of the genesis and evolution of the emotional diathesis of a character (*Sap.*, 191 ff., *Aug.*, 1178 ff.), or they serve (lyric descriptions) as a “Simplifikation und Abbreviatur der Mitteilung” to put the audience *en rapport* with the emotional status of the character. It should be clear that the descriptions in the dramas are not ornamental excrescences, but are vital elements in the concrete representation of that ever forward-moving present which

constitutes the essential and distinguishing characteristic of the dramatic form.

Before we take up a discussion of the methods which Grillparzer uses, we must pause for a moment to look at the descriptions of character. "Es gibt wohl keinen Dramatiker, bei dem sich so häufig im Munde der Mitspielenden Abschätzungen der geistigen Begabung dieser oder jener Gestalt des Stückes finden wie bei Grillparzer." This is description of character of the type that one would expect to find rather in a novel than in a drama. It is difficult to reconcile such analyses with the demand for a progressive action, certainly theoretically. Although in the concrete case it is usually not hard to find some more or less satisfactory justification, the fact remains that they are an abstraction in the usually so pragmatic weft of the drama. In general there are two forces at work in the construction of Grillparzer's dramas: the desire of the author to be clear, to get, beyond a doubt, the effect desired from the audience; and a strong tendency toward realism, toward the naturally human in the speech and behavior of the characters. Nothing can contribute more to our sure and complete comprehension of a character whom we have already seen in action, than an analysis in straightforward terms, and nothing is more human than for one person to express his estimate of those with whom he is intimately associated. So much in general. *Ad exempla.*

When Sappho wishes to warn Phaon away from Melitta, she tells him the sort of person she thinks her servant to be. And incidentally she gives good expression to Grillparzer's ideal of womanhood (752 ff.). It is hard to conceive anything more matter of fact than the first part of the passage, while the latter part is such a simile as one finds in any poetry, save only that it is longer and more

highly developed than is usual in the drama with realistic tendencies. A description of Melitta's character combined with her personal appearance is to be found in Sappho's verses in the third act (964 ff.). The terms are more concrete than in the preceding passage. Instead of abstractions, we have actions. Melitta has eyes which continually seek the floor and lips which prattle childishly.

In the *Golden Fleece* we do not find a different procedure. We have the best example of character analysis in Medea's description of Jason (*Med.*, 635 ff.):

Du kennst ihn nicht, ich aber kenn' ihn ganz!
 Nur er ist da, er in der ganzen Welt
 Und alles andre nichts, als Stoff zu Taten.
 Voll Selbetheit, nicht des Nutzens, doch des Sinns,
 Spielt er mit seinem und der andern Glück;
 Lockt's ihn nach Ruhm, so schlägt er einen tot,
 Will er ein Weib, so holt er eine sich,
 Was auch darüber bricht, was kümmert's ihn!
 Er tut nur recht, doch recht ist, was er will.
 Du kennst ihn nicht, ich aber kenn' ihn ganz!

Hero has fewer of these descriptions of character; to the best of my knowledge and belief no long analyses of any of the *dramatis personae*. *Hero* allows herself the luxury of expressing her opinion of various members of her family (202 ff.):

Mein Vater wolke, was kein andrer wolke,
 Und drängte mich und zürnte ohne Grund.
 Die Mutter duldete und schwieg.
 Mein Bruder—von den Menschen all, die leben,
 Bin ich nur einem gram—es ist mein Bruder.
 Als Älterer, und weil ich nur ein Weib,
 Ersah er mich zum Spielwerk seiner Launen;
 Doch ich hielt gut und grollte still und tief.

The lines are a fine example of concise and effective expression. One scarcely knows whether to be more de-

lighted at Hero's dry and devastating criticism, born of her superb self-confidence, or at the *naïveté* of the concluding verse. We have additional evidence that men met with strong disapproval from Hero (305 ff.). One of the finest descriptions in the whole play is spoken by the Priest (1753 ff.):

Mein Innerstes bewegt sich, schau' ich sie!
 So still, so klug, so Ebenmass in jedem,
 Und immer deucht es mir, ich müset' ihr sagen:
 Blick auf! Das Unheil gähnt, ein Abgrund neben dir!
 Und doch ist sie zu sicher und zu fest.

So far we have discussed only the subject matter and the purpose of the descriptions. Of equally great interest are the methods employed by Grillparzer to represent this subject matter. The data may be classified under several not mutually exclusive rubrics: First, arrangement and disposition of material; second, matters of diction, in a large sense of that word; third, means of attaining what is called "*Anschaulichkeit*"—to wit, an experience in terms of sense images, the illusion of actual contact by means of the senses with the represented object;⁷ fourth, methods employed in those descriptions whose main purpose is an emotional effect and not the creation of a sense image.

I. *Disposition*. It is a part of all composition to arrange the subject matter effectively, and it is a matter of common knowledge that Grillparzer's dramas as a whole show a clear, logical, and economical disposition of the material. What is true of the dramas as a whole, is true of the descriptions in particular. They are strictly unified, well planned bits of composition, some of them of note-

⁷ Cf. J. Cohn, "Die Anschaulichkeit der dichterischen Sprache," *Zeitschr. für Aest.*, II (1907), pp. 182 ff.

worthy length. They are apt to be the elaboration of a single idea, as Milo's description of Colchis (*Arg.*, 312 ff.), or the Temple Guard's description of the night (*Hero*, 1303 ff.). Such an elaboration may adopt the plan of contrast, as Phryxus' description of Medea (*Gst.*, 243 ff.), or of accumulation, even repetition of similar elements, as in the lines from *Hero* just cited. Such accumulation is a parallel phenomenon to the frequent use of tautology. All of these manners of procedure are as familiar in literary composition as the homiletic method of announcement, elaboration, and concluding repetition of a text. This method, in description, usually takes the form of an announcement of the total effect, to which details are added (*Med.*, 635 ff.). In the descriptions which fall into narrative form, a climacteric arrangement is not uncommon (*Sap.*, 48 ff.).

II. *Diction.* All language, especially all written language, is meant to be effective through its form. Both the speaker and the writer select among a larger or smaller number of alternatives, the vocabulary, sentence order, and the like, which seem most fitted to produce the desired effect. These things are the externalities of style and are to be kept apart from the forms of expression which result from the manner in which the poet apperceives the objects which he represents. These externalities may be a very important part of a writer's style, for they may constitute a large part of his claim to the name of poet; or they may, in a given case, be of relatively small importance. In the first case we may call the poet a rhetorical poet, a rhetorician; in the second case, in which the importance of what Elster⁸ denominates the "objective

⁸ E. Elster, *Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft*, II. Band, *Stilistik*, Halle, 1911.

forms of esthetic apperception " exceeds the importance of matters of diction, we should not be justified in calling the poet rhetorical, even though he uses freely (and all writers do so) the same devices of expression as his opposite, and, to a superficial inspection, seems very similar to him.⁹ Grillparzer has been called a rhetorician;¹⁰ wrongly, I think, though he uses a great many, not to say all, of the resources which " rhetoric " offers him. These rhetorical devices form an important, but not the most important part of the peculiarities of his style. We shall touch only on the most frequent of the peculiarities of diction.

Speech has tonal elements which may or may not be used, as seems most expedient. Where sound and subject matter are harmonious, the effect of the harmony may be very cogent. That onomatopoeia was consciously used by Grillparzer appears clearly from some remarks in his *Studien zur Literatur*.¹¹ There are plenty of such musical imitations in the descriptions. Hero invites the cool wind of the evening (1809 ff.):

Komm, Wind der Nacht,
Und kühle mir das Aug' und heisse Wangen!
Kommst du auch übers Meer, von ihm.
Und, o, dein Rauschen und der Blätter Lispeln,
Wie Worte klingt es mir: von ihm wir, ihm, von ihm.

Another use of sound is less directly imitative. Let an example take the place of an abstraction. We note the poignancy of the *ei*'s in Sappho's lines (1200 ff.),

Und einsam wie ein spätverirrter Fremdling
Geht meines Weinens Stimme durch die Nacht.

⁹ Cf. O. Harnack, *Essais*, Braunschweig, 1899, pp. 20 ff.

¹⁰ A. Bartels, *Literaturges.*, Leipzig, 1909, II, p. 83. O. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹¹ *Werke*, Cotta ed., XVI, pp. 68, 98.

Alliteration is too usual a phenomenon to require an example.

Chiasmus is a very common device in the dramas. The psychological significance of this "figure" lies in the closer knitting together of the parts of the sentence. It is not as a rule unpleasantly obvious in Grillparzer. Phaon says of Sappho's dress (228 ff.):

Der Saum von grünen Palm- und Lorbeerzweigen
Sprach, Ruhm und Frieden sinnig zart bezeichnend,
Aus, was der Dichter braucht und was ihn lohnt.

For "rhetorical" purposes the determining factor in the choice of vocabulary is the affective value of the word. Under this head belong two figures of speech which are particularly important in the works of Grillparzer, tautology and hyperbole. They are both to be traced to a single impulse in the mind of the poet, the immanent conviction of the inattentiveness of the audience. One striking example of each must suffice. Medea (*Gst.*, 35 ff.):

Das Opfer ist gebracht,
Vollendet das zögernde Geschäft,
Nun Pfeil und Bogen her, die Hunde vor,
Dass von des Jagdlärms hallendem Getos
Der grüne Wald ertöne nah und fern.

One might with equal propriety speak of *des wässrigen Regens feuchtes Nass*. Phaon refers to Sappho's crown as "der Herrschaft weithinleuchtend hohes Zeichen" (235), a veritable Highland Light.

There are a few matters that may be loosely assembled under the head of "poetic diction" in the technical sense of the term, the use of rare, new, or old words and compounds. Grillparzer was a conservative, but not prudish stylist. Just as he was willing at times to use the language of everyday speech, though never to excess, he was far from shunning the specifically poetic vocabulary, be the

words a remnant of the vocabulary of earlier times, or of his own devising. Among the obsolete words we may note *gleisen* for *gleissen*. Such words as *Fährlichkeit*, *Estrich*, *Geistergruss*, *der Frühverblichene*, *frevel* as adjective, belong to the specifically poetic vocabulary. I do not know that Grillparzer invented many new compounds. I suspect that the *weithinleuchtend* just quoted is new with him. Such a compound as *lichtversagt*, "denied the light, covered up," is surely unique. Sanders, the lexicographer, is cautiously doubtful of its propriety: "Ich möchte aber bezweifeln, dass der Ausdruck dem Hörer deutlich und verständlich wird." Although Grillparzer has a fondness for big words on occasion, he is much more conservative in their use than either Heine or Kleist. We note *unverwundbar*, *alldurchdringend*, *das nachtentstrittne All*, *Unermesslichkeit*, *reizdurchwirkt*, *leer-bedeutungsloser Schall*. Many are compounds with past participles, as *leichtgefügt*, *schamentgeistert*. Such words flag our attention and stir us from our lethargy.

III. *Anschaulichkeit*. We turn now to methods of description in a more exclusive sense. Lessing recommended the way of description which he felt to be the Homeric method *par excellence*, narration. A poet who wishes to describe Achilles' shield will do well to narrate the stages of its manufacture. If a person is to be described, by all means let us have him in some characteristic activity. Kreusa thus describes Young Jason in a passage already quoted (*Med.*, 601 ff.). If a place or a thing is to be described, we may tell a little story about it. Thus Sappho describes Lesbos (48 ff.), and thus the priest Hero's couch (920 ff.):

Das andere Gemach es birgt dein Lager,
Dasselbe, das die Kommende empfing
Am ersten Tag vor sieben langen Jahren,

Das wachsen dich gesehn und reifen, blühn
 Und weise werden, still und fromm und gut,
 Dasselbe, das um rotgeschlafne Wangen
 Die Träume spielen sah von einem Glück,
 Das nun verwirklicht.

Such descriptions are, however vivid, the reverse of pictorial. They are a succession of individual actions. A picture can deal with only one action. It not rarely happens that a narrative description treats only one action, and such a description may be looked upon as the resolution of a picture into terms of language. Grillparzer furnishes us with an occasional example. Such is Eucharis' pretty picture of Melitta at her bath (*Sap.*, 991 ff.):

Ich fand sie dort im klaren Wasser stehn.
 Die Kleider lagen ringsumher am Ufer,
 Und hochgeschürzt—sie dachte keines Lauschers—
 Wusch, mit den kleinen Händen Wasser schöpfend,
 Sie, sorgsam reibend, Arme und Gesicht,
 Die von dem Schein der Sonne durch die Blätter,
 Von ihrem Eifer und der rauhen Weise,
 Mit der die Kleine eilig rasch verfuhr,
 In hellem Purpur feurig glühten.
 Wie sie da stand, für eine ihrer Nymphen,
 Der jüngsten eine, hätte sie Diana. . . .

We may profitably examine in greater detail the subject of the difference between a picture and a description. Each of the arts has its own "Stilgesetz," which conditions the kind of subject which that art can reasonably be expected to represent. A picture, for instance, as aforesaid, can deal with only one action. It cannot suggest the future cessation of the action represented and the substitution of a new action in its place, nor can it suggest the deletion of the object represented and the substitution of new ones; nor is painting adapted to the representation of actions and things, the significance of which is not intui-

tively perceptible or is ambiguous. If it so happens that a subject may be represented in more than one art, the adaptation of the original matter is apt to be different. Accordingly, we expect the poetic and the pictorial representation of a subject to be ordinarily quite diverse. But it is nevertheless possible for the two to be very like one another. The poet may, for example, conceive his subject in the form of a picture and then describe the unpainted scene. This would be pictorial description in the strictest sense of the word. As an example of such pictorial apprehension in poetry one may cite the early romances of William Morris. Nature is time and again conceived in the form of a pre-Raphaelite picture. In the poem called *Golden Wings*¹² in the course of a description of a castle Morris says:

Across the moat the fresh west wind
In very little ripples went.

Burne-Jones clearly. It cannot be doubted, if we compare with these lines Browning's verse in *Meeting at Night*:

The startled little waves that leapt.

Here we have direct description of Nature herself.

A little conversation of Kreusa and Jason gives us such a picture (*Med.*, 843 ff.):

Kreusa. Weisset du, wie ich den Helm aufs Haupt mir setzte?
Jason. Er war zu weit, du hieltst ihn, sanft geduckt,
Mit kleinen Händen ob den goldnen Locken.
Kreusa, es war eine schöne Zeit!

But even in cases where the description seems most pictorial, there are usually reasons why the scene would lose

¹² Ed. Alfred Noyes, *Everyman's Library*, p. 111.

a part of its effectiveness if it were transferred to canvas. One of the chief reasons is the poetic use of the so-called negative traits. It is the exclusive privilege of the poet to call attention to details which are not present. Grillparzer can talk of the altar where the Fleece had hung. "Und das war fort" (*Med.*, 987). Another sort of difficulty for the painter in reproducing a description with his art appears from the consideration of a pictorial description of Jason at Corinth. He complains to Kreusa (*Med.*, 801 ff.):

Ich kam den lauten Markt entlang
 Und durch die weiten Gassen eurer Stadt—
 Weisest du noch, wie durch sie ich prangend schritt
 Als ich, vor jenem Argonautenzug,
 Hierher kam, von euch Abschied noch zu nehmen?
 Da wulkten sie in dichtgedrängten Wogen
 Von Menschen, Wagen, Pferden, bunt gemengt,
 Die Dächer trugen Schauende, die Türme,
 Und wie um Schätze stritt man sich den Raum.
 Die Luft ertönte von der Zymbel Lärm
 Und von dem Lärm der heilzuschreinden Menge.
 Dicht drängt' sie sich rings um die edle Schar,
 Die reich geschmückt, in Panzers hellem Leuchten,
 Der Mindeste ein König und ein Held,
 Den edlen Führer ehrfurchtsvoll umgaben—
 Und ich war's, der sie führte, ich ihr Hort,
 Ich, den das Volk in lautem Jubel grüßte—.

There is little or nothing in this that could not comfortably be represented on canvas. But it would be hard, perhaps impossible, in a painting to accent the figure of Jason as the description does. He is the *raison d'être* of it all. The predominant importance which language has no difficulty in conveying by the threefold repetition of the "I" would surely be obscured in a painting.

A particularly interesting example of picturesque de-

scription appears in a speech of Medea (*Arg.*, 994 ff.). She says to her father:

Dann komm' ich zurück und bleibe bei dir
 Und pflege dein Alter sorglich und treu
 Bis der Tod herankommt, der freundliche Gott
 Und leise beschwichtigend, den Finger am Mund,
 Auf seinem Kissen von Staub und Moos
 Die Gedanken schlafen heisst und ruhn die Wünsche.

The immediate suggestion of the lines is such a marble statue as one finds as a monument to the dead. The description is the interpretation of such a statue. Although that which in the statue is only suggested, the approach of the figure, is considered as if the motion were real, nevertheless the description confines itself to what such a statue can suggest. Looked at from the other point of view, there is no reason why the subject matter of the description could not serve the plastic artist without further translation into the specific style of his art. We receive a strengthened assurance of the correctness of this belief, if we compare with this passage the famous lines from the poem *Als sie, zuhörend, am Klavier sass*.¹³

Da trieb's mich auf: nun soll sie's hören,
 Was mich schon längst bewegt, nun werd's ihr kund:
 Doch sie blickt her; den Künstler nicht zu stören,
 Befiehlt ihr Finger, schwichtigend an dem Mund;
 Und wieder seh' ich horchend sie sich neigen,
 Und wieder muss ich sitzen, wieder schweigen.

A picture painted from the lyric could have only an ambiguous significance compared with the lyric itself. We should be at loss to explain the impatience of the male figure. A statue would, on the other hand, completely exhaust the meaning of Medea's lines.

¹³ *Werke*, Cotta edition, I, p. 165.

These lines are of interest in connection with two contentions of Lessing in his *Laokoon* concerning the differences between allegory in painting and in poetry. Our statue is allegorical. Medea has in mind the beneficence of death. She describes a statue of Death in such a posture and with such attributes as will suggest to us death as a release from earthly toil and sorrow. The allegory is poetically effective because it makes a direct emotional appeal. The attitude, action, and attributes of the figure are emotionally comprehensible, and have need of no intellectual interpretation. The attributes are of the kind that Lessing calls "poetical," namely, "Instrumente, ohne welche diese [allegorischen] Wesen die Wirkungen, die wir ihnen zuschreiben, nicht hervorbringen können."¹⁴ They are actually no more specifically poetic than plastic, for, as we have seen, they are equally effective in either manifestation. One might well incline to the opinion that such "poetic" attributes are the only esthetically effective ones.

Commenting on Caylus' note to the Homeric attribution of twinship to Sleep and Death, Lessing says,¹⁵ "Die sinnreichsten Attribute die er [Homer] dem Schläfe hätte geben können, würden ihn bei weitem nicht so vollkommen charakterisiert, bei weitem kein so lebhaftes Bild bei uns erregt haben, als der einzige Zug, durch den er ihn zum Zwillingsbruder des Todes macht." I take it that the proposition would hold equally true for Lessing if we reversed the persons. It is instructive to contrast the productions of a real poet with the ideas of one whose thinking is chiefly conceptual. Grillparzer's lines refute Lessing's contention. Grillparzer makes only indirect use of the certainly very suggestive idea of the brotherhood of

¹⁴ *Laokoon*, Chap. x.

¹⁵ *Laokoon*, Chap. xi.

Sleep and Death. He does just what Lessing praises Homer for not doing. By giving Death the attributes which he shares with Sleep, Grillparzer has identified the two in a fashion which gives us an incomparably more "vivid picture" than Homer's, for Homer gives us an *idea* which we must *illustrate* for ourselves. Grillparzer gives us in a single, plastic, concrete image what in Homer only discloses itself to reflection.

Another of the famous descriptive methods is the recording of the effect of the object to be described upon the speaker or upon others. Both of these types are to be found in Grillparzer. Medea says to Jason (*Arg.*, 564 f.):

Ich fühl't's am Sinken des Muts, an meiner Vernichtung,
Dass ihn kein sterbliches Weib gebär.

And again (*Med.*, 523 f.):

So stand er da an Kolchis' fremder Küste,
Die Männer stürzten nieder seinem Blick.

A third prescription of our rhetorics insists upon the value of the verb as a descriptive agent. The precept has its origin in two more general principles. Verbs of motion or action tend to provoke an especially vigorous reaction, since they induce actual muscular movements of a more or less rudimentary form. In the second place, the principle of economy bids us exploit to its utmost each word that we use. There is little profit to be got from verbs of condition. Grillparzer, like all excellent writers, shows a decided preference for verbs of motion and action. He does not entirely avoid such verbs of condition as *stand* and *lie*. *To be* seems not to enjoy particular favor with him.

Quite as important as the verb is the adjective. First the number. Lessing recommended the use of only one, though he did not entirely proscribe the occasional use of

more. Grillparzer's practice is fairly in accord with Lessing's prescription. In a very large number of cases the noun is qualified by only one adjective. We find pretty frequently two, and occasionally three. When more than one adjective is used, these are apt to be adjectives which give an emotional value rather than a definition in sensuous terms. Phaon speaks of "das einsam stille Reich der heiligen Nacht" (*Sap.*, 192) and calls Melitta "ein süßes, liebes, unbefangenes Kind" (*Sap.*, 646).

The purposes which adjectives serve are very various. They may convey necessary, matter-of-fact information, as Rhamnes' description of the "Leucadian" rock (*Sap.*, 1560 f.),

Die waldbewachsne Spitze,
Die links dort weit sich ins Gewässer streckt—

or they may be nearly or quite dispensable, as far as the information they convey is concerned, and have their purpose in setting free, as it were, the latent energy of the imagination. There are many stages between these two limits. It is the latter sort of adjective, the poetic epithet *par excellence*, which is most worthy of consideration. In Grillparzer such epithets are effective usually for one or two reasons; either because they come as a surprise, or because they are words with a very strong emotional value. Medea prophesying an unhappy fate for Kreusa cries (*Med.*, 1144 ff.):

Du aber, die hier gleisend steht und heuchelnd
In falscher Reinheit niedersieht auf mich,
Ich sage dir, du wirst die weissen Hände ringen,
Medeens Los beneiden gegen deins.

It is the adjective *weiss* which gives the passage pictorial power. We may predicate the same of *klein* in the little

picture of Kreusa with the helmet which we noticed a while ago (*Med.*, 743 ff.), and of *braun* in Naukleros' exhortation to Leander (*Hero*, 525):

Wein um die Gute, rauf dein braunes Haar.

Certainly the adjective *breit* in Rhamnes' description of the Lesbian populace belongs here (*Sap.*, 16 ff.):

Drum eilt das Volk ihr jauchzend nun entgegen,
Schickt auf des Jubels breiten Fittichen
Den Namen der Beglückten zu den Wolken.

In *König Ottokar* the King cries out of the soldiers who have died for him (2862 ff.):

Ich . . . hab sie schockweis hingeschleudert,
Und starrem Eisen einen Weg gebahnt
In ihren warmen Leib.

It is the unexpected sensuous detail which brings out the picture.

The epithet with emotional appeal is not less significant. It is among these adjectives that Grillparzer's "favorite words" are to be found: *weich, süß, still, leise, klar, golden, licht, hell, heiter, schön, mild, rein*, and, of course, the opposites of these. Phaon pictures his home to Melitta (*Sap.*, 1460 f.):

Unterm breiten Lindendach
Das still der Eltern stilles Haus beschattet.

Both the meaning of these words is to be noted and the fact that most of them have a greater or less sensuous appeal as well as emotional significance.

Grillparzer was careful in his choice of adjectives. It was among them, as far as we can judge from accessible material, that he made the most stylistic revisions. It is,

however, impossible to lay down any general principle of selection which will not be so broad as to be practically meaningless. We shall perhaps go least astray if we bring the epithet into line with the general nature of Grillparzer's style, in the broadest sense of that word. Grillparzer endeavored to create in his works of art a concrete and essentially individual thing which should appeal to all the combined faculties of man, to the heart, head, and senses at once. This end the epithets serve in general and in particular.

It is, I think, quite characteristic of Grillparzer that he rarely uses the very artificial figure of speech we call oxymoron. This figure belongs rather to the pathetic or ironical style than to the individualizing style of Grillparzer.

It is not only single, specially chosen words that are potent to stir the imagination. The effect may lie simply in the collocation of otherwise very usual words. We might examine an example or two of this kind. A herald brings an accusation of murder against Medea. He states the circumstantial evidence, and ends his long speech (*Med.*, 783 ff.):

Der Alte lag am Boden wildverzerzt,
Gesprungen die Verbands seiner Adern,
In schwarzen Glüssen strömend hin sein Blut.
Am Altar lag er, wo das Vlies gehangen,
Und das war fort. Die aber ward gesehn,
Den goldnen Schmuck um ihre Schultern tragend,
Zur selben Stunde schreitend durch die Nacht.

The last few lines indubitably etch out a very clear picture. It is perhaps the verb *schreiten* which "springs the imagination." When Jason returns from his fight with the dragon, he is in a half-dazed condition. He

catches sight of one of the Argonauts close by him and cries (*Arg.*, 1660 f.):

Ein widerlicher Mantel dort, der graue,
Und dreingehüllt der Mann bis an die Zähne.

The man stands before us in sharp outline. We recall Medea's figure of Death, "leise beschwichtigend, den Finger am Mund." There are not a great many such brilliant *aperçus* in Grillparzer's dramas. Just as he confined himself for the most part to stories that were well known, and was content merely to shape them after his own fashion, just so his language, and style generally, is less remarkable for its novelty and its *éclat* than for a conservative but fitting and individual use of well-established forms of expression. One is tempted to say that a brilliant style, like Meredith's for example, would have seemed immodest to him, unchaste.

Comparison is a common descriptive method. There are two sorts of comparison, one a direct, matter-of-fact alignment of the unknown with the known, the other less obvious and more poetical, which we have in metaphor and simile. Melitta compares Phaon to a statue of Apollo (*Sap.*, 31 ff.), Phryxus says of the strange god in his dream (*Gst.*, 310 f.):

So stand er da in Götterkraft und Würde,
Vergleichbar dem Herakles, doch nicht er.

The similes and metaphors will be discussed at another time.

Comparison is less frequent than contrast, which is an exceedingly important element in Grillparzer's style, both in large matters and in small. Contrasting characters are to be found in all his dramas. One might say of the *Golden Fleece* that the whole "inner form" is the con-

trast of past, present, and future. Naukleros finds no more satisfactory way of describing Leander than by pointing out the differences between Leander and himself (*Hero*, 591 ff.):

Ich bin doch auch ein rüstiger Gesell!
 Mein gelbes Haar gilt mehr als noch so dunkles,
 Und statt der Inderfarbe, die ihn bräunt,
 Lacht helles Weiss um diese derben Knochen.
 Bin grösser, wie's dem Meister wohl geziemt.
 Und doch, gehn wir zusammen unters Volk,
 In Mädchenkries, beim Fest, bei Spiel, bei Tanz;
 Mich trifft kein Aug' und ihn verschlingen sie:
 Das winkt, das nickt, das lacht, das schilt, das kichert,
 Und ihm gilt's, ihm. Sie sind nun mal vernarrt
 In derlei dumpfe Träumer, blöde Schlucker.

Medea is a figure in whom a pervasive dualism is never harmonized. Many of the descriptions of her center around this idea. Phryxus holds forth (*Gst.*, 243 ff.):

Doch wer ist dieses blühend holde Wesen,
 Das wie der goldne Saum der Wetterwolke
 Sich schmiegt an deine krieg'rische Gestalt?
 Die roten Lippen und der Wangen Licht,
 Sie scheinen Huld und Liebe zu verheissen,
 Streng widersprochen von dem finstern Aug,
 Das blitzend wie ein drohender Komet,
 Hervorstrahlt aus der Locken schwarzem Dunkel.
 Halb Charis steht sie da und halb Mänade
 Entflammt von ihres Gottes heil'ger Glut.

As an example of the contrast of a figure with its background may be cited Jason's picture of his departure from Corinth, referred to previously (*Med.*, 801 ff.). Once Jason says of Medea (*Med.*, 462 f.):

Dort erschien sie licht
 Im Abetich ihrer nächtlichen Umgebung.

Speech may appeal to a number of senses, chiefly, of

course, to the more highly developed senses of sight, hearing, and touch. Appeals to the sense of sight are extremely common. They include both shape and color and ocularly perceived motion. Descriptions of contour are comparatively rare, since the objects described in the dramas are for the most part familiar to us from sense perception. The contours, when indicated at all, are represented either directly or in terms of motion. Naukleros speaks of Leander's arm as being "von prallen Muskeln ründlich überragt" (*Hero*, 586). The rarity of such direct representation is worth noting. We may feel sure that the reason is to be found in the greater effectiveness of description in terms of motion. The beauty of Sappho's figure is described as follows (*Sap.*, 225 ff.):

Das Kleid . . . floss
Hernieder zu den lichtversagten Knöcheln,
Ein Bach der über Blumenhügel strömt.

Naukleros asks Leander (*Hero*, 622 ff.):

Was weisst du von des Nackens stolzem Bau,
Der breit sich anschliesst reichgewundnen Flechten,
Den Schultern, die beschämt nach rückwärts sinkend,
Platz räumen den begabtern reichen Schwestern.

The Priest, noting the height of Hero's tower, says (*Hero*, 899):

Auf festen Mauern senkt er sich hinab.

Color is frequent in the descriptions. It has been said of Grillparzer that "it was not the contour of a landscape that he seized upon, but the color scheme. The landscape for him is not a complex of lines, but a juxtaposition of colored spots. It is the vision of a near-sighted man who perceives colors and not shapes."¹⁶ We will not fail to

¹⁶ André Tibal, *Études sur Gr.*, Paris, 1914, p. 21.

remember, however, that Grillparzer had some skill with the designer's crayon.

Grillparzer uses only decided colors. They are more effective in the *al fresco* style of the drama, and their use is characteristic of "classic" authors. Grillparzer shows in this respect a certain transition toward the "romantic" method of accurate and subtle distinction of color. In *Hero* he speaks of Leander's complexion as "die Inderfarbe, die ihn bräunt": clearly an effort to approximate a certain shade of tan. More successful is the designation of Leander's blush as *Erdbeerfarbe*, for so it is that the blush appears under dark skins.

There is commonly a good deal of light, apart from color, and for the most part the illumination is quite intense, or scintillating. Phryxus tells of an evening and night spent in Apollo's temple at Delphi (*Gst.*, 287 ff.):

Da stand ich in des Tempels weiten Hallen,
Mit Bildern ringsumstellt und Opfergaben,
Erglühend in der Abendsonne Strahl.

He goes to sleep and dreams:

Urplötzlich
Umflammt mich heller Glanz,

and a man stood before him. When he awakes,

Siehe, von dem Morgenstrahl beleuchtet
Stand eine Blende schimmernd vor mir da.

Jason, contrasting Colchis and Greece, keeps the contrast largely in terms of light (*Arg.*, 1237 ff.). Of course the light from Hero's lamp gets no small amount of attention. Says Leander (*Hero*, 1112 ff.):

Da am Gesichtskreis flackert hell empor
Ein kleiner Stern, wie eine letzte Hoffnung.
Zu goldnen Fäden tausendfach gesponnen,

Umzog der Schein, ein Netz, die trübe Welt.
Das war dein Licht, war dieses Turmes Lampe.

Appeals to the sense of hearing are quite usual. They are comomnly reënforced by onomatopoeia, but often the mere word suffices. Phaon draws a breath of relief after the noise of the feast (*Sap.*, 456 ff.) :

Wohl mir, hier ist es still. Des Gastmahls Jubel,
Der Zymbelspieler Lärm, der Flöten Töne,
Der losgelassenen Freuden lautes Regen,
Es tönt nicht bis hier unter diese Bäume,
Die, leise flüsternd, wie besorgt, zu stören,
Zu einsamer Betrachtung freundlich laden.

Milo has recourse to the noise of the wind in the trees to demonstrate the lonesomeness of the Colchian forest (*Arg.*, 318 ff.).

In the appeals to the sense of touch we have a more important subject than in those to the auditory sense. It is less with what we ordinarily think of under touch that we are concerned than with the sensations of heat and cold. Phaon says of the summer evening that it sinks down "mit weichen Flügeln" (*Sap.*, 880); Milo thinks that his courage rusts as does his sword (*Arg.*, 317); Hero welcomes the grateful coolness of the evening breeze after her day of running errands (*Hero*, 1809 f.) :

Wie süsse, wie wohl!—Komm, Wind der Nacht,
Und kühle mir das Aug', die heissen Wangen.

The most remarkable example is Hero's description of Leander's dead body (*Hero*, 2027 ff.) :

Was nur das Leben sei!
Er war so jugendlich, so schön,
So überströmend von des Daseins Fülle,
Nun liegt er kalt und tot. Ich hab's versucht,
Ich legte seine Hand an meine Brust,

Da fühlt' ich Kälte strömen bis zum Sitz des Lebens,
 Im starren Auge glühte keine Sehe.
 Mich schaudert. Weh!

Grillparzer was apt to combine all these appeals in a single description, as though he realized that some persons are more sensitive to one than to another appeal. A striking example in the *Argonauts* (125 ff.), Jason to Medea:

Bleib,—du liebst, Medea,
 Ich seh's am Sturmeswogen deiner Brust,
 Ich seh's an deiner Wangen Flammenglut,
 Ich fühl's an deines Atems heissem Wehen,
 An diesem Beben fühl' ich es—du liebst.

Another example in *Sappho*. Phaon describes the effect of the summer evening (196 ff.):

Und wenn mir dann der Wolken Flockenschnee,
 Des Zephyrs lauer Hauch, der Berge Duft,
 Des bleichen Mondes silberweisses Licht
 In eins verschmolzen um die Stirne floss,
 Dann warst du mein, dann fühl' ich deine Nähe,
 Und Sapphos Bild schwamm in den lichten Wolken.

Another method of sense appeal is exclusively in the possession of the dramatist. The actor has it in his power to convey very vividly by his gestures the effect of a situation on him and so evoke that effect in the audience. Such gestures are usually accompanied by appropriate words. "So Wort als Bild zu gleicher Zeit." Medea (*Arg.*, 554):

Ah, es ist heiss hier.—Schwüle Luft!
 (Sie reißt gewaltsam den Gürtel entzwei und wirft ihn weg.)

As night draws near and the storm arises which brings death to Leander, the Temple Guard says (*Hero*, 1829):

Mich schaudert. Weh! Hätt' ich mein Oberkleid!

and makes presumably an appropriate gesture. This is very characteristic of Grillparzer, of course.

The specifically poetical figures of speech are extremely important factors in the verbal representation of the world and the things in it. Metaphor, simile, metonymy, and personification combine a maximum of accurate reproduction of the thing with the emotional energy which is necessary if this reproduction is to become an actual experience for the auditor or reader. It is scarcely worth while for our present purpose to divide the metaphor from the simile, since both figures consist in a comparison of one thing with another. It is important rather to discover, if may be, the kind of thing which the poet uses in his comparisons. It is significant of his method of vision, whether he compares things with ideas or with things. When a poet, as Erich Schmidt alleges of Klopstock, attempts to illustrate an object by comparing it with an idea, we can hardly expect to get a very clear picture of the object. Grillparzer very rarely—I recall but one example in the descriptions (*Hero*, 1112 f.)—makes such a comparison. If he compares an object to anything it is to another object. The purpose of the comparison may be to create a picture or to lend the original object greater emotional value. Sappho's dress is compared to "ein Bach, der über Blumenhügel strömt (227); her purple mantle is compared to "rote Morgenwolken um die Sonne" (231). Lesbos seems to belong to the shore which Lethe kisses (285). Medea beside Aietes is compared to "der goldne Saum der Wetterwolke" (*Gst.*, 244). A great many of these figures are hyperboles and some of them are quite daring. The comparisons drawn from books and writing seem strange to us. Jason says to Medea (*Arg.*, 445 ff.):

Als die Natur dich dachte, schrieb sie: Milde
Mit holden Lettern auf das erste Blatt.
Wer malte Zauberformeln auf die andern?

Medea to Kreusa (*Med.*, 686 ff.):

Senk einen Strahl von deiner Himmelklarheit
In diese wunde schmerzzerrißene Brust.
Was Gram und Haß und Unglück hingeschrieben,
O lösch' es aus mit deiner frommen Hand
Und setze deine reinen Züge hin.

Naukleros compares a bevy of girls to a field of flowers
(*Hero*, 612 ff.):

Bunte Blumen,
So Ros' als Nelke, Tulpe, Veilchen, Lilie—
Ein Gänseblümchen auch wohl ab und zu—
Im ganzen ein begeisternd froher Anblick.

On the whole we must say of Grillparzer's use of these figures what we have said of his style in general, that it is conservative, not brilliantly original, but individual, and above all, seeks the concrete.

There is nothing to be gained from an examination of the rare metonymies. Sappho speaks of Phaon once as "der erst erwachte Sinn" (373). That was the quality she most admired in him. In general the use is quite conventional.

Personification is beyond a doubt the most important of the figures. I use the term in a broad sense to include the apperception of inanimate things as living things. Everywhere we notice the tendency to conceive the landscape under the form of a person or creature. This makes for intimacy of our relation to the object so conceived and so represented. Phaon urges Sappho (378 ff.):

Fröhlich, Liebe, sei und heiter!
Es ist so schön hier, o, so himmlisch schön.
Mit weichen Flügeln senkt der Sommerabend
Sich hold ermattet auf die stille Flur;
Die See steigt liebdürstend auf und nieder,
Den Herrn des Tages bräutlich zu empfangen,

Der schon dem Westen zu die Rosse lenkt.
 Ein leiser Hauch spielt in den schlanken Pappeln,
 Die, kosend mit den jungfräulichen Säulen,
 Der Liebe leisen Gruss herüber lispeln,
 Zu sagen scheinen: seht, wir lieben, ahmt uns nach.

Hero describes the Hellespont (1027 ff.):

Der Hellespont
 Lässt, Kindern gleich, die frommen Wellen spielen.
 Sie flüstern kaum, so still sind sie vergnügt.

She personifies her lamp (1037):

Du bleiche Freundin mit dem stillen Licht.

Phryxus describes Colchis (*Arg.*, 205 f.):

Diese ferne Küste, wo Sicherheit und einfach stille Ruh
 Mit Kindesblicken mir entgegen lächeln.

It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of this figure.

There is a sort of figure which belongs on the borderline between personification and metaphor. It consists in the apperception of one kind of life under the form of another; in Grillparzer's case, the conceiving of persons under the guise of birds. The persons are not compared to birds, but are actually conceived as such. Sappho describes Phaon (373 ff.):

Der erst erwachte Sinn, mit frohem Staunen,
 Die Zahl der eignen Kräfte überblickend,
 Spannt kühn die Flügel aus und nach dem Höchsten
 Schiesst gierig er den scharfen Adlerblick.

A similar phenomenon, *Medea*, 682 ff.

IV. *Emotional Description.* There are a considerable number of descriptions in the dramas which either are conceived in emotional terms, or have the evoking of

emotions as their purpose. Sappho describes Lesbos (48 ff.):

Hier, wo der Jugend träumende Entwürfe,
 Wo des Beginnens schwankendes Bestreben,
 Wo des Vollbringens wahnsinniglühnde Lust
 Mit eins vor meine trunkne Seele treten,
 Hier, wo Cypressen von der Eltern Grab
 Mir leisen Geistergruss herüberlispeln:
 Hier, wo so mancher Frühverblichne ruht,
 Der meines Strebens, meines Wirkens sich erfreut usw.

There is clearly no attempt to portray Lesbos. The cypresses are the only concrete objects which appear and they serve chiefly an emotional purpose. The description is intended to give Lesbos emotional significance.

It sometimes happens that things are qualified by emotional adjectives, as when Phaon speaks of "das einsam stille Reich der heiligen Nacht" (*Sap.*, 192). Such adjectives are rare in Grillparzer; for when he wishes to give things emotional value, his method is usually indirect, by way of a concrete sense impression. In Milo's description of Colchis (*Arg.*, 310 ff.) we note a multitude of examples.

Hier in dieses Landes feuchter Nebelluft
 Legt Rost sich, wie ane Schwert, so an den Mut.
 Da wird das Herz so weit, so hohl, so nüchtern.

To impress the perversity of the country upon us, Milo tells of meeting a bear,

So gross vielleicht, als keinen ich gesehn,
 Und doch, kam's fast mir vor, ich sollt' ihn streicheln,
 Wie einen Schooschund streicheln mit der Hand.

Grillparzer not infrequently makes appeal to certain fundamental human emotions, his verse is

mingled up

Of all that nests and housekeeps in the heart—

home, youth, the idyllic, death. Such emotional appeals are very strong and are very rich in associated emotions and images. Phaon urges Melitta (*Sap.*, 1456 ff.):

Fort, es streckt die Ferne
 Uns schutzverheissend ihren Arm entgegen.
 Dort drüben überm alten grauen Meer
 Wohnt Sicherheit und Ruh' und Liebe!
 O folge! Unterm breiten Lindendach,
 Das still der Eltern stilles Haus beschattet,
 Wölbt, Teure, sich der Tempel unsres Glücks.

Sappho to Phaon (284 ff.):

Sieh diese Gegend, die der Erde halb,
 Und halb den Fluren, die die Lethe küsst,
 An einfach stillem Reiz scheint zu gehören.
 In diesen Grotten, diesen Rosenbüschen,
 In dieser Säulen freundlicher Umgebung,
 Hier wollen wir, gleich den Unsterblichen,
 Für die kein Hunger ist, und keine Sättigung,
 Nur des Genusses ewig gleiche Lust,
 Des schönen Daseins uns vereint erfreun.

The emotional description may or may not result in a sense image. If the subject matter itself is particularly effective, the result of the whole may be a picture, although the terms of the description are emotional rather than concrete, as in Phaon's description of the eventide quoted above (*Sap.*, 878 ff.).

A period of exactly thirteen years, the thirteen most productive years of Grillparzer's life, lies between the production of *Sappho* in 1818 and that of *Hero* in 1831. Can we note a change, a progress in Grillparzer's method of composition in this time? The answer is undoubtedly affirmative. It is a more difficult matter to make clear in what this change and progress consist. In general terms, it is a maturing, a development of what is already present. Grillparzer was no mere beginner when he wrote *Sappho*. He was twenty-seven years old, and after that age no one

is ever born again. Grillparzer by practice obtains in these thirteen years mastery of his art, as he wins a deeper and better understanding of life. He is more reasoned, less *primesautier* in his creation, he is less one with his characters, more their superior and master. *Sappho* was an outpouring of a highly-charged emotional state, in Hebbel's terminology a natural necessity, a sort of lightening, as it were; *Hero* is more a *tour-de-force*, the achievement of a virtuoso. It is the exchange of water-colors for oils, of the fresco for the miniature. In *Sappho* Grillparzer was more or less clearly under the influence of Wieland, Goethe, Mme. de Staël; in *Hero* he is quite as independent of models as is humanly possible. The highest which he attains in *Sappho* is lyric beauty; in *Hero* there are passages of such poetic power that one must seek among the very greatest poets for lines of equal merit. *Hero's* dirge in the last act is unsurpassable.

I know no better way to make clear the differences in descriptive manner between the two plays than to repeat here a description from each, the description of the heroine.¹⁷

Sappho:

Mit einer goldnen Leier in der Hand
 Trat eine Frau durchs staunende Gewühl.
 Das Kleid, von weisser Unschuldfarbe, floss
 Hernieder zu den lichtversagten Knöcheln,
 Ein Bach, der über Blumenhügel strömt.
 Der Saum von grünen Palm- und Lorbeerzweigen
 Sprach, Ruhm und Frieden sinnig zart bezeichnend,
 Aus, was der Dichter braucht und was ihn lohnt.
 Wie rote Morgenwolken um die Sonne
 Floss rings ein Purpurmantel um sie her,
 Und durch der Locken rabenschwarze Nacht
 Erglänzt', ein Mond, das helle Diadem,
 Der Herrschaft weithinleuchtend hohes Zeichen.

¹⁷ *Sap.*, 222 ff.; *Hero*, 622 ff.

Hero:

Die Priestrin selbst; ein herrlich prangend Weib!
Die besser tat, am heut'gen frohen Tag
Der Liebe Treu zu schwören ewiglich,
Als ihr sich zu entziehen, so arm als karg;
Der Anmut holder Zögling und der Hoheit,
Des Adlers Aug', der Taube süßes Girren,
Die Stirn so ernst, der Mund ein holdes Lächeln,
Fast anzuschauen wie ein fürstlich Kind,
Dem man die Krone aufgesetzt noch in der Wiege.
Und dann! Was Schönheit sei, das frag du mich!
Was weisst du von des Nackens stolzem Bau,
Der breit sich anschliesst reichgewundnen Flechten,
Den Schultern, die beschämt nach rückwärts sinkend,
Platz räumen den begabtern reichen Schwestern,
Den feinen Knöcheln und dem leichten Fuss
Und all den Schätzen so beglückten Leibes?

Not forgetting the difference in purpose between the two descriptions, we must acknowledge that, while the picture of Sappho is the work of a competent artist, the picture of Hero is a real portrait. Grillparzer's *Hero* fulfills what his *Sappho* promised.

HENRY H. STEVENS.

III.—THE ACCENTUAL STRUCTURE OF ISOLABLE ENGLISH PHRASES

The purpose of this brief paper is to study the characteristic and prevailing accentual¹ rhythms of English prose in as far as these occur in phrases that can be detached from the context. Two types of such phrases have been examined. They may be distinguished as (1) phrasal idioms, and (2) titles. The first class embraces such examples as "in fact," "of course," "to be sure," "ebb and flow," "fits and starts"—the permanent "bromides" of the language, representing the most ordinary contacts of mind with mind, the most necessary aspects and currents of thought, and the homeliest logic. Stripped of every superfluity by incessant use, they exhibit with peculiar aptness the form and pressure of the language in its minuter elements.

The phrases of the second class are complementary to those of the first class in this respect, that whereas phrasal idioms have sprung up spontaneously and have been shaped by the give and take of intercourse, titles are the product of conscious selection or creation. An apt title is either chosen with great care from the common stock of phrases, or it is composed in the same way that a poem is composed, that is, as a work of deliberate art. If writers of drama and fiction spend weeks and even months in the framing of suitable titles for their works they do so with reason, for a title that is original and pleasing to

¹I shall use the term accent in the common or dictionary sense, without inquiring for the present whether accent has objective validity, or what is its relation to pitch, quantity, intensity, weight, attention-stress, impulse-waves, etc.

the ear may, by passing into the common vocabulary, actually outlast the work itself.

For the phrasal idioms I have drawn upon Roget's *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, discarding all single words. Groups such as "to fall into evil," "to make both ends meet," etc., which can be detached only by throwing them into the infinitive or the imperative, have also been rejected for the most part. The total number of phrases examined is two thousand four hundred and ninety-four.

The titles I have taken from E. A. Baker's *Guide to the Best Fiction in English*, again discarding all single-word titles, and confining the selection to English and American works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The total number of titles examined is four thousand two hundred and one.

In dealing with both classes of phrases I have been guided by a few simple rules. One is to recognize as accentual units all the possible permutations of accent in words of two, three, and four syllables. Another is to resolve phrases of five syllables or over into combinations of the shorter units wherever possible. The third rule is to divide the longer phrases only at a natural pause or joint, even though such a division compels the acceptance of one-syllable and of five-syllable units. This last rule, I am bound to say, I have not enforced as rigidly as the other two.

To designate the various accentual patterns, the terms of the Greek prosody, of course with the substitution of accent for quantity, are extremely convenient. At any rate, I have found nothing better.

Of the constituent elements of five-, six-, and seven-syllable phrases the patterns are so many that the ingenuity of man has not yet found names for them.

About the proper mode of scansion of certain phrases there will naturally be difference of opinion, just as there is about the scansion of verses; but such difference will not, I am sure, change the aspect of the data materially.

The results of the investigation are shown in the accompanying tables and diagrams.² In Table I and Diagram I it will be noticed that for both varieties of phrase as the number of syllables increases the curve mounts steadily to the peak and then descends in like manner. The majority of the phrasal idioms are, however, grouped about the three-, four-, and five-syllable region, whereas the majority of the titles are grouped about the four-, five-, and six-syllable region. It thus appears that the fiction writer inclines on the whole to a longer phrase than that preferred by the average intelligence.

Classifying the phrases as strong and weak, the strong being those that end with an accented syllable and the weak those that end with an unaccented syllable, we see in Table II and Diagram II that in the forms of two, three, and four syllables the strong endings are in excess, whereas in the forms of five syllables and over the weak endings are in excess. Furthermore, the number of strong endings diminishes pretty regularly as we pass from the lower to the higher number of syllables, and the number of weak endings increases in a similar proportion. The meaning of this distribution of the strong and weak phrases remains to be discovered. Doubtless there is some good reason why we should prefer "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" to "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Food," but as yet I have been unable to fix upon it. Perhaps the simplest and most plausible explanation is

²In both diagrams the figures at the bottom indicate the number of syllables, the figures at the side the percentages.

that the longer phrases, merely by virtue of their length, partake of the nature of sentences, and so allow or demand a cadence.

If we examine the phrases in detail (Table III), we shall notice some strongly marked preferences. The double iamb represented by "as large as life" in the phrasal idioms, and by "A Tramp Abroad" in the titles, is easily first in both classes. For the second place the cretic, the choriamb, and the trochee compete. Thus, if we examine the phrasal idioms, we find the cretic, represented by "inch by inch," standing next to the double iamb with 212 examples. Then comes the choriamb represented by "head over heels" with 139 examples, and fourth the double trochee represented by "food for powder," with 110 examples. In the titles this order is reversed. The double trochee, as "David Harum," follows the double iamb with 181 examples, the choriamb ("Barnaby Rudge") is third with 154 examples, and the cretic ("Bracebridge Hall") is fourth with 150 examples. If, however, we add together the corresponding figures from each list, the order is then double iamb, cretic, choriamb, and double trochee.³

In the remainder of the three- and four-syllable forms the order of preference is different in the phrasal idioms from what it is in the titles. In the former the order is

³I may refer here, in passing, to a controversy started by a remark of Professor Jespersen's in his *Growth and Structure of the English Language*. The remark is to the effect that the pattern "bread and butter," a double trochee, is far more common than the pattern "butter and bread," a choriamb. The data which I have now accumulated tend to show that the choriambic pattern is somewhat less frequent in the titles, somewhat more frequent in the phrasal idioms, and almost precisely of the same frequency in the two taken together.

as follows: 1. "in cold blood," 2. "to be sure," 3. "fair play," 4. "at close quarters," 5. "high living," 6. "a forlorn hope"; or, using the terms of the Greek prosody, anti-bacchic, anapaest, spondee, antispast, bacchic, and Ionic a minore. In the titles, on the other hand, the order is: 1. "The Black Arrow," 2. "The Day's Work," 3. "Green Mansions," 4. "Rob Roy," 5. "Seth's Brother's Wife," 6. "The Wide, Wide World," 7. "Peg Woffington"; or, in prosodic terms, antispast, anti-bacchic, bacchic, spondee, epitrite of the third form, epitrite of the first form, and Ionic a maiore.

A word may be said in regard to the paeon, since Aristotle considered it to be the characteristic prose foot. If we add together the figures for the four varieties of paeon which are now listed separately, this foot will stand seventh in both lists.

Other interesting facts are (1) the almost complete absence of anapaests among the titles, although they stand third in order of preference among the phrasal idioms, and (2) the paucity of single trochees in both types, there being but three among the phrasal idioms and none at all among the titles.

Turning to the phrasal idioms of five syllables, we find the most popular combinations to be as follows, in the order named: 1. "as clear as daylight," 2. "by hook or by crook," 3. "in common parlance" and "from pillar to post" (tied for third place), 4. "humanly speaking," 5. "to the manner born," and 6. "something or other"; or, iamb + amphibrach, iamb + anapaest, amphibrach + trochee, amphibrach + iamb, dactyl + trochee, paeon + monosyllable, and trochee + amphibrach.

A different order prevails in the titles. Here the pattern amphibrach + trochee, represented by "The

Trumpet Major," which was third among the phrasal idioms, stands at the head, followed by "The Boy Crusaders," "The Mill on the Floss," "The Woman in White," "Rattlin the Reefer," "Hurricane Hurry," "The Minister's Son," and "David Copperfield."

Of the six-syllable groups it is perhaps enough to say that the form iamb + paeon (third form) represented by "the pink of perfection," is first among the phrasal idioms, and the form amphibrach + anapaest, represented by "The Pilgrims of the Rhine," is first among the titles.

In the remaining groups the variety of the combinations makes it difficult to draw conclusions. One point, however, is worth noting, namely, that the favorite form of the dochmiac, or five-syllable foot, which it is necessary to recognize in the longer phrases, is of the pattern represented by the phrase "of necessity," that is, an accented syllable preceded and followed by two unaccented syllables.⁴

I will add what, I hope, will be a pleasing divertissement, namely, an examination of the titles of the best sellers for the past ten years as shown by the monthly lists in the *Bookman*. Of 220 titles which take the form of phrases, seven are of two syllables, thirty-eight of three, sixty of four, fifty-three of five, forty-one of six, twenty-one of seven, ten of eight, one of nine, and two of ten syllables. It will be seen that the proportion of titles to syllables is about the same as in the longer list. Curiously enough, however, the highest point is reached in the four-syllable

⁴In view of the great interest that has attached of late to studies in the Latin cursus, it may be well to say that there seems to be no significant correspondence between the rhythms of the various types of cursus and the rhythms of the phrases that I have been studying. If there is a resemblance anywhere, it is in a form of the planus type, namely, dactyl + trochee, which is fairly common in five-syllable phrases.

type, an indication that the authors of the best sellers, whether by craft or by instinct, chose a length suitable to the popular comprehension. As regards the accentual structure, the order of the five highest on the list is as follows (the titles being used as examples of the patterns): "The Common Law," double iamb; "The Harbor," amphibrach; "The Rosary," paeon; "The Devil's Garden," paeon + trochee; and, "Andrew the Glad," choriamb.⁵

Any general conclusions deduced from so limited an area of observation must necessarily be of a tentative character. Nevertheless, the following can be put forward with some confidence as fairly inferable from the data.

1. That the English language inclines in ordinary speech to a phrase of four syllables.

2. That strong endings are more common in the shorter phrases, weak endings in the longer phrases.

3. That beginning with two-syllable phrases, the proportion of weak to strong endings increases regularly with the number of syllables.

4. That the prevailing accentual structure of two-syllable phrases is the spondee, of three-syllable phrases is the cretic, of four-syllable phrases is the double iamb,

⁵ In the same way I have examined a considerable number of the trade names used in advertising, including, however, single-word names. The results are as follows: The three-syllable type stands first with 28.6% of the whole number. The two-syllable type is second with 22.9%, the four-syllable type third with 18%, the five-syllable type fourth with 10.5%. As regards the distribution of the different kinds of feet, the trochee, represented by Mazda, is the preferred form. Then in descending order come the cretic, the double trochee, and the amphibrach, the last two tied for third place: To use specific examples, the preferred order is: 1. Mazda, 2. Cream of Wheat, 3. Nabisco and Prophylactic.

of five-syllable phrases is iamb + amphibrach, of six-syllable phrases is iamb + paeon.

5. That the titles of works of prose fiction show virtually the same peculiarities, except that five-syllable titles are somewhat more frequent than four-syllable titles, and that the preferred pattern of the five-syllable title is amphibrach + trochee, of the six-syllable title is amphibrach + anapaest.

6. The prevailing rhythm of English speech, as far as it depends upon the accent of phrases, is iambic, cretic, or choriambic rather than trochaic.

FRED NEWTON SCOTT.

DIAGRAM I

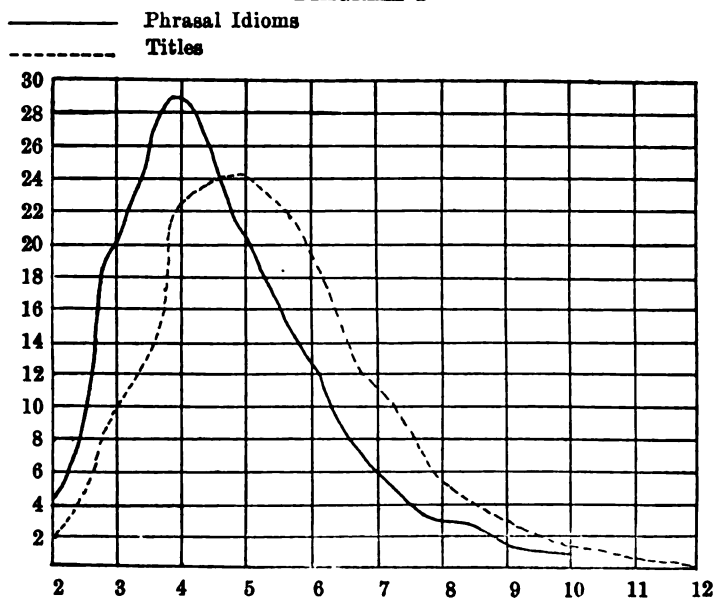


DIAGRAM II

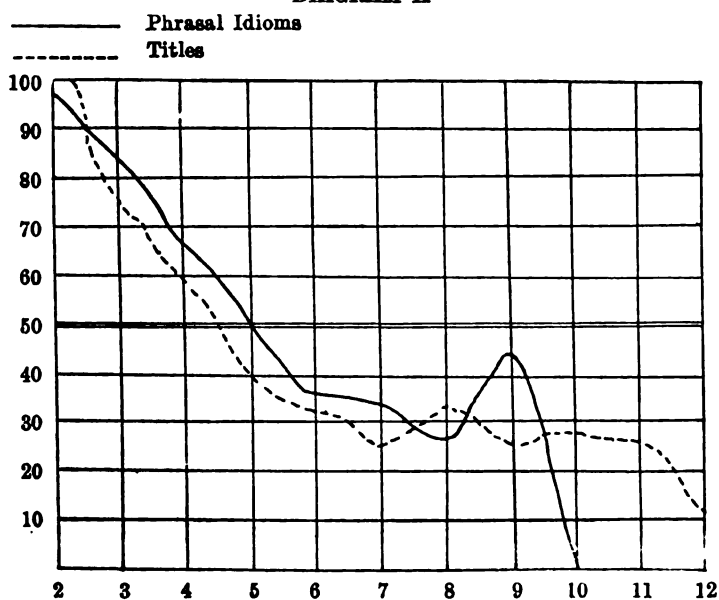


TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF PHRASE

Number of Syllables	Phrasal Idioms		Titles	
	Number of Phrases	Percentage	Number of Phrases	Percentage
2	109	4	67	1.6
3	500	20	384	9
4	738	29	978	23
5	548	21	1013	24
6	344	13	848	20
7	150	6	473	11
8	65	2.7	226	5
9	29	1.1	113	2.6
10	11	.4	51	1.2
11			21	.9
12			18	.4
13			5	
14			3	
15			1	
	2494		4201	

TABLE II
PROPORTION OF STRONG AND WEAK ENDINGS

No. of Syllables	Phrasal Idioms			Titles		
	No. of strong endings	No. of weak endings	Percentage of strong endings	No. of strong endings	No. of weak endings	Percentage of strong endings
2	106	3	99	67	0	100
3	411	89	82	297	87	77
4	494	244	67	595	383	60
5	234	284	48	399	614	39
6	127	217	37	296	552	34
7	51	99	34	129	344	27
8	18	47	27	73	153	32
9	13	16	44	30	83	26
10	0	11	00	15	36	29
11				6	15	28
12				2	16	11

TABLE III
PHRASES OF 2 TO 4 SYLLABLES

Number of Syl- lables	Phrasal Idioms			Titles	
	Typical Examples	Accentual Structure	Number of Phrases	Number of Phrases	Typical Examples
2	in fact	• ^	28	3	The Huns
2	fair play	^ ^	78	64	Rob Roy
2	thank you	^ •	3		
3	so be it	• ^ •	33	18	The Portent
3	to be sure	• • ^	89	7	In the Blood
3	in cold blood	• ^ ^	100	117	The Day's Work
3	far from it	^ ^ •	51	66	Green Mansions
3	inch by inch	^ • ^	208	150	Bracebridge Hall
3	pardon me	^ • •	4	3	One of them
3	blind-man's buff	^ ^ ^	14	23	God's Good Man
4	at close quarters	• ^ ^ •	74	132	The Black Arrow
4	head over heels	^ • • ^	136	154	Barnaby Rudge
4	as large as life	• ^ • ^	286	350	A Tramp Abroad
4	God bless my soul	^ ^ ^ ^	2	1	Free Soil, Free Soul
4	food for powder	^ • ^ •	104	181	David Harum
4	a green old age	• ^ ^ ^	16	26	The Wide, Wide World
4	live and let live	^ • ^ ^	4	17	Puck of Pook's Hill
4	three score and ten	^ ^ • ^	8	30	Seth's Brother's Wife
4	half seas over	^ ^ ^ •	6	20	Auld Licht Idylls
4	Job's comforters	^ ^ • •	8	25	Peg Woffington
4	in the long run	• • ^ ^	37	17	The Divine Fire
4	lie upon it	^ • • •	2		
4	in general	• ^ • •	15	10	The Egotist
4	with a vengeance	• • ^ •	35	15	The Virginians
4	that is to say	• • • ^	5		

TABLE IV

I. THE MOST COMMON VARIETIES OF 5-SYLLABLE AND 6-SYLLABLE PHRASES IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

5-Syllable, with Strong ending:

by hook or by crook (• ^ • • ^)	The Mill on the Floss (• ^ • • ^)
from pillar to post (• ^ • • ^)	The Woman in White (• ^ • • ^)
castles in the air (^ • • • ^)	The Ministers Son (• ^ • • ^)
to the manner born (• • ^ • ^)	Barlasch of the Guard (^ • • • ^)
the prodigal son (• ^ • • ^)	At the Villa Rose (• • ^ • ^)
	As the Twig is Bent (• • ^ • ^)

5-Syllable, with weak ending:

as clear as daylight (• ^ • ^ •)	The Trumpet Major (• ^ • ^ •)
in common parlance (• ^ • ^ •)	The Boy Crusaders (• ^ • ^ •)
humanly speaking (^ • • ^ •)	Rattlin the Reefer (^ • • ^ •)
something or other (^ • • ^ •)	Hurricane Hurry (^ • • ^ •)
in strict confidence (• ^ ^ • •)	David Copperfield (^ • ^ • •)
open sesame (^ • ^ • •)	The King's Deputy (• ^ ^ • •)

6-Syllable, with strong ending:

as sober as a judge (• ^ • • • ^)	The Pilgrims of the Rhine (• ^ • • • ^)
like a thief in the night (• • ^ • • ^)	The Luck of Roaring Camp (• ^ • ^ • ^)
by force of argument (• ^ • ^ • •)	When Wilderness was King (• ^ • • • ^)
	In the Wake of the War (• • ^ • • ^)

6-syllable, with weak ending:

the pink of perfection (• ^ • • ^ •)	The Shadow of Allah (• ^ • • ^ •)
at sixes and sevens (• ^ • • ^ •)	The Wings of the Morning (• ^ • • ^ •)
as wise as Solomon (• ^ • ^ • •)	The Little Minister (• ^ • ^ • •)
a howling wilderness (• • ^ • ^ • •)	A Midsummer Madness (• • ^ • • ^ •)
in various places (• • ^ • ^ •)	A Rose of Yesterday (• • ^ • ^ • •)
on the road to ruin (• • ^ • ^ •)	Burglars in Paradise (^ • • ^ • •)

II. EXAMPLES OF LONGER PHRASES

From one end to the other (• ^ • • • ^ •)	Diana of the Crossways (• ^ • • • ^ •)
as different as chalk from cheese (• ^ • • • ^ • ^)	All Sorts and Conditions of Men (• ^ • • ^ • • ^)
as plain as the way to parish church (• ^ • • ^ • ^ • ^)	The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come (• ^ • ^ • • ^ • ^)
conduct unbecoming a gentleman (^ • • • ^ • • ^ • •)	The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table (• ^ • • • • ^ • ^ •)

IV.—SWINBURNE AND DELAVIGNE

For those who enjoy tracing literary relationships there is a very attractive problem in regard to the possible indebtedness of Swinburne's *The Garden of Proserpine* to Delavigne's *Les Limbes*. Swinburne's poem has long been a favorite, for its subtle cadences have elusive, indefinable melody, and the picture of the dim beauty of Proserpine's realm is a masterpiece of descriptive art. However one may regard the philosophy of languid surrender to extinction, one cannot fail to recognize Swinburne's power in depicting a pallid world where all things are wan, bloomless, and indeterminate.

Hitherto, no source for the *Garden of Proserpine* has been suggested except Christina Rossetti's *Dreamland* (1862), which, Mr. Payne considers, "has a curious resemblance" to Swinburne's poem. The similarity is chiefly that of verse-form: the theme of sleep is treated so very differently in the two poems that it does not seem possible to attribute specific influence here. The *Odyssey* (xi), the *Æneid* (vi), the *Inferno* (iv) offer little suggestion of the apathy, the abandonment, the paralysis of feeling which both Delavigne and Swinburne depict in a fashion that makes a comparison between the two inevitable. In theme, and in development of theme, in use of imagery, and in versification the *Garden of Proserpine* is similar to *Les Limbes*.

If there is an obligation on Swinburne's part, students of literature have the pleasure of noting how one poet has derived inspiration from another, and yet by following his own individual bent has transcended his original. The study of the psychological reaction upon the borrower, his

display of imaginative power in re-creating and developing a *motif* is very rewarding. On the other hand, if Swinburne was not influenced by Delavigne, the two poems deserve to be compared as illustrating two distinctive literary methods of treating similar material.

Casimir Delavigne (1793-1843) was a member of the French Academy, a highly popular dramatist and poet, whose work would undoubtedly be known by Swinburne, the widely-read student of French literature. Delavigne's Works, finally published in 1845, contained *Un Miracle*, a very mediocre performance, in the main. *Chant Premier, Le Retour du Bal*, relates the death of the only daughter of a doting, very worldly mother. *Chant Deuxième, Les Limbes*, describes Limbo, whither the maiden went; *Chant Troisième, Jésus Christ dans les Limbes*, is a sort of *Harrowing of Hell*; *Chant Quatrième, Le Retour de l'Église*, describes the miracle of the daughter's restoration to life. *Les Limbes* far surpasses the other parts, possessing charm and distinction in the description of the lower world of faint, arrested beauty.

When *The Garden of Proserpine* was published in 1866 in the volume called *Poems and Ballads*, *Les Limbes* had been before the public for twenty years in Delavigne's collection, *Poèmes et Ballades sur l'Italie*. The two poems may best be compared by means of quotation, for space does not permit reprinting them *in toto*. *Les Limbes* will be found in *Poésies de Casimir Delavigne*, Paris, 1856, or in *The Oxford Book of French Verse*. *The Garden of Proserpine* is included in Payne's *Selected Poems* of Swinburne, in Page's *British Poets of the Nineteenth Century*, and in similar anthologies.

Les Limbes falls into three rather distinct divisions. The first is the description of the natural aspects of Limbo.

I quote the first four stanzas of the poem.

1. Comme un vain rêve du matin,
Un parfum vague, un bruit lointain,
C'est je ne sais quoi d'incertain
Que cet empire;
Lieux qu'à peine vient éclairer
Un jour qui, sans rien colorer,
A chaque instant près d'expirer,
Jamais n'expire.
2. Partout cette demi-clarté
Dont la morne tranquillité
Suit un crépuscule d'été,
Ou de l'aurore,
Fait pressentir que le retour
Va poindre au céleste séjour,
Quand la nuit n'est plus, quand le jour
N'est pas encore!
3. Ce ciel terne, où manque un soleil,
N'est jamais bleu, jamais vermeil;
Jamais brise, dans ce sommeil
De la nature,
N'agita d'un frémissement
La torpeur de ce lac dormant,
Dont l'eau n'a point de mouvement,
Point de murmure.
4. L'air n'entr'ouvre sous sa tiédeur
Que fleurs qui, presque sans odeur,
Comme les lis ont la candeur
De l'innocence;
Sur leur sein pâle et sans reflets
Languissent des oiseaux muets:
Dans le ciel, l'onde et les forêts,
Tout est silence.

The first stanza of *The Garden* is as follows:

Here, where the world is quiet;
Here, where all trouble seems
Dead winds' and spent waves' riot
In doubtful dreams of dreams;

I watch the green field growing
For reaping folk and sowing,
For harvest-time and mowing,
A sleepy world of streams.

The reader will note at once the likeness of the eight line stanza form, and more particularly the similarity of cadence in the two poems. Although the French poem is written in tetrameter, with lines four and eight in dimeter, while Swinburne uses trimeter throughout, the effects are almost the same, because of the harmonious use of feminine ending. Even where the French may technically require a final stress, the normal pronunciation of the words makes the accents at the end of the lines as hovering and tentative as are the natural beauties described in the verses. The abuse of alliteration by Swinburne owes nothing to the French.

These stanzas illustrate the typical likenesses and differences in the work of the two poets. Five of Swinburne's lines are, as will be seen later, evidently suggested by Delavigne, while three lines (5, 6, 7) are not. The French poet is describing a Catholic world, while Swinburne is picturing a world presided over by a Roman goddess whose symbols are the corn, the poppy, and the swallow. Delavigne is objective and inclined to catalogue descriptive effects, but Swinburne constantly emphasizes the subjective element, and always selects very distinctive details to heighten the illusion of his description. Whatever the English poet borrows he re-shapes in individual fashion.

Turning now to the points of resemblance, it will be convenient to follow the French poem stanza by stanza, indicating by quotation from the English what lines seem reminiscent of the French.

Swinburne, like Delavigne, devotes several stanzas to describing the physical aspects of the lower world. Like

Delavigne he begins with a simile intended to bring out the scene of quiet and repose. To Delavigne the empire is like an empty dream, a vague fragrance, a distant sound, or something doubtful, indeterminate. To Swinburne it is a world of quiet where even feeling is as spent as waves and winds. "Vain rêve" seems to have become "doubtful dreams of dreams"; "bruit" may, possibly, have turned into "riot." In stanzas one and two Delavigne depicts the slow alteration of light, an image which Swinburne appears to condense into these lines which occur in a later section of the poem:

All night till light is born;
And like a soul belated,
In hell and heaven unmated,
By cloud and mist abated
Comes out of darkness morn.

Delavigne's third stanza is evidently the source of

Then star nor sun shall waken,
Nor any change of light:
Nor sound of waters shaken,
Nor any sound or sight—

where "shaken" is a happy rendering of "frémissement," and the last line is very close to: "point de mouvement, point de murmure." Is it not significant that the sequence of ideas in Swinburne's four lines is the same as in Delavigne's stanza? May not

Dead winds' and spent waves' riot

have been suggested by Delavigne's lines? And do not "Ce sommeil de la nature" and "ce lac dormant" appear, in Swinburne's first stanza,

A sleepy world of streams— ?

The fourth stanza of the French poem speaks of the presence of those flowers only which like the lily are white as innocence and almost without fragrance. Swinburne, apparently, developed this much more effectively and specifically:

But no such winds blow hither,
And no such things grow here.

No growth of moor or coppice,
No heather-flower or vine,
But bloomless buds of poppies,
Green grapes of Proserpine,
Pale beds of blowing rushes
Where no leaf blooms or blushes
Save this whereout she crushes
For dead men deadly wine.

Here the pallor of growing things is accentuated, although Swinburne adds to the effect by independent touches that give contrast. The presence of pale flowers over which silent birds droop is mentioned by Delavigne, and Swinburne in a stanza towards the end of his poem seems to recall this, when he writes:—

Where summer songs ring hollow
And flowers are put to scorn.

It should be observed that the idea of silence in the world is the climax of the French poet's description, while in Swinburne's poem it is the initial idea:

Here, where the world is quiet.

Delavigne's second division describes the dwellers in the lower world:

5. Loin de Dieu, là, sont renfermés
Les milliers d'êtres tant aimés,
Qu'en ces bosquets inanimés
La tombe envoie.

Le calme d'un vague loisir,
 Sans regret comme sans désir,
 Sans peine comme sans plaisir,
 C'est là leur joie.

6. Là, ni veille ni lendemain!
 Ils n'ont sur un bonheur prochain,
 Sur celui qu'on rappelle en vain,
 Rien à se dire.
 Leurs sanglots ne troublent jamais
 De l'air l'inaltérable paix;
 Mais aussi leur rire jamais
 N'est qu'un sourire.
7. Sur leurs doux traits que de pâleur!
 Adieu cette fraîche couleur
 Qui de baiser leur joue en fleur
 Donnait l'envie!
 De leurs yeux, qui charment d'abord,
 Mais dont aucun éclair ne sort,
 Le morne éclat n'est pas la mort,
 N'est pas la vie.
8. Rien de bruyant, rien d'agité
 Dans leur triste félicité!
 Ils se couronnent sans gaité
 De fleurs nouvelles.
 Ils se parlent, mais c'est tout bas;
 Ils marchent, mais c'est pas à pas;
 Ils volent, mais on n'entend pas
 Battre leurs ailes.

Swinburne also describes the aspect and mood of those
 who dwell below. With Delavigne's

là, sont renfermés
 Les milliers d'êtres tant aimés,
 Qu'en ces bosquets inanimés

may be compared various lines, such as

There go the loves that wither,

and

Pale, without name or number,
 In fruitless fields of corn.

The general sense of the four French stanzas seems to be summed up in the following lines by Swinburne, where he emphasizes the listless calm, the peace, the absence of desire:

We are not sure of sorrow,
 And joy was never sure;
 To-day will die to-morrow;
 Time stoops to no man's lure;
 And love, grown faint and fretful
 With lips but half regretful
 Sighs, and with eyes forgetful
 Weeps that no loves endure.
 From too much love of living,
 From hope and fear set free.

And also:

I am tired of tears and laughter,
 And men that laugh and weep;
 Of what may come hereafter
 For men that sow to reap:
 I am weary of days and hours,
 Blown buds of barren flowers,
 Desires and dreams and powers
 And every thing but sleep.

Analyzing the lines one sees the first line of Delavigne's sixth stanza reappearing in

To-day will die to-morrow.

Lines two and three of the French have an antithesis that probably suggested

We are not sure of sorrow,
 And joy was never sure.

In reading Delavigne did not Swinburne, by a flash of suggestion, think of the adjective "sure" when he saw the preposition "sur"? Such things do influence poets. The other lines in this French stanza may have suggested

With lips but half regretful

and the passage about "tears and laughter." The seventh stanza has some distinct pictures, imitated by Swinburne. "Pâleur" is reproduced in

Pale, without name or number.

The rest of the stanza is really given in

Though one were fair as roses,
His beauty clouds and closes—

where Swinburne has combined the images of the passing of the fresh color and the clouding of the eyes. In the eighth stanza of the French is the reference to the crowning with flowers. Swinburne, later on, pictures Proserpine as "crowned." The image of noiseless wings may have some kinship to

The old loves with wearier wings.

The third division of Delavigne's poem has less relation to Swinburne, although there are some significant resemblances. Delavigne pictures a feminine figure who is the centre of interest, a timid maiden who is afraid to mingle with other shades.

Belle enfant, calme tes douleurs;
Là sont des fruits, là sont des fleurs
Dont tu disposes.
Laisse-toi tenter, et, crois-moi,
Cueille ces roses sans effroi;
Car, bien que pâles comme toi,
Ce sont des roses.

But the maiden still weeps, and the last stanza of the French is:

Dieu permet-il qu'un souvenir
Laisse ton cœur entretenir
D'un bien qui ne peut revenir
L'idée amère?

“—Oui, je me souviens du passé,
 Du berceau vide où j'ai laissé
 Mon rêve à peine commencé,
 Et de ma mère.”

Swinburne, also, pictures a feminine figure, the centre of all things, but she is dominant, not fearful.

Pale, beyond porch and portal,
Crowned with calm leaves she stands
 Who *gathers* all things mortal
 With cold immortal hands;
 Her languid lips are sweeter
 Than love's who fears to greet her
 To men that *mix* and meet her
 From many times and lands.
 Forgets the earth her *mother*,
 The life of *fruits* and corn.

Here the italicized words have some kinship with the French. The word *mix* in Swinburne is far more intelligible if we remember the lines from Delavigne,

Qui ne mêle pas à leurs jeux
 Ses ailes blanches.

In concluding, Delavigne and Swinburne differ essentially. Swinburne asserts vehemently that there is no return to life:

Only the sleep eternal
 In an eternal night.

The relationships between the two poems may be summed up thus: The theme of each poem is the lower world; the development of the theme, in each poem, proceeds from a description of the natural aspects to a description of the wan, listless beings who inhabit this lower world, and concludes in a third section depicting a central feminine figure who is surrounded by

Dead dreams of days forsaken.

The philosophy of the two poets is entirely different, the imagery of the two poems has many resemblances. In every stanza of *The Garden of Proserpine* there is some phrase, line, or idea, which is similar to something in *Les Limbes*. There are some interesting instances of similar juxtaposition of detail, or phrase; and in stanza structure, cadence, melody, description of tenuous, hesitant beauty, the poems have a certain agreement.

May not the history of the creation of *The Garden of Proserpine* be as follows? Swinburne, who had been at work on *The Hymn to Proserpine*, where the doctrine of annihilation is vividly expressed, may have read Delavigne's poem. Certain lines and stanzas perhaps remained indelibly impressed upon his memory, and the music of the lines haunted him. Did he not blend the traditional home of Pluto, presided over by the pagan divinities, with Delavigne's *Limbo*, making a poem highly distinctive and vivid?

MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD.

V.—THE ROMANTICISM OF GUY DE MAUPASSANT

The naturalistic reaction against Romanticism was a more or less conscious return to classical models.¹ Romantic diffuseness was banished. The limpid prose of the classical *conteurs* came back to its own. The ideal of the naturalistic novelist was to maintain a classical, impersonal point of view, which rendered impossible the gushing of Romantic lyricism. Nineteenth-century science, heir to the *raison* of Rousseau's enemies, the *philosophes*, replaced Romantic emotion. Disdaining the fantastic plots of the Romanticists, the naturalists tended to make of their novels merely a series of scenes, like *Le Sage*, and like *Marivaux*.

Of such naturalism, the purest representative was Guy de Maupassant. David-Sauvageot compares his style to that of Racine and of Molière.² Jules Lemaître finds in *Bel-Ami* the clearness and concision of expression which characterized the French novelists of the eighteenth century.³ According to Georges Pellissier, his common sense and sane powers of observation rank him at once among the great French classical authors.⁴

Maupassant's literary form reflects the influence of Flaubert, whose passion for an abstract "*beau pur, un beau de toute éternité*"⁵ led him to admire unreservedly the classical technique of Boileau. "Ce vieux croûton de

¹ "La composition classique est plus voisine de la terre, et partant plus près de nous [*i. e.*, the realists]," A. David-Sauvageot, in Petit de Julleville's *Langue et littérature française*, VIII, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *Revue bleue* (3d series, no. 26), XLII, p. 802 (June 29, 1889).

⁴ Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁵ *Journal des Goncourt*, II, p. 159.

Boileau," wrote Flaubert, "vivra autant que qui que ce soit, parce qu'il a su faire ce qu'il a fait."⁶ Hence for seven years Flaubert inexorably consigned the imperfect *contes* and *nouvelles* of his pupil to the waste-basket. "Le talent n'est qu'un long travail," he would explain, quoting Buffon. Maupassant also drew suggestions from Mérimée, who was distinguished not only for an objectivity carried almost to the point of affectation, but also for his classical form, which had an important influence in the transition from the diffuseness of the Romanticists to the correctness of the naturalists. In his poetic effusions, also, Maupassant was chiefly influenced by Bouilhet, whose life ambition it was to be the author of one brief masterpiece, polished like a gem.

Even more than his master Flaubert, Maupassant achieved a reputation for impersonality.⁷ Brunetière declares that his works are as impersonal as those of the classical writers.⁸ Like La Bruyère, he took notes as a detached observer.⁹ Unfortunately, Maupassant, unlike his friend Marie Bashkirtseff, did not follow the example of the Goncourt brothers in publishing his *Journal*, which doubtless would have been as interesting to examine as the *calepins* of the impressionists or the *garde-manger* which

⁶ *Correspondance* (Conard edition), II, p. 138.

⁷ "Par ces théories, Flaubert se rapproche sensiblement de la doctrine classique, et son impassibilité ressemble fort à la raison du XVII^e siècle" (G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, 1912, p. 1074).

⁸ *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXXIX (1888), p. 697. Cf. Doumic, *ibid.*, 3d series, CXX (1893), p. 189: "Aussi l'impersonnalité est-elle le caractère qui frappe d'abord dans l'œuvre de Maupassant."

⁹ According to the testimony of M. Charles Lapierre, Maupassant declares that he kept a daily record of the occurrences which struck him as important. Cf. A. Lombroso, *Souvenirs sur Maupassant*, Rome, 1905, p. 612 (*Souvenirs intimes de M. Ch. Lapierre*).

Balzac mentions in his correspondence. Instead, he carried impersonality to such a degree as to profess that an author owes to his readers only his books. On that ground he refused to allow not only his notes, but even his photograph to be published.

Maupassant was also a classicist by his nearly exclusive study of the subject of man. With much gusto he quoted the classical motto, "Je tâche que rien de ce qui touche les hommes ne me soit étranger." It was the eternal human of Molière, and especially the eternal feminine of Racine, which attracted him.

In his observation of the human species, Maupassant, following the classicists, concentrated his attention upon the rational adult. In his writings we find no such joy in innocent babes as is expressed in poems like Hugo's *Lorsque l'enfant paraît*, no such idealization of childhood as distinguishes Rousseau's *Émile*. The children who play important parts in his stories are not quite as rare as the *Louisons* of the seventeenth century, but are apt to be confronted at an early age with the mysteries which belong to years of maturity. Little Simon, in *le Papa de Simon*, suffers cruelly because he is not treated like other boys. La petite Roque is the victim of a criminal assault at the age of twelve. *Châli*, and her companions, ranging between the ages of six and eight years, are already inmates of an Oriental harem. Children are mentioned frequently enough, as in *le Baptême*, *le Petit*, *une Famille*, etc., but are usually described not for themselves, but for the effect which they produce upon adults. Where they are not frankly regarded as a calamity, they are apt to be treated as part of the mechanism of the plot, like Astyanax and Joas.

By his very realism, Maupassant resembles the classicists. His master Flaubert had recognized the classical

principle of selection in art, and had thus tended to a realism which made of him what Faguet calls "une manière de Le Sage, plus pénétrant, plus vigoureux et plus amer. . . ." ¹⁰ Maupassant also, departing from the photographic art of the impressionists, attempted a realism which was "truer than truth itself." Therefore Zola was justified in comparing him with Molière, La Fontaine, etc., "ceux qui sont la raison et la lumière de notre littérature. . . ." ¹¹

Is it actually true, then, as critics have declared, that no lingering traces of Romanticism remain in Maupassant? ¹²

The answer to this question involves the perplexing problem of finding a definition for Romanticism. ¹³ On the one hand, shall we side with those who maintain that the Romantic spirit is something which we have always with us, sapping our reason by its sentimental riot, and paralyzing our wills by its fatalism? ¹⁴ On the other hand,

¹⁰ E. Faguet, *Flaubert in Grands écrivains français* (1913), p. 41.

¹¹ Maupassant, *Œuvres posthumes* (Conard edition), II, p. 223.

¹² Brunetière says that he is "plus naturaliste que Flaubert lui-même, en qui le romantique a subsisté jusqu'à son dernier jour, et les petits chefs-d'œuvre du naturalisme contemporain, c'est parmi les nouvelles de M. de Maupassant que l'on les trouvera" (*Revue des deux mondes*, LXXXIX [1888], p. 697). Faguet writes: "Si l'on veut plus tard étudier le réalisme bien en lui-même, soustraction faite de tout ce qui n'est lui, on éliminera peu à peu, les uns après les autres, seulement tous les romanciers du XIX^e siècle, et l'on ne retiendra que Maupassant comme nous ayant donné le réalisme tout pur . . ." (*Revue bleue*, LII, July 15, 1893). Pellissier observes: ". . . il est le plus naturaliste de nos romanciers, ou plutôt le seul vraiment naturaliste" (Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 214). Lanson, in a chapter having as one of its captions "Guy de Maupassant: un vrai, complet, pur réaliste," declares: "La répression de la sensibilité, l'étude sévère de l'objet, ne coûtaient aucune peine à Guy de Maupassant" (*op. cit.*, p. 1084).

¹³ See H. A. Beers, *English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, Chapter I.

¹⁴ Pierre Lasserre, *le Romantisme français* (1911), p. 541.

shall we join the party of those who believe that Romanticism was a movement which came to a head in France about 1830, furnished the inspiration for the greatest French literature and art during the nineteenth century, and was as good as dead about 1845? We have a wide range of choice; for the definitions of Romanticism are nearly as numerous as the authors who have written on the subject. Scientific critics who attempt to discuss it apparently become imbued with its spirit, and define it lyrically, in terms that fit their own feelings and emotions.

If we are to accept any of the broader definitions of Romanticism, we shall inevitably become involved in a discussion which is growing as trite as it has always been fruitless. Ever since Flaubert confessed that he felt within himself two men, one realistic, the other Romantic, there has been an endless series of books and pamphlets establishing to the author's satisfaction the Romanticism of various realistic, and classical authors. Zola was of course one of the first objects of attack. The Romantic side of his "naturalism" had early been exposed by Flaubert himself, and Zola had pleaded guilty. Numerous critics have since pointed out Romantic tendencies in those apostles of the *histoire vraie*, the Goncourt brothers, while Racine, St. Francis of Assisi, *et al.*, have received similar denunciation.

Doubtless this deluge of indictments may be attributed in part, at least, to the conflicting definitions of Romanticism. Yet, even if we accept the term in its most *classical* sense, and confine its meaning to the principles of the *Préface de Cromwell* and of the second *Cénacle*, it still denotes a literary field which nurtured to an astonishing degree the seeds of its own destruction. If it is probable that few elements of Romanticism, so understood, could not be discovered in classicism, it is certain that Romanti-

cism, as defined by Hugo, contained all the elements of naturalism.

In order to arrive at a common understanding of terms, let us select from the number of classical qualities which, as we have seen, are frequently credited to Maupassant, two upon which there is practical unanimity of opinion: (1) his realism, in the selective sense of the term; (2) his impersonality. It is as a sort of corollary to these two propositions in particular that critics have harmoniously advanced the assertion that Maupassant was the least Romantic of all the realists. We have thus the clue for a double-barreled definition of Romanticism, which, though arbitrary, will have at least the advantage of being appropriate to the occasion. The first term of our definition is suggested by M. Faguet, according to whose analysis "le fond du romantisme c'est l'horreur de la réalité et le désir ardent d'y échapper. Le romantisme est essentiellement romanesque."¹⁵ The second term will be taken from M. Lanson, who, in common with many other critics, feels that Romanticism is essentially lyrical, or subjective.¹⁶ Accordingly, all that is realism (in the selective sense of the term intended by Maupassant himself), all that is objectivity will be assigned summarily to the category of *realism*; all that is "horreur de la réalité," all that is subjectivity, will be similarly assigned to the category of *Romanticism*.

No claim is here advanced that the long-sought definition of Romanticism is thus formulated for the first time. Our one advantage is that, while using the word *Romanticism* in no strange or unusual sense, we succeed in making of it merely a convenient symbol for two qualities in which Maupassant was universally conceded to

¹⁵ E. Faguet, *Flaubert*, *cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁶ G. Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 930.

be eminently lacking. The two terms of the definition will be found to supplement each other. For example, exactly what is the "horreur de la réalité?"

It is obvious that a considerable portion of Maupassant's work deals with unreality. In stories like *le Horla* and *Lui* he treats the subject of hallucination. In *Qui sait?* he expresses doubt as to whether or not he may have been "le jouet d'une étrange vision." Around the phantom of la petite Roque centers the entire action of that tale of madness and remorse. Superstition, and even the supernatural, occupy an important place in his writings. The hero of *l'Apparition* can find no logical explanation for his adventure, the uncanny wolf in *un Loup* is endowed with nearly human faculties, while *Misti* is the tale of a cat having human passions. There are also instances, too frequent to enumerate, where the author is concerned with an emotionalism which runs counter to reason. It is a vast world of unreality which Maupassant discloses to his readers. Does he therefore become by definition Romantic?

By the second term of our definition, the answer is in the negative, provided he maintains an impartial, objective point of view—the classical impersonality on which critics have insisted in connection with Maupassant. As David-Sauvageot remarks, realism may properly be a study of the nightmares of delirium tremens. However, let the author cease to study such examples of the vagaries of the human intellect as mere *phenomena*, and attempt to intervene personally in his narrative to prejudice the feelings of his reader—he has failed as a realist, because he has sacrificed that impersonality which is absolutely essential to his success.

For example, Maupassant is a realist so long as, from the point of view of a detached observer, he depicts in

le Testament M. de Bourneval, an avowed Rousseauist, who knows by heart the *Contrat social* and the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. But when Maupassant, speaking through the mouth of the supposed narrator of the story, declares himself violently in favor of Rousseauism, because of its "bouleversement—de notre morale imbécile,"¹⁷ he demonstrates that he himself is a prejudiced witness, guilty of special pleading, and of precisely the kind of emotionalism of which *le Testament* is supposed to be an objective study. His effort to work upon the feelings of the reader is especially manifest at the conclusion of the story:

"Eh bien, je dis que le testament de ma mère est une des choses les plus belles, les plus loyales, les plus grandes qu'une femme puisse accomplir. N'est-ce pas votre avis?"

Je lui tendis les deux mains: "Oui, certainement, mon ami."¹⁸

The answer to the question as to what extent Maupassant was Romantic will be found, however, to depend somewhat on general considerations. Shall we limit realism to the narrow meaning understood by the author, as referring only to the immediate present, to the world of sense and flesh? Or shall we understand it in a broader way, as embracing the universe of sense and of flesh, of the past as well as of the present?

I. Let us first meet the author on his own grounds and consider realism only in the narrow meaning which he intended. If we so confine our observations, we shall find that on the whole he gives a greater impression of reality than any other French fiction writer of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, a close examination will reveal certain Romantic tendencies even here—both in his fundamental point of view and in matters of technique,

¹⁷ *Le Testament*, in *Contes de la décadence*, pp. 159, 160.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

such as his style and his methods of assembling materials. In his point of view, as we have already begun to note, there was frequently a subjective tendency, an exaggerated *ego*. This excessive emphasis on the *moi* in his writings is proved, (1) by the author's expressed revolt against his mission in life; (2) by the manner in which he carries that spirit of revolt beyond the bounds of his own personality, and puts it into the mouths of his characters—especially when it is a question of a revolt against law and society in favor of the instincts; (3) by his pleas for emotional justice, the logical result of his championship of the instincts against the reason—the author's purpose being, here in particular, clearly propaganda, not an objective study of character; (4) by his occasional revels in the emotionalism of dreams, which he prefers to the harshness of waking reality.

These four headings under which I purpose to divide the manifestations of Maupassant's subjectivity will now be discussed separately.

1. The author's exaggerated *ego* is very apparent in the little manifesto which he issued regarding his mission in life. Like Hugo, who called himself the lighthouse of mankind and the "Memnon" of Napoleon's "soleil," he feels that an author has a *calling* which obliges him to enlighten his fellows. If Musset has the figure of a poet eating his heart out in order to provide verses for humanity, as the pelican dies for its young, so Maupassant makes a painful confession of the suffering which his destiny as a man of letters causes him:

Je porte en moi cette seconde vue qui est en même temps toute la force et toute la misère des écrivains. J'écris parce que je comprends, et je souffre de tout ce qui est parce que je le connais trop—et surtout parce que sans le pouvoir goûter je le regarde en moi-même dans le miroir de ma pensée.

Qu'on ne nous envie pas, mais qu'on nous plaigne, car voici en quoi l'homme de lettres diffère de ses semblables. . . .¹⁹

2. The number of Maupassant's stories in which his characters are evidently his mouthpiece, and in which the purpose of the author appears to be propaganda rather than an undistorted reflection of the truth, is considerable. The refrain is always the same: a Rousseauistic revolt against all that tends to repress instincts and passions, for the sake of which he invariably enters the lists against classical *raison*.

In the following passage, he pleads for the primitive savage idealized by Rousseau and his followers:

On a fait des lois qui combattent nos instincts, il le fallait; mais les instincts toujours sont les plus forts, et on a tort de leur résister, puisqu'ils viennent de Dieu, tandis que les lois ne viennent que des hommes.²⁰

Maupassant attacks not only man-made laws, in the name of a naturalistic Deity that would be acceptable to the vicar of Savoy, but also man-made conventionality, the propriety of the *honnête homme*:

C'était vraiment une image admirable et naïve de la passion simple, de la passion charnelle et pudique cependant, telle que la nature l'avait mise dans les êtres avant que l'homme l'eût compliquée et défigurée par toutes les nuances du sentiment.²¹

Sponsor as he is for all the instincts, he reserves his most sympathetic treatment for the paternal instinct, which in his work plays a weightier rôle than that of motherhood. In fact, the paternal instinct becomes in his writings a sort of hobby, which he lugs in on every possible occasion. The first of the stories entitled *le Baptême*²²

¹⁹ *Sur l'eau*, p. 80.

²⁰ *Les Conseils d'une grand'mère*, in *la Maison Tellier*, p. 283.

²¹ *Berthe*, in *Yvette*, pp. 264-265. ²² *Miss Harriet*, pp. 245-253.

is a case in point. More than one reader of this *conte* has been rather taken aback by its unexpected conclusion, where the guests at a christening find the priest, whose desire for offspring of his own must forever go unsatisfied, sobbing over the bedside of the child. The reader's sense of surprise is apt to persist, even after he reviews the apparently logical development which the author has given to his narrative here, as always. If we go further into the matter, and consider some of Maupassant's other stories, we shall reach the conclusion that the *dénoûment* of *le Baptême* is only another instance of the author's tendency to create characters not objectively, but as spokesmen for a favorite theory. In *un Fils*, the father of a degraded son is represented as declaring: "Et je sens, parfois, d'intolérables envies de l'embrasser."²³ It is in his instinct of paternity that Mme Parent is able to afflict her husband most cruelly.²⁴ Also, in *Clair de lune*, the author alludes feelingly to "cette sensation de paternité qui sommeille en tout homme."²⁵

3. Before taking up the third heading under which our author's subjectivity is here treated, namely his pleas for emotional justice, let us glance for a moment at his biography, which will confirm our suspicion that in him, as in the author of *Salammbô* and of *la Tentation de Saint Antoine*, there was a latent Romanticism. In 1876, we find him actually attempting an historical novel, the *Princesse de Béthune*, in defiance of Zola's ideas regarding

²³ *Contes de la décasse*, p. 212.

²⁴ *M. Parent*, in the collection of that title, pp. 44 ff.

²⁵ *Clair de lune*, in the collection of that title, p. 6. Cf. *la Confession*, in *Toine*, p. 233: "Les pères, voyez-vous, n'aiment que plus tard. Ils n'ont point la tendresse instinctive et emportée des mères; il faut que leur affection s'éveille peu à peu, que leur esprit s'attache par des liens qui se nouent chaque jour entre les êtres vivants ensemble."

the *Théâtre naturaliste*.²⁶ After the publication of the *Soirées de Médan*, apparently he recanted. In a letter to the director of the *Gaulois*, he made a vehement attack upon the Romanticists, on account of whose influence theatrical halls could not tolerate a simple rascal on the stage. "C'est la morale romantique des foules qui force souvent les tribunaux à acquitter des particuliers et des drôlessees attendrissantes, mais sans excuse."²⁷

Despite this plea for classical *raison*, the scenes of a considerable number of Maupassant's stories are laid in the court house. Sometimes the author is comical or satirical, but more often his sympathies are most subjectively on the side of the accused. Virtually without exception, the narrative ends with the statement that the accused was acquitted. The author's art is to palliate the crime as much as possible in the eyes of the reader.

In *un Parricide*, George Louis (no surname), called Le Bourgeois, is guilty of slaying his father and mother. In the trial he explains that he committed the crime in the heat of passion, because his parents had refused to recognize him. The case was carried over to the next session.²⁸ Warden Cavalier is the hero of *le Garde*.²⁹ He finds his nephew poaching on the grounds of his employer, M. Boniface, and punishes him severely. For revenge, the nephew sets fire to the house where his uncle is sleeping. Cavalier, awakened in time, shoots his nephew as he scampers away. The jury acquits him.

Jean-Nicolas Lougère is the cashier de M. Langlais. As

²⁶ *Correspondance*, in *Boule de suif*, p. xcix (Letter to Flaubert dated November 19, 1876).

²⁷ *Les Soirées de Médan—Comment ce livre a été fait*, in *Boule de suif*, p. 83.

²⁸ *Un Parricide*, in *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 185-195.

²⁹ *Le Garde*, in *Yvette*, pp. 233-247.

he finds existence monotonous after the death of Mme Lougère, he marries the cash-girl of a café. On account of her bad influence in the household, Langlais dismisses Lougère. Lougère kills his employer with a pair of scissors. The jury acquits him.³⁰

Rosalie Prudent is acquitted after confessing to having murdered her twin children, because her income of twenty francs per month is insufficient for their support. At the end of her testimony, half the jury is sobbing.³¹

4. The author occasionally strikes a lyrical note as he revels in the emotionalism of dreams. Jean Jacques Rousseau himself, indulging in delicious vagabond's dreams on the way to the orphanage at Turin to be confirmed, might have written this passage in *Julie Romain*: "Quoi de plus doux que de songer, en allant à grands pas sur la route?"³² Nay, rather the author recalls those troubadour dreamers, Jaufré Rudel and Arnaud de Marneil, who frankly desire to go on sleeping forever, rather than return to waking reality. In *Réveil* he declares: "Ce fut (la réalité n'a pas de ces extases), ce fut une seconde, d'un bonheur suraigu et surhumain, idéal et charnel, affolant, inoubliable."³³ The story concludes with the words: "Il n'y a que les rêves de bons dans la vie."

Let us leave the question of Maupassant's point of view, wherein there are seen to be subjective tendencies. Mat-

³⁰ *L'Assassin*, in *le Rosier de Madame Husson*, pp. 113-122.

³¹ *Rosalie Prudent*, in *la petite Roque*, pp. 145-152. The following stories of acquittals by juries have comical or satirical elements: *les Bécasses*, in *Monsieur Parent*, pp. 201-216; *Denis*, in *Miss Harriet*, pp. 167-180; *une Vente*, in *le Rosier de Madame Husson*, pp. 99-110; *le Trou*, in *le Horta*, pp. 65-76. *Au Bois*, in *Le Horta*, pp. 167-169, has sentimental tendencies.

³² *Julie Romain*, in *la petite Roque*, p. 203.

³³ *Réveil*, in *Mlle Fifa*, p. 132.

ters of technique will now be treated under the headings of (1) style, and (2) method of assembling materials.

1. In general it may be remarked that if Maupassant fails rather often in the cold objectivity and impressiveness of the classicist, it is somewhat more difficult to discover Romantic tendencies in his nearly impeccable style. Like Mérimée, he does not indulge in the orgies of description which marred the work of Chateaubriand and his disciples. It is perhaps only by a comparison of Maupassant's writings with those of the novelists of the eighteenth century that we may observe the impress which the Romantic convulsion made upon his style. The non-realistic or Romantic qualities of his style will be found to consist principally of little tricks, such as (a) exoticism, or (b) the pathetic fallacy, which he introduces for the sake of dramatic effect.

(a) Maupassant's story entitled *l'Épingle* has the same theme as the masterpiece of Abbé Prévost. As Maupassant remarks: "Cette fille-là, c'est Manon Lescaut revenue. C'est Manon qui ne pourrait pas aimer sans tromper, Manon, pour qui l'amour, le plaisir et l'argent ne font qu'un . . ." ³⁴ However, Maupassant's story has an exotic setting altogether unknown to the classical *conteurs*:

C'était loin, bien loin d'ici, sur une côte fertile et brûlante. Nous suivions, depuis le matin, le rivage couvert de récoltes et la mer bleue couverte de soleil. Des fleurs poussaient tout près des vagues, des vagues légères, si douces, endormantes. Il faisait chaud; c'était une molle chaleur, parfumée de terre grasse, humide et féconde; on croyait respirer des germes.

(b) The author is not content with transporting his reader from everyday reality, to a distant shore, with enchanted lights and aromas, where anything may happen.

³⁴ *L'Épingle*, in *Monsieur Parent*, p. 195.

By a sort of pathetic fallacy, he makes these natural phenomena accord sympathetically with the progress of the story. As the narrative begins, he remarks: "Le soleil baissait . . ." After the conversation has begun, he observes: "Derrière nous, le soleil s'enfonçait dans la mer, jetant sur la côte un brouillard de feu. Les orangers en fleurs exhalaient dans l'air du soir leur arôme violent et délicieux. Lui ne voyait rien que moi . . ." At the next stage of the story:

C'était l'heure crépusculaire où le soleil disparu n'éclaire plus la terre que par les reflets du ciel.

Il reprit:

—Est-ce que Jeanne de Limours vit encore?

The sunset and the odor of the orange-blossoms mark also the conclusion of the tale:

Voilà dix ans que je ne l'ai vue, et je l'aime plus que jamais!

La nuit s'était répandue sur la terre. Un parfum puissant d'orangers flottait dans l'air.

Even further from an unimpassioned reflection of reality is the use of the pathetic fallacy in describing the forest where la petite Roque was murdered. Maupassant speaks of . . . "de grandes larmes versées par les grands arbres tristes qui pleuraient jour et nuit sur la fin de l'année . . . et aussi peut-être sur le crime qu'ils avaient vu commettre sous leur ombre, sur l'enfant violée et tuée à leur pied."³⁵ In the same strain Byron, in *Childe Harold*, represents the forest of Ardennes as

Grieving, if aught inanimate e'er grieves,
O'er the unreturning brave. . . .

In this connection may be mentioned perhaps an exam-

³⁵ *La petite Roque*, in the collection of that title, p. 33.

ple of Romantic vertigo worthy also of *Childe Harold*. The case in point belongs as much to the instances of subjectivity as to those of lack of realism in the style of the author. As usual, when he is subjective, the author is making a plea for the instincts. In *Au Bois*, poor Mme Beaurain, with whom the author apparently sympathizes on the whole, is far from being coldly objective when she views the beauties of natural scenery. She exclaims:

Moi, quand il fait beau, aussi bien maintenant qu'autrefois, je deviens bête à pleurer, et quand je suis à la campagne, je perds la tête. La verdure, les oiseaux qui chantent, les blés qui remuent au vent, les hirondelles, qui vont si vite, l'odeur de l'herbe, les coquelicots, les marguerites, tout ça me rend folle! "

2. Our second consideration in connection with the lack of realism in matters of technique is the author's method of assembling his materials. However, this method is almost inseparably connected with the nature of the materials themselves. The opinion usually held is that Maupassant, making impartial, objective observations, carefully recorded his data in notebooks. As a matter of fact, we shall find that some of his materials are not the result of original observations at all, but of imitation of other authors, some of them unquestionably Romantic. Furthermore, even where his materials are apparently original, there is probably a certain bias in his system of observation, as is shown by the frequency with which he comes to treat the favorite themes of the Romantic school.

Before entering into the complicated details connected with Maupassant's method of gathering data, therefore, let us glance for a moment in a general way at his choice of themes, which alone lays him open to the suspicion of a kinship with the chief apostles of Romanticism.

" *Au Bois*, in *le Horla*, p. 165.

It is extremely unlikely that our author ever read *Don Juan*. Yet was it his selective realism, or his natural affinity for Byron and the Satanic school which caused him to reproduce several scenes in the poem which so greatly influenced the French Romanticists of the early 30's?

Julia, vainly attempting to resist handsome Don Juan,

. . . prays the Virgin Mary for her grace,
As being the best judge of a lady's case."³⁷

It was all in vain, for the instant Don Juan appeared

That night the Virgin was no longer prayed."³⁸

Mme Walter, seeking to avoid temptation, tries to pray, but sees only the curly mustache of "Bel-Ami."³⁹

When Julia yields:

A little she strove, and much repented,
And whispering "I will n'er consent"—consented."⁴⁰

So Mme Guilleroy, fascinated by Olivier Bertin,

. . . voulut crier, lutter, le repousser, mais elle se donnait en se débattant, elle l'étreignait en criant: "Non, non, je ne veux pas."⁴¹

The boy whose irresistibly handsome features Julia caressed; the man whose cheek innocent Haidée was constrained to stroke; Antony, who, fascinated Adèle with his eye; Bel-Ami, who captured all women, from the courtesan at the Folies-Bergères to the wife of his employer—are of one and the same extraordinary *genus*. Whether examples of realism or Romanticism, they stand or fall together.

The same may be said for the too frequent tales of incest in Maupassant's works, which call to mind the

³⁷ *Don Juan*, Canto I, LXXV.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, LXXVI.

³⁹ *Bel-Ami*, p. 405.

⁴⁰ *Don Juan*, I, CXVII.

⁴¹ *Fort comme la mort*, p. 40.

Manfreds of the Satanic school, if not the *Renés* of the Emmanuel school.

We come now to the consideration of another favorite theme among the writers of the so-called Romantic school—that of the sinful woman ennobled by lofty sentiments in general and by love in particular—by an amorous passion in *Marion Delorme* and in *la Dame aux camélias*, by maternal affection in *Lucrèce Borgia*. The theme was only a variation of the numerous stories of the outlaw purified by love, as in *Belvédère*, *Jean Sbogar*, *Argow le pirate*, *Bug-Jargal*, *Hernani*, even in *les Misérables*. The avowed Romanticists who treated this theme might well claim here, as elsewhere, the Middle Ages as their source of inspiration, for had not Guido Guinicelli, in his *Amor e cor gentile*, declared that love, *which purifies all things*, can reside only in a noble heart?

The theme of the rehabilitated courtesan was also treated several times by Maupassant. In *Boule de suif*, the courtesan is the heroine, society is the offender. In the sequel, *Mlle Fifi*,⁴² the courtesan is vindicated. After killing a Prussian officer, for patriotic reasons, she was married by a patriot without prejudices who loved her for her splendid deed, as well as for herself, and “*en fit une dame qui valut autant que beaucoup d’autres.*”

By our definition, was this theme Romantic or realistic?

It appears that it was realistic. We are informed that, so far from being a figment of Romanticism, the heroine of *Boule de suif* and of *Mlle Fifi* actually lived, her real name being Adrienne Legay.⁴³ In fact, a critic who has made a most valuable contribution to the collection of

⁴² A. Lumbroso, *Souvenirs sur Maupassant*, p. 147 and note 1 (*l'Enfance et la jeunesse de Maupassant*, by A. Brisson, being an interview with Mme de Maupassant).

⁴³ A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 ff.

documents relative to Maupassant assures us that it would have been possible for our author to "inscrire en marge le nom exact de la plupart de ses personnages, avec celui du hameau, du bourg, théâtre de l'action." ⁴⁴

Despite such scrupulous realism, no basis in fact has yet been offered for the very essential *dénoûments* of *Boule de suif* and of *Mlle Fifi*. In the case of *Boule de suif*, the only evidence we possess is the indignant denial of the heroine. ⁴⁵ As for the other story, it is perhaps significant to compare the flourishing lady described at the conclusion of *Mlle Fifi* with the real Adrienne Legay, dying in utter destitution, or, according to some reports, committing suicide because she was unable to endure her wretchedness. ⁴⁶

Are we to believe that the favorable outcome of *Mlle Fifi* was the result of selective realism, or was it merely imitation—conscious or unconscious—of Romantic forebears? Perhaps Maupassant's own enthusiastic declaration that "des filles épousées deviennent en peu de temps de remarquables femmes du monde. . . ." ⁴⁷ may help to determine whether he had his prejudices in the matter.

Possibly even more light may be turned upon this subject by the consideration of Maupassant's regular method of assembling data. Nevertheless, it is here absolutely necessary to distinguish between realistic theory and realistic effect. In theory, we shall find upon analysis that Maupassant's method is as fallacious as that of the avowed Romanticists. In practice, he is saved from excesses by his usually sane powers of observation. Theoretically, he professes merely to reproduce faithfully what he has seen

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147 (Testimony of Mme de Maupassant).

⁴⁷ *Réponse à M. Albert Wolff*, in *Mlle Fifi*, p. 279.

or heard. In theory, at least, he fails, because he is constantly guilty of juggling his materials to suit himself, or perhaps even of altering them altogether. This arbitrary handling of supposedly realistic observations in order to produce a desired result is especially evident, (a) in his complete alteration of his *dénoûments*; (b) in his mechanical shifting of episodes or descriptions from one situation to another.

(a) It is small wonder that the *dénoûment* of *Mlle Fifi* does not seem to accord with the facts in the biography of Adrienne Legay. Changes of the sort apparent here were only a part of the author's regular procedure. Repeatedly he told the same tale with two exactly opposite *dénoûments*. Nor do we have here to deal with mere narratives of adventure, where the outcome may perfectly well be heads or tails, according to the caprice of fate. The conclusion in each case—particularly in that of *un Lâche*, the last of the stories with a double ending to be considered here—was a carefully prepared *dénoûment*, in which the conduct of the principal actors of the drama was foreshadowed by character analysis. The question arises: Was Maupassant, advocate of an extra-penetrating realism, actually, to adopt an algebraical simile, only the exponent of a sort of psychological square-root, for which the result might be equally well either a plus or a minus answer?

Let us consider a few examples.

One of Maupassant's stories with a double-ending is found in *les Dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris*. It here appears that the hero, M. Patissot, on one of his long tramps, meets a married couple who have lost their way.⁴⁸ Desiring to be of service, he convinces them by his map

⁴⁸ *Les Dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris*, in *Œuvres posthumes*, II, pp. 11 ff.

that they are at Versailles, instead of being on their way to Rueil, as they suppose. Suddenly the husband, discovering that he has lost his pocketbook, starts in search of it, amid the imprecations of his wife. Patissoot continues the journey with the wife, but all have agreed to meet at Versailles. Eventually Patissoot and the lady find themselves at Bougival, not at Versailles. At a restaurant they take a meal, for which Patissoot naturally pays, because the lady's pocketbook has been lost. Then, as she is now orientated, she returns homeward, refusing to allow the bewildered Patissoot to accompany her.

Four years later, Maupassant republished this story as *Souvenir*.⁴⁹ In the second version, the incidents, and even the language remained almost identical with the original up to the *dénoûment*. The resemblance may be observed by a comparison of the following passages:

*Les Dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris*⁵⁰

Devant lui s'ouvrait une ravissante allée dont le feuillage un peu grêle laissait pleuvoir partout, sur le sol, des gouttes de soleil qui illuminaient des marguerites blanches cachées dans les herbes. Elle était allongée interminablement, et vide, et calme.

Seul, un gros frelon solitaire et bourdonnant la suivait, s'arrêtant parfois sur une fleur qu'il inclinait, et repartait presque aussitôt pour se reposer encore un peu plus loin. Son corps énorme semblait en velours brun rayé de jaune, porté par des ailes trans-

*Souvenir*⁵¹

Devant moi, s'ouvrit une ravissante allée, dont le feuillage un peu grêle laissait pleuvoir partout sur le sol des gouttes du soleil qui illuminaient des marguerites blanches. Elle s'allongeait interminablement, vide et calme. Seul, un gros frelon solitaire et bourdonnant la suivait, s'arrêtait parfois pour boire une fleur qui se penchait sous lui et repartait presque aussitôt pour se reposer encore un peu plus loin. Son corps énorme semblait en velours brun rayé de jaune, porté par des ailes transparentes

⁴⁹ *Souvenir*, in *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 261-293.

⁵⁰ *Les Dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris*, cit., pp. 14, 15.

⁵¹ *Souvenir*, cit., pp. 265, 266.

parentes, et démesurément petites. . . .

Dès qu'il se fut remis debout, il aperçut là-bas, très loin, deux personnes qui venaient vers lui en faisant des signes. Une femme agita son ombrelle, et un homme, en manches de chemise, portait sa redingote sur son bras.

et démesurément petites.

Mais tout à coup j'aperçus au bout de l'allée deux personnes, un homme et une femme, qui venaient vers moi. . . . La femme en effet agita son ombrelle, et l'homme, en manches de chemise, la redingote sur un bras, élevait l'autre en signe de détresse.

The *dénoûment* of *Souvenir*, however, is entirely different from that of the original. When the restaurant is reached the lady, instead of refusing to allow her cavalier to accompany her, consents.

On another occasion, M. Patissot listens to the unhappy story of a Norman whom he meets by chance.⁵² The Norman relates how he met a certain Victorine, in the street, one day. Though she pleased him very much, he dared not accost her, but glanced at her in a manner easily understood. The next day, meeting her in the same place, he was less abashed. He saluted her, and she smiled back. The third day he had the courage to address her. She consented to go to his house, where they were surprised by the young man's uncle, who disinherited him. The girl fled.

Four years later, Maupassant reverted to this theme. One day, he says, he met a certain Emma in the street. A significant look was exchanged. The next day he saw her in the same place. Finally he mustered up the courage to speak to her. She consented to go to his house. This time it was the landlady who surprised them, and the conclusion is entirely different from that of the original.⁵³

As M. Maynial has already pointed out, the story

⁵² *Les Dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris*, *oit.*, p. 51, etc.

⁵³ *La Patronne*, in *les Sœurs Rondoli*, p. 67, etc.

entitled *un Lâche*⁵⁴ is practically a word for word reproduction of the episode of the duel in *Bel-Ami*.⁵⁵ Let us compare the following:

Bel-Ami

. . . Et ce doute l'envahit, cette inquiétude, cette épouvante! Si une force plus puissante que sa volonté, dominatrice, irrésistible le domptait, qu'arriverait-il? Oui, que pouvait-il arriver?

Certes il irait sur le terrain puisqu'il voulait y aller. Mais s'il tremblait? Mais s'il perdait connaissance? Et il songea à sa situation, à sa réputation, à son avenir.⁵⁶

Un Lâche

Et ce doute l'envahit, cette inquiétude, cette épouvante; si une force plus puissante que sa volonté, dominatrice, irrésistible, le domptait, qu'arriverait-il? Oui, que pouvait-il arriver? Certes il irait sur le terrain puisqu'il voulait y aller. Mais s'il tremblait? Mais s'il perdait connaissance? Et il songea à sa situation, à sa réputation, à son nom.⁵⁷

In the duel described in *Bel-Ami* nobody is hurt, and the whole affair is treated rather lightly by the author; in *un Lâche*, the *dénoûment* is a suicide.

Thus it is evident that in the matter of *dénoûments*, at least, Maupassant was theoretically less realistic than many of the chief apostles of the so-called Romantic school, because they, in treating historical subjects—in *Henri III et sa cour* and in the fantastic *Ruy Blas*—were obliged to create a background that was fairly in accord with well-known facts. Indeed, nearly all the historical dramas of the Romantic school were more or less prodigious evocations of the past. In so far as these dramas were false to history they have been made the target of a pitiless criticism. Maupassant, on the other hand, dealing with the more obscure characters of everyday life, was able to alter his materials at will and with impunity.

⁵⁴ *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 107-121. See E. Maynial, *la Composition dans les romans de Maupassant*, in *Revue bleue*, vol. LXXII, p. 607 (Nov. 7, 1903).

⁵⁵ *Bel-Ami*, p. 238.

⁵⁶ *Bel-Ami*, pp. 236 ff.

⁵⁷ *Un Lâche*, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

(b) The juggling of plots was only the beginning of his method. He resorted even more frequently to the practice of using certain favorite episodes or descriptions over and over again, often without the flimsiest pretext of adapting his material to the different situations. In fact, in many cases, there was little or no alteration of the verbiage from one story or description to another.⁵⁸

Only a glimpse at this phase of Maupassant's work will be attempted here, as M. Maynial has already made valuable investigations of the use of the *nouvelles* in Maupassant's novels,⁵⁹ while the editors of the definitive edition have greatly supplemented M. Maynial's contributions, especially in their notes on the *Œuvres posthumes*.

In the tragic tale entitled *l'Aveu*, which later appeared in the *Contes du jour et de la nuit* as *la Confession*, Marguerite de Thérèlles confesses on her death-bed to the murder of Henry de Sampierre, *fiancé* of her sister Suzanne. Beside herself with jealousy, she had accomplished the crime by giving Henry some cakes containing ground glass. About four years later, Maupassant returned to this story, the villain now being a teacher named Moiron, who had lost his own children, and was insanely jealous of other men whose offspring survived. He utilized

⁵⁸ Allowance should be made for the fact that repetitions were almost inevitable in view of the enormous production of the author—more than two hundred short stories in ten years, not to mention novels and books of travel. The situation was aggravated by his publisher, Victor Havard, who was forever goading him for more copy. "Yvette et les 5 contes vont faire un volume de 246 à 250 pages," wrote Havard on October 15, 1884; "c'est un peu court pour un volume de nouvelles. Et cependant il n'était pas possible de 'blanchir' davantage, car c'est le même texte que *Miss Harriet*" (A. Lombroso, *op. cit.*, p. 397).

⁵⁹ E. Maynial, *op. cit.* Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 563 ff.

his position to administer to children under his charge cakes containing ground glass, with fatal results.⁶⁰

The enriched courtesan, Mlle Victorine Charlotte Cachelin, in *l'Héritage*, was an excellent business woman. In discussing her financial matters she "racontait sa fortune avec la complaisance d'un vieux soldat qui dit ses campagnes. Elle énumérait ses achats, les propositions qu'on lui avait faites depuis, les plus-values, etc."⁶¹ In *Divorce*, we find Mlle Cachelin's picture over again. Here also the heroine, the wealthy courtesan Mlle Chante-frise, had a level head for business affairs. "Elle en parla aussitôt en femme pratique, sûre d'elle, sûre des chiffres, des titres, des revenus, des intérêts et des placements."⁶²

In *un Million*, Léopold Bonnin (Lesable in *l'Héritage*) finds that his wife can only inherit the fortune of her aunt in case a child is born within three years. Mme Luneau, in *le Cas de Madame Luneau*, likewise finds that she can prevent the property of her deceased husband, Anthime Isidore, from reverting to his family, only in case a child is born to her within ten months. The Frédéric Morel of *un Million* (Maze in *l'Héritage*) plays a rôle similar to that of Hippolyte Lacour in *le Cas de Madame Luneau*.⁶³

The descriptions of hallucination in *Lui* and in *la petite Roque* have one marked feature in common. In *Lui*, the author relates how he felt an irresistible impulse to look again at the arm-chair, in which his spectral visitor had appeared to sit.⁶⁴ In *la petite Roque* Renardet,

⁶⁰ *La Confession*, p. 283. Cf. Moiron, in *Clair de lune*, pp. 193-204.

⁶¹ *l'Héritage*, in *Miss Harriet*, p. 71.

⁶² *Divorce*, in *le Rosier de Madame Husson*, p. 181.

⁶³ *Un Million*, in *Miss Harriet (Appendice)*, p. 332. Cf. *l'Héritage* in the same volume, pp. 39-164, and *le Cas de Madame Luneau*, in *les sœurs Rondoli*, pp. 153-162. ⁶⁴ *Lui*, in *les Sœurs Rondoli*, p. 101.

resist as he will, is compelled to peer once more through the window, where he is well aware that he will behold again the phantom of his little victim, lying on the spot where the crime was committed.⁶⁵

Two stories of illicit love, *un Fils* and *le Père*, are alike in their recital of the progress of passion. The eighteen-year-old servant girl in *un Fils*, returning at midnight after a deliberate absence, apparently undergoes the same inner struggle as Louise, in *le Père*, who returns to François Tessier after nine days.⁶⁶

In *les Bijoux*, M. Lantin finds that the jewels acquired by his wife, which he had supposed to be merely paste imitations, are really genuine. The famous story entitled *la Parure*, published a year later, furnishes the reverse side of the medallion. The necklace of Mme Forestier, supposed to be genuine, turns out to be false.⁶⁷

The most striking instance of Maupassant's repetition of episodes has already been pointed out by M. Maynial. In *une Vie*, Jeanne discovers some old love-letters, and reads them over with tragic results. This story is found also in *Père Milon* and in *Nos lettres*. To this list, Miss A. R. Riddell, in her forthcoming thesis on *Flaubert and Maupassant*, adds *Suicides*, *la Veillée*, *le Pardon*, and *l'Ordonnance*.

Not only repetitions of themes and plots, but also of phraseology were frequent in Maupassant's writings. It was as if he had certain formulas, that never needed to be worked over to fit the occasion. Compare the following

⁶⁵ *La petite Roque*, in the collection of that title, p. 55.

⁶⁶ *Un Fils*, in *Contes de la bécasse*, pp. 202, 203. Cf. *le Père*, in *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 36, 37.

⁶⁷ *Les Bijoux*, in *Clair de lune*, pp. 139-152. Cf. *la Parure*, in *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 57-74.

descriptions of vehicles in *la Maison Tellier* and in *la Ficelle*:

La Maison Tellier

Quand les chevaux furent à l'écurie, il y eut ainsi tout le long de la grande route une double ligne de guimbardes rustiques, charrettes, cabriolets, tilburys, chars à bancs, voitures de toute forme et de tout âge, penchées sur le nez ou bien cul par terre et les brancards au ciel.¹¹

La Ficelle

. . . comme la vaste cour était pleine de véhicules de toute race, charrettes, cabriolets, chars à bancs, tilburys, carrioles innombrables, jaunes de crotte, déformées, levant au ciel, comme deux bras, leurs brancards, ou bien le nez par terre et le derrière en l'air.¹²

In *une Vie*, Mme Adélaïde weeps thus:

. . . Ses pleurs, des pleurs bruyants poussés comme par un soufflet de forge, semblaient lui sortir en même temps du nez, de la bouche et des yeux. . .¹³

Renardet, under stress of emotion, weeps in similar fashion:

. . . il poussa une sorte d'éternuement bruyant qui lui sortit en même temps par le nez et par la bouche: et tirant son mouchoir de sa poche, il se mit à pleurer dedans, toussant, sanglotant et se mouchant avec bruit.¹⁴

M. Chantal, in the climax of *Mlle Perle*, breaks down likewise:

Il pleurait d'une façon désolante et ridicule, comme pleure une éponge qu'on presse, par les yeux, par le nez et la bouche en même temps. Et il toussait, crachait, se mouchait dans le linge à craie, s'essuyait les yeux, éternuait, recommençait à couler par toutes les fentes de son visage, avec un bruit de gorge qui faisait penser aux gargarismes.¹⁵

¹¹ *La Maison Tellier*, in the collection of that title, p. 29.

¹² *La Ficelle*, in *Miss Harriet*, p. 218.

¹³ *Une Vie*, p. 83.

¹⁴ *La petite Roque*, in the collection of that title, p. 18.

¹⁵ *Mlle Perle*, in *la petite Roque*, p. 136.

The following description of flies crawling over a corpse is found in *En famille*:

... et sur le drap, sur la face aux yeux fermés, sur les deux mains allongées, des petites mouches grimpait, allaient, venaient, se promenaient sans cesse, visitaient la vieille, attendant leur heure prochaine."⁷⁵

In *la petite Roque*, this description becomes more detailed, and a witticism is added:

... Une grosse mouche à ventre bleu, qui se promenait le long d'une cuisse, s'arrêta sur les taches de sang, repartit, remontant toujours, parcourant le flanc de sa marche vive et saccadée, grimpa sur un sein, puis redescendit pour explorer l'autre, cherchant quelque chose à boire sur cette morte. Les deux hommes regardaient ce point noir errant.

Le médecin dit: "Comme c'est joli, une mouche sur la peau. Les dames du dernier siècle avaient bien raison de s'en coller sur la figure. Pourquoi a-t-on perdu cet usage-là?"⁷⁶

The taking of an oath in rustic communities is described always with the same formula. In *la Ficelle*: "Le paysan [Maître Hauchecorne], furieux, leva la main, cracha de côté pour attester son honneur . . ." ⁷⁵ In *Tribunaux rustiques*, Isidore "lève la main et crache de côté pour appuyer son serment."⁷⁶ Satan and Saint Michel, in *la Légende du Mont-Saint-Michel*, made a bargain in like manner: "Ils se tapèrent dans la main, crachèrent de côté pour indiquer que l'affaire était faite . . ." ⁷⁷

Some of the repetitions of scenes in Maupassant's writings were due to a trick of style which he had learned from Mérimée. In order to avoid appearing in his narrative, Mérimée would pretend that his story was written by another author (*Clara Gazul* and *La Guzla*), that he

⁷⁵ *En famille*, in *la Maison Tellier*, p. 173.

⁷⁶ *La petite Roque*, cit., p. 17.

⁷⁷ *La Ficelle*, cit., p. 222.

⁷⁸ *Monsieur Parent*, p. 181.

⁷⁹ *Clair de lune*, p. 107.

was merely publishing a document that he had discovered (*l'Abbé Aubain*), or perhaps that the story was related to him by an acquaintance—by a military friend, as in *l'Enlèvement de la redoute*, by a bandit encountered during an archæological expedition, as in *Carmen*. In his short stories, this device reduced itself to the fiction of an assembly of guests, one of whom related the narrative. Not like Mérimée for the sake of impersonality, but for dramatic effect, Maupassant often resorted to this device. It had the advantage that the author was able to depict the effect of his narrative upon an audience, whose remarks, reported at the close of the story, were usually in the same strain. A woman observes, at the end of *un Loup*: "C'est égal, c'est beau d'avoir des passions pareilles."⁷⁸ In *un Fils*, the senator makes a similar observation.⁷⁹ With sentimental conviction, a woman exclaims at the conclusion of *le Bonheur*: "Qu'importe! elle fut heureuse."⁸⁰ The one dissenting voice is that of a hunter of robust frame who exclaims, in *une Veuve*: "N'est-ce pas malheureux d'être sentimental à ce point là!"⁸¹

To sum up: great were the liberties that the "realists" took with plots, character, and verbiage, even when they seemed to be reporting faithfully the events which fell under their observation, and the worst offender of all in this respect was Maupassant, by common consent the purest of the "realists." It would appear indeed to be a sort of law that the greater an author's reputation for realism, the more he juggles his materials. On the other hand, the more "Romantic" an author is, the greater is

⁷⁸ *Le Loup*, in *Clair de lune*, p. 44.

⁷⁹ *Contes de la bécasse*, p. 213.

⁸⁰ *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, p. 87.

⁸¹ *Clair de lune*, p. 124.

his insistence on a skeleton of fact—the wildly imaginative Dumas père being the most assiduous of all in his use of historical documents.

There is doubtless a reason behind this curious phenomenon. The true quarrel of the “realists” with the “Romanticists” was not over the question of realism at all, but of method of documentation. The “Romanticists” got their materials from everywhere, but most often from printed records. They were frequently rather scrupulous in their regard for accuracy, and it was no mere accident that the great “Romantic” historian Michelet was one of the chief advocates of the scientific method of consulting the sources directly. The “realists,” on the other hand, desired to banish all written sources, and to record only what had been actually observed recently—ostensibly the laboratory method carried into literature. Yet materials obtained from hearsay were accepted quite as readily as what they themselves had jotted down on their pads. For example, M. Charles Lapierre suggested to Maupassant the idea of *la Maison Tellier*, and furnished him the plot of *Ce cochon de Morin*, while Monsieur Joseph Aubourg, *propriétaire-cultivateur*, used to amuse Maupassant with funny stories about Longueville, near Dieppe, and was thus the source for *le Crime du Père Boniface*, *le Lapin*, and *Boitelle*.⁸²

Evidently the stories obtained from hearsay could not possibly be so accurately recorded, so “realistic” in any true sense, as the more carefully controlled historical documents of the “Romanticists.” They were acceptable to the “realists,” none the less, simply because they were derived from some sort of observation—not read in books. One reason, then, why Maupassant qualifies as the most

⁸² A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-360.

"realistic" of modern French prose writers was that he had undoubtedly read least of them all.

Even Maupassant occasionally fell from grace, however, and used materials that were in no sense drawn directly from life, but were borrowed from Balzac, Bourget, and especially Flaubert, as I attempt to show in a forthcoming paper on the *Literary Relationships of Maupassant*. So far as realistic theory was concerned, therefore, Maupassant might easily have written tales as wildly fantastic as the melodramas of Maturin and Lewis. That he did not fall into some of the excesses committed by his contemporaries in the name of realism—by the Goncourts in *Mme Gervaisais*, by Daudet in *l'Évangéliste*—was due to his naturally sane powers of observation, not to the *leçons d'école*. In fact, despite his early training in accuracy of description, he relied less upon realistic background—that much abused product of a natural evolution from "Romantic" local color—than Balzac, even than Flaubert. It was, let it be repeated, almost wholly his regard for the long-discredited classical principle of *la vraisemblance* that enabled him to create a greater impression of reality than any other French author of fiction during the nineteenth century.

II. However, aside from his failures in matters of objectivity and of realistic technique—shortcomings that have generally escaped attention because they were so well redeemed by a classical *raison*—there was a general defect in his whole mental make-up which has occasioned frequent remark. In the name of realism, he searched life not for its beauty, but for its ugliness, its crudity, its vulgarity, by a special application as it were of Hugo's doctrine of "all in all." The theories of Darwin, bolstering up the notions of the naturalists regarding the animalism of man,

gave a scientific sanction to what was in reality a Romantically inspired *bas-fondmanie*—untrue because narrow and distorted.

Romanticism, by its subjectivity, tended to emphasize the emotional and other lower centers of the mind. Yet it was always restrained by a sense of the picturesque, which replaced that classical mentor, decorum. Thus Hugo, portraying gross natures and unwholesome surroundings in that part of *les Misérables* entitled *le Mauvais pauvre*, feels obliged to include at least a chapter entitled *une Rose dans la misère*. Naturalism went one step further, depicting what could be perceived not only by the eye and the ear, but also by the taste and the smell—and the picturesque gave way to the base and the disgusting.

How far Maupassant had drifted in this matter from the *raison* of the classicists may be shown by a few comparisons.

When he writes: "Nous ne savons rien, nous ne voyons rien, nous ne pouvons rien, nous ne devinons rien, nous n'imaginons rien,"⁸³ he is merely repeating the notions scattered in the *Apologie de Raimond de Sebonde* of Montaigne, that *honnête homme* of the sixteenth century. Maupassant declares: ". . . Nous sommes des bêtes, nous resterons des bêtes que l'instinct domine et que rien ne change."⁸⁴ So does Montaigne ridicule the idea of distinguishing man above his fellow-animals, the cat, the dog, and the elephant. However, the pessimism of Maupassant allows not one ray of hope, whereas even the *Apologie* concludes with the optimistic affirmation that an eternal God is, and that possibly he may perform a metamorphosis in man.

⁸³ *Sur l'eau*, p. 43.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54.

Coming to the classical period proper, we find La Bruyère, like the rest of his century, believing in the animalism of peasants. In the chapter of the *Caractères* entitled *De l'homme*, he speaks of "certains animaux farouches, des mâles et des femelles, répandus par la campagne, noirs, livides, et tout brûlés de soleil, attachés à la terre qu'ils fouillent et qu'ils remuent avec une opiniâtreté invincible. . . ." So ignoble does La Bruyère consider the peasant that he regards him, like the drunkard, as only suitable for treatment by an author of farce. "Comment pourrait-il faire le fonds ou l'action principale de la comédie?" he asks rhetorically.⁸⁵ But La Bruyère does not neglect to observe that the peasant, animal that he is, has yet an articulate voice; that in his face is written the image of a man; that indeed he is a man.⁸⁶

In Maupassant's writings, the picture of the bestiality of the peasant is redeemed by no considerations of humanity.

La Rapet s'exaspérait; chaque minute écoulée lui semblait, maintenant, du temps volé, de l'argent volé. Elle avait envie, une envie folle de prendre par le cou cette vieille bourrique, cette vieille têtue, cette vieille obstinée, et d'arrêter, en serrant un peu, ce petit souffle rapide qui lui volait son temps et son argent."

Like the classicists, Maupassant is fond of treating the subject of the eternal feminine. Yet if we look for his equivalent for the "Ewig-Weibliche," leading humanity upward, of the classical part of *Faust*, what shall we discover? It is "le Féminin, l'odieux et affolant Féminin!"⁸⁸

In justice it should be admitted that some critics note a marked progress in Maupassant's moral attitude during

⁸⁵ *Des ouvrages de l'esprit*, in the *Caractères*.

⁸⁶ *De l'homme*, *cit.*

⁸⁷ *Le Diable*, in *le Horla*, p. 131.

⁸⁸ *L'Épingle*, in *M. Parent*, p. 195.

the closing years of his career. Gilbert, for instance, feels that his very faithfulness to nature caused him to depict an increasing number of honorable characters.⁸⁹ Lemaître and Doumic also concede the moral improvement of our author, but explain the phenomenon in a different manner.⁹⁰

Frankly, I am inclined to the opinion of Henry James, who says of Maupassant: "I can remember no instance in which he sketches any considerable capacity for conduct, and his women betray that capacity as little as his men."⁹¹ To put the matter concretely, the author of *le Rosier de Mme Husson* and of *la Main gauche* can boast of little change, in any moral respect, from the writer who was with difficulty restrained by Havard from giving to his *Contes de la bécasse* the significant title of "Ce cochon de Morin." For confirmation of this view, let the reader compare again the tales about M. Patissot with the later stories entitled *Souvenir*, and *la Patronne*, to determine whether Maupassant's moral tendency was distinctly upward.

While conceding no marked spiritual regeneration in Maupassant during the latter years of his life, I should also not accept the Rousseauistic morality of Tolstoy, who would represent Maupassant as a paragon of primitive innocence, who gradually became contaminated with worldly ideas.⁹² How far Tolstoy is obliged to twist the facts to fit his theory is evidenced by such statements as

⁸⁹ E. Gilbert, *le Roman en France pendant le XIX^e siècle* (1909), p. 432.

⁹⁰ J. Lemaître in *Revue bleue* (3d series, no. 26, vol. XLIII), June 29, 1889, p. 803; René Doumic, in *Revue des deux mondes*, CXX (1893), p. 193.

⁹¹ *Fortnightly Review*, vol. XLIX (1888), p. 385.

⁹² *Guy de Maupassant*, by Count L. N. Tolstol. Translation by Charles Johnston. In the *Arena*, 1894-95, vol. XI, p. 25.

that *une Vie*—the “pessimistic lubricity” of which an English critic declares to have been “too much for even Paris bookstalls”⁹³—was the greatest novel since *les Misérables*. *Bel-Ami* in his opinion deserves a higher moral rank than *Pierre et Jean*, which is generally conceded to be the author’s best work, and is called by Henry James “a faultless production.” Probably Tolstoy caps the climax when he declares that *le Horla*—usually regarded as evidence of the author’s predisposition to insanity, despite the protestations of Mme de Maupassant—was a proof that Maupassant realized the soul’s longings for another world, which was not material.

Even the very foundation of Tolstoy’s theory—the youthful innocence of Maupassant—is shaky. Let us grant the sincerity of Turgenief, that staunch champion of the French realists, who had represented Maupassant to Tolstoy as a good son, a faithful friend, and a strong sympathizer of the working classes, who was also notable for his uprightness with the fair sex—to a “wonderful, almost incredible” degree. It is true enough that the testimony of Turgenief on the last point is apparently corroborated by that of Maupassant’s mother, who relates the story of a gardener whose pretty daughter waited on Maupassant at Étretat. In reply to a comment of a neighbor, the gardener answered: “Je connais M. Guy. Une jeune fille est respectée chez lui comme chez sa mère.”⁹⁴ The fact remains that this anecdote was merely intended to illustrate the point that Maupassant was “souvent un séducteur, mais jamais un dépravateur.” Furthermore, many readers will fail to see anything “wonderful, almost incredible” in the fact that Maupassant did not have his

⁹³ W. E. Garrett Fisher, in *Temple Bar*, vol. CIII (1894), p. 504.

⁹⁴ A. Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

first *liaison*—the one with “la belle E. . .”—until he had reached the age of sixteen.⁹⁵

As for the question of Maupassant's character, consequently, there seems to be no special evidence that his moral nature, his moral vision, and consequently his capacity for truthfully reflecting the moral world, underwent any considerable change—for better or for worse—during the ten years (1880-1890) of his principal literary productivity. For his licentiousness, then, perhaps more than for any other quality that has been discussed here, he must be classed among the Romanticists.

One point that Tolstoy has grasped, however, which has eluded practically every other writer on Maupassant, is the fact that our author sympathized—for good or for ill—with his characters, and was thus far less impersonal than has generally been estimated. *Une Vie* was great, declares Tolstoy, because the author's *sympathies* were evidently on the side of the good. *Pierre et Jean* was an inferior production, because the author's *sympathies* with the good were more uncertain.

Thus the question of Maupassant's moral standpoint is interwoven not only with that of the author's capacity for realism—in the broadest sense of the term—but also with that of impersonality. Not only did Maupassant, by depicting an excessive number of reprobates, give a false, and thus by definition, a Romantic picture of life, but also he became Romantically subjective when he allowed his sympathies for certain of his immoral characters to appear. The pity of it is that matters did not end there: his sensuality leads him to the weakness of a morbid fear of death, which ends all sensual pleasures—and in the expression of this unworthy sentiment his characters, far from

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

being impersonal creations, are only too often his mouth-pieces.

His feeling towards death is lyrically expressed, as we might expect, in his poetry. In *Au bord de l'eau* he writes:

Puis, on nous jetera dans quelque trou caché,
Comme on fait aux gens ^{les} morts en état de péché,⁸⁷

and a similar mood is evident in *la dernière Escapade*.

A little lyricism may be forgiven to a poet, however, even if all traces of Romanticism are supposed to have been swept from his writings. In the novel, on the other hand, which deals essentially with the *non-moi*, as M. Lanson justly observes, we have a right to expect a more impassive attitude.

Yet, we find the same melancholy strain in one story after another. Like the doomed hero of *un Lâche*, like his own *Yvette*, it is evident that his mind is brooding constantly on "cette pourriture, à cette bouillie noire et puante que ferait sa chair."⁸⁷ For him, the greatest tragedy is the sight of a gay, handsome, gallant young man grown decrepit; of a beautiful girl who has turned a stout matron.⁸⁸ "Lorsque les cheveux blancs apparaissent, et qu'on perd, chaque jour, dès la trentaine, un peu de sa vigueur, un peu de sa confiance, un peu de sa santé, comment garder sa foi dans un bonheur possible?" he wails.⁸⁹ The author, thinking of the encroachments of age upon the physical beauty of the heroine of *l'Épave* sobe, as he does also in the concluding chapters of *Fort comme la*

⁸⁷ *Des vers*, p. 47. Cf. *La dernière Escapade*, *ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸⁸ *Yvette*, p. 117.

⁸⁹ *Adieu*, in *Contes du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 249-257.

⁹⁰ *Chronique du Gaulois*, Feb. 24, 1884. See Gustave Chatel, *Mau-passant peint par lui-même*, in *Revue bleue*, fourth series, VI (July 11, 1896), p. 47.

mort. His tenderest sympathy goes out to the aged, who have lost forever the joys of youth. It is a note which he strikes in *Menuet*, which ends in a choking embrace, and in *Julie Romain*.¹⁰⁰

This pervading pessimism is relieved, however, to a certain extent by a sense of humor which recalls the spirit of La Fontaine, and of the *fabliaux*. Thus, despite his morbidity, he is free from much of the usual misanthropy of the Romanticists, their hatred of life, which

As was well known . . . by Plato,
. . . is not worth a potato.

For this feeling he substitutes what Zola has called "l'éternel chant d'amour qu'il a chanté à la vie."

The answer to the question to what extent Maupassant was Romantic depends, then, in the first place on general considerations. If we are willing to allow to Maupassant the restricted field of his choosing—namely the present, not the past, the world of sense, not that of the spirit—it is necessary to admit that he was on the whole the most perfect of the French realists. Even here, however, he has a few shortcomings, both in his manner, and in his method of assembling materials. In his manner, he is frequently subjective, especially when dealing with those feelings which have an instinctive basis. More rarely, he allows his realism to be impaired by rhetorical devices—such as

¹⁰⁰ *Julie Romain*, in *la petite Roque*, pp. 203-218. The foundation of this story is perhaps indicated in a letter which Maupassant wrote the same year to Madame Lecomte du Nouy, in which he mentions a woman who had been beautiful, rich and happy, but was now old, ruined and wretched in every way. Being urged by Maupassant, she related confidentially the story of her past life and of her present misfortunes. From the letter, it appears that her home was in Nice. The home of Julie Romain was in the same locality, for from it could be seen the carriages going from Nice to Monaco (*Correspondance*, in *Boule de suif*, p. clix, Dec. 20, 1886).

the pathetic fallacy—which he introduces for dramatic effect. In his method of assembling materials, he is often no more realistic than the apostles of the so-called Romantic school, a fact indicated by the frequency with which he treats subjects akin to theirs. While professing to record only what he has observed, he is really guilty of adjusting his materials arbitrarily, as on a checker-board, or perhaps altering them altogether, in order to obtain a desired effect. That he generally creates a wonderful impression of reality is therefore due to his classical quality of *vraisemblance*, not to the virtue of the *leçons d'école* which he professes to follow. If, on the other hand, we understand realism in a broader sense, as having to do with all life—past and present, recorded as well as unrecorded, the spiritual world as well as the world of sense and flesh, he is quite inadequate as a realist. In his work, the impure and the nauseous are vastly overemphasized, and often in a manner which is subjective. Moreover, he has no normal manly philosophy to buoy him up amid a world of change and decay. We hear too frequently his plaintive wail about death and destruction, through the lips of his characters, to deny that he is not only Romantically lyrical, but also that he is false as a realist in the largest sense of the term. He would have been truer had his paganism been redeemed by even so crude a substitute for real spiritual values as the Titanism of the Romantic school. Instead, he depicts his Yvette as having the Satanic temper of Éloa, but not her heavenly descent. Many of his heroes have the incestuousness of Manfred, without his Promethean spark. Others have the lawless spirit of Childe Harold, without the “gladiator’s look.”

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VI.—THE MIDDLE-ENGLISH METRICAL VERSION
OF THE *REVELATIONS* OF METHODIUS; WITH
A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF METH-
ODIUS IN MIDDLE-ENGLISH
WRITINGS *

I

Among the works of authority referred to by mediæval writers the *Revelations* of Methodius long held a prominent place. Its popularity continued even into comparatively modern times, for from the year 1475 printed

* The following study was first undertaken by Miss Marguerite Thiebaud, graduate scholar in English at Bryn Mawr College, 1912-1914, but was left unfinished at her death in March, 1914. Miss Thiebaud had prepared a transcript of the English text here printed, from rotographs of the original ms., and had identified the work, by comparison with the 1496 edition of the Latin text, as a translation of the *Revelations* of Methodius. She had also noted points of agreement between the English metrical version and the *Cursor Mundi*. Through the kindness of Mr. B. F. Thiebaud of Connersville, Indiana, I have had the assistance of Miss Thiebaud's transcript and notes in continuing the study of the *Revelations*. The transcript has since been compared with the original ms. in the British Museum.

editions of the text appeared at frequent intervals.¹ Sackur, its latest editor, who has prepared a critical version of the work, goes so far as to credit it with an influence second only to that of the canonical books and the Church Fathers.² It is the purpose of the present study, first, to investigate the influence of this work upon Middle-English writers, discovering, if possible, to what extent and in what version, they used Methodius; and furthermore, to publish, as evidence of the popularity of the *Revelations*, a Middle-English metrical translation, which has been preserved in a single ms. Before taking up this phase of the influence of Methodius, however, it will simplify the discussion to summarize briefly what sort of material the *Revelations* contains, and what is known of its author and its origin.

The *Revelations*, originally written in Greek, is a history of the ancient world-kingsdoms and a prophecy of the last days. It begins with Adam and Eve, proceeds with a brief account of the patriarchs as far as Abraham, and then traces out the line of succession of the great kingdoms of Babylon, of the Medes and Persians, and of Macedonia, culminating in the Roman or Christian world-empire. From this point the narrative becomes prophecy and deals with the future conquests of the children of Ismahel (the Saracens), the invasion of Christian lands by Gog and Magog, and the persecutions of Antichrist at the end of the world.

In Sackur's discussion of the contents and sources of the *Revelations*, two points stand out: the author's use of material of Syrian origin, and his arbitrary adaptation of his material to the development of a central theme, that of

¹ Cf. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, Halle, 1898, p. 4 f.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

the succession of the world-empires.³ In the first part of his narrative, for example, the author is indebted to the so-called *Cave of Treasures*,⁴ a Syrian work of the sixth century, for the boundary lines which he uses in dividing his history into periods of a thousand years, and among other borrowings, for the figure of Jonitus, a son of Noah born after the flood and endowed with superhuman wisdom.⁵ Again, a Syrian source underlies the account of Alexander's imprisonment of Gog and Magog.⁶ Lastly, in the statement that the last king of the Romans will surrender his power to God on Golgotha, the *Revelations* again touches Syrian tradition,⁷ according to which Golgotha, as the center of the earth, is the scene of all the crucial events of world-history.

The second point, the author's manipulation of his material to suit his ends, is well illustrated in his introduction of the otherwise unknown Chuseth. She is called daughter of the king of Aethiopia and mother of Alexander. Upon the latter's death, she marries Bizas, founder of Bizantium; their daughter, in turn, marries Romulus, and thus the Macedonian empire becomes by inheritance a part of the Roman or Christian empire.⁸ It may be gathered from this brief survey that in the midst of much common tradition, the *Revelations* had some new and unusual material to offer to western Europe.

The authorship, place of origin, and date of this work are still matters of conjecture. In the mss. the *Revelations*

³ Sackur, p. 11.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 9 f. Sackur refers to a German translation by C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, Leipzig, 1883. An English translation made from an Arabian recension of the same work has been published by Margaret Dunlop Gibson in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. VIII, London 1901, under the title *Kitāb al-Magall*.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 14 f.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 35 f.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 43 f.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 27 f.

has always been assigned to Methodius, bishop of Patara, who was martyred under Diocletian about 311-312 A. D.⁹ The fact, however, that the *Revelations* refers to events of the second half of the seventh century¹⁰ eliminates at once the possibility of that bishop's authorship. The real author, then, remains unknown. Of the translator who turned the work from Greek into Latin, only the name has been recorded, in the preface-heading of a single ms. which reads: *Incipit praefaciuncula Petri monarchi*.¹¹ The Latin forms used in this ms. afford some evidence for the supposition that the translation was made in Gaul.¹² It was in the Latin, rather than in the Greek, version that the text spread over Europe. The existence of the translation in mss. of the seventh or eighth centuries, together with internal evidence which points to the possibility that the author's description of the Ismahelites' conquests is based upon historical invasions made by the Mohammedans during the seventh century, has led critics to assign the work to the close of that century.¹³ However vague the details of its origin may be, there is no doubt that the

⁹ For a brief discussion of Methodius cf. *Dict. of Christian Biography*, Art. Methodius. Also, Leo Allatius, *De Methodiorum scriptis Diatriba*, Hamburg, 1716, p. 77 f. and E. Carel, *S. Methodi Patarensis Convivium Decem Virginum*, Paris, 1880, p. 6 f.

¹⁰ Cf. Gudschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1894, v, p. 505 and Sackur, p. 45 f.

¹¹ Sackur, p. 57. The translator's preface did not share the popularity of the text, for it is found only in the one ms. The name does not occur in the preface itself.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹³ Cf. Gudschmid, v, p. 505 and Sackur, p. 45 f. Bonwetsch, *Methodius von Olympus*, Erlangen u. Leipzig, 1891, p. xxxviii, gives a summary of dates proposed before the appearance of Sackur's work. Sackur and Gudschmid are in practical agreement; the latter (p. 505) dates the *Revelations* 676-78, while the former (p. 56) would set it a little later, in the last years of Constantine IV (668-685).

Revelations, once translated, soon became and remained a widely-known authority.

II

With this brief account of the work, we may turn to the discussion of the *Revelations* in connection with English writers. That the work was easily accessible to them is evident from the large number of surviving mss. But these mss. show, further, that the text current in England was a much abridged version of the original.¹⁴ Since this short text is the one commonly used by English writers it will be necessary to point out its chief distinctions. Of twenty-one mss.¹⁵ examined, twenty repre-

¹⁴ It is not implied that this short version is peculiar to England. Sackur speaks of innumerable mss. of the *Revelations* in Continental libraries which have not yet been examined. Among these, no doubt, similar short versions would be found. In the Vatican Library, for instance, the Regina Collection contains five texts of Methodius, of which two, Regina 219, f. 1 and Regina 553, f. 169 have the altered beginning found in short texts. The Ottoboni mss. of the same library include three texts with the altered beginning: Ottob. 609 f. 20 r; Ottob. lat. 222, and 662 f. 129 r. For the notes on these mss. I am indebted to Mrs. Grace Frank, of Bryn Mawr.

¹⁵ The following are short texts; fragments and extracts are not listed.

In British Museum: Arundel 326, f. 57; Cott. Titus D. III, f. 138; Cott. Vesp. E. III, f. 136; Royal 8. F. VIII, f. 170; Sloane ms. 289, f. 85.

In Bodleian Library: Bodl. 163 (S. C. 2016) f. 245; Bodl. 867 (S. C. 2746) f. 299; Musaeo 62 (S. C. 3650) f. 135^b, slightly incomplete at the end; Laud Misc. 270 (S. C. 1021) f. 213; Rawl. D. 250 (S. C. 13058) f. 12^b; Rawl. poet. 241 (S. C. 14732) p. 189.

In Oxford Colleges: Corpus Christi Coll. ms. CCCXXX, f. 159; St. John's Coll. ms. CXXVIII, f. 217^b; St. John's Coll. ms. CXXXV, f. 48^b; St. John's Coll. ms. CLXXXII, f. 128^b; Magdalene Coll. ms. LIII, p. 207; Merton Coll. ms. XIII, f. 51^b; Trinity Coll. ms. III, f. 246^b; University Coll. ms. XCIX, f. 238^b.

In Cambridge: Camb. Univ. Lib. ms. Dd. xv. 15, f. 153.

sent the short version; the remaining ms., B. M. Addit. 34018, fol. 94b, is an interpolated copy of the complete version, which clearly shows an intermediate stage between that and the short texts. It has, for instance, many small additions and alterations, which, as will be noted, reappear in the short version. Texts of the latter type, however, are particularly distinguished by omissions. Most noteworthy is the elimination from the center of the text of the entire section dealing with the kings of Babylon and Persia, with Alexander and his imprisonment of Gog and Magog, and with Chuseth and her relation to the Roman empire.¹⁶ The change is managed with some skill, so that one who did not have both texts in mind would never suspect a break. The author had paused a moment in his narrative concerning the children of Ismahel to prophesy their second outpouring upon Christian nations. The reviser seized the opportunity offered by this change of tense and instead of returning, like his original, to historical events, proceeded at once to describe the second

It is a pleasure to record my thanks due to the librarians of the above-named libraries for the privilege of examining these mss.

A number of mss. of Cambridge Colleges which I was unable to see, but the opening words of which are quoted in the catalogues of the college libraries, show the altered beginning characteristic both of the short text and the interpolated text of B. M. Addit. 34018. It is impossible to say whether they show the omissions characteristic of the short text alone. At least they are not copies of the original version, represented in Sackur's text. These mss. are:

Corpus Christi Coll. ms. 66, f. 235^b; ms. 275, f. 18; ms. 288, f. 96^b; ms. 404, f. 4; ms. 521, f. 48^b; St. John's Coll. ms. 184, f. 304; Magdalene Coll. ms. 15, f. 91; Peterhouse Lib. ms. 45, f. 383^a, incomplete.

It may be noted that the early printed editions of the *Revelations* in general follow the original text, with some additions (cf. Sackur's notes), and have the same opening sentence.

* This omission includes pp. 69-79 of Sackur's text (referred to as S). Cf. the short Latin text (J) printed as an appendix to the present article, p. 197.

coming of the Ismahelites and the end of the world. In the short version, therefore, one does not hear of such well-known characters as Nabuchadonosor, Darius, Alexander, Bizas, and Romulus. The carefulness of the reviser is seen in his suppression of all references in later parts of the text to the omitted passages. Though he speaks of the invasion of Gog and Magog in the last days, he drops the explanatory clause of his original, *quas inclusit intus Alexander*,¹⁷ and again in this section he consistently omits a passage on the fulfillment of a Biblical text supposedly referring to the Aethiopion Chuseth. Alterations of this kind cannot be due to mere chance, but are the result of careful revision.

In addition to the central omission just noted, one finds a continual dropping out of details. The short version, for instance, simplifies the involved narrative of the wars among Noah's descendants by recording only the more important names. Furthermore, instead of giving a full account of the evil practices into which Christians are to fall in the last days, the short version puts them briefly aside with the words: *Quod turpissimum est dicendum*.¹⁸ The reviser, also, eliminates a long quotation from Paul's epistle to Timothy, which the author had given in full from the Vulgate text, and had repeated immediately afterwards, with additions of his own.¹⁹ As a result of these omissions, the short text presents a much reduced version, deprived of some of the most distinctive passages of the original.

¹⁷ S, p. 91; J, p. 201. J references are to page numbers in the present article.

¹⁸ S, p. 81; J, p. 198. In a similar way the vices of Cain's sons are passed over with the words: *que a nobis & negligenda sit & nec dicenda*. The latter phrase occurs in B. M. Addit. 34018, the interpolated version, but this text still retains the full list of vices.

¹⁹ S, p. 87.

So far the short version has been characterized only negatively. It has, also, positive marks of difference, which, though trivial in themselves, often help to determine from which version a particular extract of the *Revelations* is taken. Many of these variations are shared, as noted above, by the interpolated version, B. M. Addit. 34018, which is the original text, as it is represented in Sackur's edition, plus the alterations and additions now in question. No doubt it was from some copy of the *Revelations* such as that preserved in Addit. 34018 that the reviser made his short text. This latter, however, has so far surpassed the longer version in popularity, that one may regard these variations from the original where they appear in quotations from Methodius as marks of the short text, rather than of an interpolated version. It is certainly through short texts, if one may judge by the number of copies which survive, that such details would be transmitted to English writers. Typical examples of these variations from the original text, as represented in Sackur, are the following:

1. At the beginning the short text adds a few commonplace details on the creation and the fall, whereas the original text starts abruptly with the expulsion of Adam and Eve.²⁰

2. The short text adds the statement that the murder of Abel took place in India, and that there Cain built Effrem, the first city before the flood.²¹

4. The short text states definitely that Noah left the

²⁰ Cf. J, p. 192. S begins as follows (p. 60): *Sciendum namque est quomodo exeuntes Adam quidem et Eva de paradiso virgines fuisset.* Addit. 34018 begins like the short text.

²¹ S, p. 61; J, p. 193. Addit. 34018 has still another detail: *quae [civitas] postea uocata est Enos propter filium suum Enos.*

ark in his 601st year. The original, on the other hand, makes only a general reference to the end of the flood.²²

5. The birth of Jonitus and the death of Noah are dated differently in the short text, which in the latter case has corrected the reading of the original. According to the original version, Jonitus is born one hundred years after the flood; according to the short version, three hundred years after that event. Then the original refers ambiguously to Noah's decease in the 690th year after the flood, an impossible date, even for the long-lived patriarchs; while the short version dates his death correctly in his 950th year.²³

6. Finally, in the short text, the last age of the world is invariably numbered the sixth; in the original and in Addit. 34018 it is always called the seventh. The change was managed easily, for since the author did not carry through completely his division of world-history into thousand-year periods,²⁴ the reviser did not disturb a definite scheme in substituting six for seven.²⁵

²² S, p. 63; J, p. 194. Addit. 34018 writes 600, no doubt by mistake. The only date given in the original at this point is the 612th year of Noah. This Sackur refers to Noah's exit from the ark, a statement not in accord with the Biblical text (cf. Gen. 8, 13-18). The edition of 1496 gives a preferable reading and punctuation, in referring the date 612 to the following event, Noah's rebuilding of new possessions after the flood. In the short text, all ambiguity is avoided by giving both dates, 601 and 612, and referring them to the proper events.

²³ S, p. 63; J, p. 194.

²⁴ Cf. Sackur, p. 10 f.

²⁵ According to tradition the world was to last for six ages corresponding to the six days of its creation. The sixth, therefore, was commonly called the *last* age, for it was, in fact, the last age of ordinary life on earth. The seventh or millennium, and the eighth, or everlasting age, belonged to the future, and were sometimes omitted altogether in discussions of the ages. Cf. Bede's short treatise, *De Temporibus Liber*; Migne, *Patrol.* xc, col. 288. The millennium, however, was not conceived of as a period of unending bliss, for its

These few distinctions, chosen among many of a similar kind, will serve sufficiently to characterize the short version on the positive side. In several points, such as the dating of Noah's exit from the ark and the change of seven to six in the last age, it has corrected the original. These corrections, together with the omission of some passages of doubtful authority noted above, make the short version, on the whole, a more familiar, if less striking account of the beginning and end of the world.

III

We have seen from the preservation of a comparatively large number of ms. copies, that a short text of the *Revelations* was easily accessible to English writers. The frequent citation of Methodius, in various English works, moreover, would suggest a widespread knowledge and use of his text. But one must guard against assuming that these references indicate a first-hand acquaintance with the mss. In fact, in the majority of cases, Methodius was introduced to English writers through the medium of Peter Comestor.²⁶ In one passage of the *Historia Scholastica*, Comestor

close was to witness the unloosing of the dragon, and a consequent time of dire distress, such as the *Revelations* pictures. One might say, therefore, that the 7th age of the original text of Methodius refers to the close of the millennium, rather than to the last age of life on earth. On the other hand, it is not a Messianic kingdom of the saints or of the New Jerusalem against which the Ismahelites of Methodius break forth, but the earthly kingdoms of Syria, Persia, and Greece. This seventh age, therefore, evidently refers to the last period of life on earth, not to the millennium. In that case, the reviser was in accord with common tradition in changing the number from seven to six.

²⁶ Comestor's first reference to Methodius tells briefly who he was and how his book was written. It is a favorite passage for quotation; cf. Migne, *Patrol.* cxxviii, col. 1076: *Sed Methodius martyr*

quotes Methodius, Josephus, and the Septuagint together, as if they were authorities of equal standing.²⁷ He scatters throughout his work extracts both from the historical and from the prophetic material of the *Revelations*.²⁸ With Comestor's sanction to reassure them English chroniclers did not hesitate to quote Methodius in their own works and to borrow Comestor's citations from the *Revelations*.²⁹ Such is the case in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*,³⁰ in the *Flores Historiarum*,³¹ in Higden's *Polichronicon*,³² and in the *Eulogium Historiarum*.³³

oravit, dum esset in carcere, et revelatum est ei a Spiritu de principio, et fine mundi: quod et oravit, et scriptum, licet simpliciter, reliquit, dicens quod virgines egressi sunt de paradiso [Adam et Eva]. This abrupt beginning at the expulsion from Paradise shows that Comestor was not using a short text of the *Revelations*. Cf. p. 142 above.

²⁷ Comestor, col. 1081.

²⁸ On Comestor's use of Methodius cf. Zetzschwitz, *Vom römischen Kaiserthum deutscher Nation*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 44 f.

²⁹ Sackur, p. 6, n. 4, gives most of the references to Methodius in the Chronicles to be named, but without noting that they are taken from Comestor.

³⁰ Ed. Luard, Rolls Series, London, 1872, I, p. 3: cf. Comestor, col. 1076; VI, p. 78 and n. 1: cf. Comestor, col. 1097; VI, p. 497 and n. 1: cf. Comestor, col. 1097.

³¹ Ed. Luard, Rolls Series, London, 1890, I, p. 3 and II, p. 267. These references are taken from the *Chronica Majora*. Cf. first two citations in the preceding note.

³² Ed. Babington, Rolls Series, London, 1865, I, pp. 22, 126, 128; II, pp. 220, 236, 244, 246; IV, p. 284; VI, p. 16. The *Polichronicon* quotes Methodius more frequently than the other chronicles, but some of the references are falsely ascribed to him, and all are quoted at second-hand. From Comestor's citations of Methodius are taken notes on the habits of the Saracens (I, p. 126; Comestor, col. 1097), the account of Cain and Abel and their sisters (II, p. 220; Comestor, col. 1076), the story of Jonitus (II, p. 246; Comestor, col. 1088), notes on the dividing line of the first and second ages (II, pp. 236, 244; Comestor, col. 1081, 1091). The editor, discussing Higden's sources at this point (cf. II, p. xxiv) refers to Isidore and Marianus Scotus. Comestor must also be added, since he alone quotes Me-

The later choniciers do not always go back even to Comestor, but quote both Comestor and Methodius from the pages of the earlier compilers. The favorite citations deal with Cain and Abel and their twin sisters, with the dating of the first millennium of world-history, with Jonitus, son of Noah, and with the second invasion of the Ismahelites in the last age.

In two other English writers, widely separated in all other respects, one meets again the familiar use of Methodius through the medium of Comestor. One of these is the author of the Middle-English *Genesis and Exodus*,³⁴ who repeats Comestor's brief account of Methodius, adding that the latter's book was one "dat manige witen." This phrase, which is not in Comestor, may not be a mere tag, but may represent the author's independent testimony to the popularity of Methodius. The second writer, Gower, in the *Confessio Amantis*³⁵ uses the same excerpts from Comestor as introduction to his discussion of the laws of marriage. Comestor, it is evident, is responsible for a large share of the popularity of Methodius.

Robert Mannyng's single reference to Methodius,³⁶ on

thodius, and since some of the phrases in Higden and Comestor are identical in wording. Higden, I, p. 128 quotes as from Methodius a description of Phoenicia which comes in fact from Isidore, as the editor points out, I, p. xxv.

³⁴ Ed. Hayden, Rolls Series, London, 1860, I, pp. 3, 20, 23 f., 28; II, p. 27. Sackur, p. 6, n. 4 gives the first reference. The statements in I, p. 28 and II, p. 27 are repeated from the *Polichronicon*, II, p. 246 f. and I, p. 128.

³⁵ Ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., o. s. VII, London, 1873, v. 517 f. Cf. the passage from Comestor quoted p. 144, n. 26 above. This reference to Methodius was noted by Miss Thiebaud.

³⁶ *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, London, 1901, II, *Conf. Amant. Liber VIII*, v. 48 f. In a note on this passage (p. 536) the editor quotes the *Revelations* directly.

³⁷ In *The Story of England*, ed. Furnivall, Rolls Series, London, 1887, II, p. 576.

the other hand, cannot be traced back even to a second-hand acquaintance with the *Revelations*. He knows only the supposed author's name. "Seint Methodye" is made his authority for a prophecy of the time when Britain shall return to its original possessors. The material itself is found in Mannyng's source, Pierre Langtoft.³⁷ What is new in the English work is the line *Right as seint Methodye seys*, which has no parallel in the French text. The *Revelations*, of course, makes no allusions to early British history. But it does contain prophecies, and this ready assignment of prophetic material to its reputed author is a further indication that his name and a vague conception of his supposed work were common literary property.³⁸

But Methodius was not known to English writers only in this indirect fashion. There are references to his work which indicate direct acquaintance with the *Revelations* and which apparently are based, as MS. remains would lead one to expect, on the short version of that work. The *Cursor Mundi* is a case in point. It cites Methodius as its authority for certain events after the flood, as follows:³⁹

Quen noe left þe schipp allan
 He had sex hundret yeir and an,
 þe elleuend winter was, witerli,
 þer after, als sais meodi,
 Quen þe werl[d] was gangand
 Of eild in-to þe þrid thusand.
 Noe þe lele, wit-uten plight,
 Bigan neu biginyng for to dight,
 A neu liuelade cum þai begin,
 He self with his suns thrin.

³⁷ Ed. Wright, Rolls Series, London, 1866, I, p. 260. Cf. Furnivall's note on v. 16621 of Mannyng's translation.

³⁸ Cf. a prophecy in MS. Rawl. C. 813 (Bodleian Library), fol. 90^b, which, though having nothing in common with the *Revelations*, is entitled, "The *Prophesey* of Methodius."

³⁹ Ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., o. s. LVII, Part I, London, 1874, 1893, v. 2001 f. The Cotton text is quoted.

This is the *Cursor's* second account of Noah's exit from the ark, for the flood, with all its details, has been described in an earlier passage, based, as the author himself states, on *peirs mayner*, that is, on Peter Comestor.⁴⁰ Comestor cannot have been his source again, in the later passage, for Comestor does not mention Methodius at this point, and says nothing, furthermore, of the 612th year of Noah's life. These details must have been furnished by the *Revelations*, and the author's reference to *mecodi* must be accepted as an indication of first-hand acquaintance with that work.⁴¹

In other instances the author of the *Cursor* borrows from Methodius, without naming him as the source. Thus the section on the first age of the world is ended with the following verses:

1465-66. Of Iareth eild þe yeir fourti—and
Was passed o werld þe first thusand.

The fortieth year of Jareth as the dividing point of the first age is peculiar to the *Revelations* and its Syrian source.⁴² Although Comestor refers to Methodius in dis-

* 1915-1986. Cf. Haenisch, *Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi*, E. E. T. S., o. s. 101, p. 6*, printed in Vol. I of *Cursor Mundi*.

⁴¹ Dr. Haenisch (p. 6*) quotes the first two lines given above as taken from Comestor and gives the following parallel: Comestor, col. 1085: *Igitur sexcentesimo primo anno vitae Noe . . . aperuit Noe tectum arcae*. But the parallelism is much closer between the *Cursor* and the *Revelations*. Cf. J, p. 194. *Anno sexcentesimo primo egressus est Noe de archa cum omnibus qui fuerunt cum eo. . . . Sexcentesimo & duodecimo anno uite Noe in tercio miliario seculi reedificare cepit Noe & filii euis nouam possessionem in terram. . . .* Dr. Haenisch, moreover, does not note the author's own statement of his source, *als sais mecodi*. That the text of the *Revelations* used in the *Cursor* was a short version, may be inferred from the reference to both the 601st and 612th years of Noah. Cf. p. 142, and n. 22 above.

⁴² Cf. p. 137 above. This division is common to all texts of the *Revelations*. Cf. J, p. 193.

cussing various terminations which are assigned to the first age,⁴³ he does not repeat his wording as the *Cursor* does. Similarly a second reference to Jareth in the following lines (v. 1553 f.) is taken from the *Revelations* rather than from Comestor:

Quen Iareth, þat æ herd me neuen,
had eild of hundret wynturs eeuen,
Mikel malice was first in man.⁴⁴

Comestor gives the date, but without reference to Jareth. Here as in the preceding example, the author of the *Cursor* supplied that detail from Methodius. These instances sum up the *Cursor's* indebtedness to the *Revelations*. Though few in number, they indicate clearly that the author of the *Cursor* used that text at first hand, to supplement his borrowings from Comestor.

John Capgrave is another writer who quotes directly from the *Revelations*. In his *Chronicle of England*⁴⁵ he makes this statement: *Methodius seith here that the same zere that Adam deyed the generaciones of Seth and Cayn were departed asunder; for Seth led his generacion onto the est side of the world, onto a grete hille that was rite onto Paradise, and there he dwellid. Cayn and his kynred dwelled stille in the same place where he had slayn his brothir, and there he mad a cite, wech he cleped Effrem, as Methodius seith.* Comestor⁴⁶ also cites a similar passage on the authority of Methodius, but two facts show that Capgrave got his information independently of the *Historia Scholastica*. In the first place, his wording is a translation of the Latin of the *Revelations* rather than of

⁴³ Comestor, col. 1081.

⁴⁴ Cf. J, p. 193; Comestor, col. 1081.

⁴⁵ Ed. F. C. Hingeston, Rolls Series, London, 1858, p. 11. Cf. J, p. 193.

⁴⁶ Col. 1081.

that of the *Historia*. The phrase, *were departed asunder*, for instance, corresponds more closely to the *disiuncte sunt* of Methodius than to the *separavit* of Comestor. In the second place, Comestor does not mention Effrem,⁴⁷ the first city before the flood. Clearly Capgrave's reference to Methodius is a genuine indication of his source. A second citation, concerning the sins of Cain's descendants, is similarly taken from the *Revelations*.⁴⁸ These are the only passages in which Methodius is named. Capgrave knows of Jonitus⁴⁹ but he does not refer to Methodius for his information, and certain details point to Comestor as his immediate source.⁵⁰ One must conclude that Capgrave knew the *Revelations* both indirectly through Comestor, and directly, as well, and that he took pains to name Methodius when he borrowed from him at first hand. This assured use of the text by a Norfolk writer is the more noteworthy because the unique ms. of the metrical translation was both written and owned in Norfolk.⁵¹

Evidence for the popularity of the short text is unmistakably confirmed by the English translations of Methodius. Of these there are three independent versions, two in prose and one in verse, each based on a short text. One of the prose translations is usually ascribed to John Trevisa. It is preserved in two mss. containing other of Trevisa's works, notably his translation of the *Polichroni-*

⁴⁷ The reference to this city makes it probable that Capgrave was using a short version of the *Revelations*. Cf. p. 142 and n. 21 above.

⁴⁸ Capgrave, p. 15.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁵⁰ Comestor, col. 1088. Both Capgrave and Comestor record that Nimrod, Jonitus's disciple, was ten cubits in height, a detail unknown to Methodius.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 151 below.

con.⁵² The translation follows closely the short Latin text and shows no noteworthy features. The second prose version, a northern text, is found in an early fifteenth-century collection of English prose and verse.⁵³ This translation is less carefully done than Trevisa's, for it omits several short passages; but otherwise it is a literal rendering of the Latin. The third translation is the metrical version which is printed in the following pages, and which calls for somewhat fuller discussion.

IV

This metrical translation of the *Revelations* is preserved in a single ms., Stowe 953 (British Museum), a small paper copy of the fifteenth century containing only this work.⁵⁴ Very probably it is the work of a Norfolk writer.⁵⁵ Certainly it has been owned from an early

⁵² These mss. are (1) Harl. 1900, f. 21^b-23^b. (Brit. Mus.) and (2) a ms. belonging to the Marquis of Exeter, Burghley House, Stamford. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Commission* vi, Appendix, p. 234, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 504, and *Catalogue of Harleian MSS.*, II, p. 319. This translation begins: *For why it is to wite to us dere breperen. . .*

⁵³ Brit. Mus. Addit. ms. 37049, fol. 11^a-16^b. Cf. *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum*, 1900-1905, London, 1907, p. 324. The translation begins: *It is to be knowen to us dere breperen. . .* It is illustrated with crudely vivid drawings.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Catalogue of the Stowe MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1895, I, p. 637.

⁵⁵ This conclusion is confirmed by the dialect, which shows the four characteristics pointed out by Furnivall as distinctive of Norfolk and Suffolk texts. Cf. Furnivall, *The Macro Plays*, E. E. T. S., s. a. 91, p. xxxv and Foster, *A Study of the Northern Passion*, Bryn Mawr Dissertation, 1913, p. 30, § 9 and n. 2. These characteristics are: (1) Use of *æ* for *sh* in *shall* and *shull*: cf. *wall* 212, 214, 235 etc.; *wuld*, 164, 244, 245 etc. Exceptions: *schall*, 587, 694, and *schull*, 546.

(2) Disappearance of guttural *gh*: cf. *ryte*, 16, 144 etc.; *myte*, 189, 329 etc.; *syte*, 242; *thowt*, 23; *browt*, 130; *tawte*, 352. Exception: *pygth*, 493.

period by persons living in that county. On the last leaf (fol. 19b) is written: [Is]te liber pertinet William Gilberd⁵⁶ de Toffet Monachorum,⁵⁷ the present Toft-Monks in the southeastern corner of the county. Another owner was Francis Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, whose bookplate with the date 1732 has been set on the inner cover.⁵⁸ Probably the ms. did not journey far from its place of origin.

Like the prose translations, the metrical paraphrase is based on a short version of the *Revelations*. The translator in this case, however, does not confine himself solely to Methodius. He has supplemented his Latin text with material from the *Cursor Mundi*, and, in a few details, from Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*. The *Cursor* furnishes him, first, with material not found in Methodius, such as the account of creation,⁵⁹ the lines on the study of astronomy,⁶⁰ the tradition of the parentage of Antichrist,⁶¹ and

(3) Use of *qw* for O. E. *hw*: cf. *qwere*, 451. Otherwise *wh* is regularly used.

(4) Use of *w* for *u* (*v*): cf. *wea*, 391 and *deworow*, 781. This latter word is corrected in the ms. to *devowre*. Cf. note on v. 781.

⁵⁶ The same name is repeated in the middle of the page. A William Gilberd is mentioned among the rectors of Bretenham, St. Andrew's Church, in the hundred of Giltcross (southwestern Norfolk) in the fifteenth century. Cf. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, London, 1810, I, p. 442. The entry follows:

1449, 24 Feb. Will. Gilberd, bachelor in the decrees. Lapse.

1456, 30 Dec. Thomas Walle, on Gilberd's resignation.

This person may be the owner of our ms. Name, date, and place (Norfolk) are in favor of such a conclusion.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Cat. of Stowe MSS.*, I, p. 637 and Blomefield, VIII, p. 61 f.

⁵⁸ For other indications of ownership, cf. *Cat. of Stowe MSS.*, loc. cit.

⁵⁹ Cf. *St[owe MS.]*, vv. 16-24 and *Cursor Mundi*, v. 344 f.; the latter in Morris's edition cited above. The Stowe text gives only a brief summary of the works of each day, but that seems to be influenced by the *Cursor*'s account.

⁶⁰ *St.*, 191-214; *Cursor*, 1541-1552.

⁶¹ *St.*, 825 f.; *Cursor*, 22023 f. in vol. III of Morris's edition. The

the reference to the resurrection of Enoch and Elias.⁶² Furthermore, it supplies him with rimes and phrases even in those passages where the facts are common both to the *Cursor* and to the Latin text. As a result, in one or two instances the translator is borrowing from the *Cursor*, in sections in which, as we have noted above, the *Cursor* itself was borrowing directly from Methodius. The following lines are an instance of this unusual relationship:

Cursor, 1465 f.:

Of Iareth eild þe yeir fourti-and
Was passed werld þe first
thusand
and v. 1464:
þat was þe fluet kne fra seth.

St, 129 f.:

In þe forty zere þan of jareth
Be a compte in scripture caste
þat was þe fyrste gre of sethe
Of þe ward fyrste thousande
paste.

The Latin text was the source of these lines in the *Cursor*.⁶³ The *Cursor's* influence, in turn, upon the wording of the English translation is unmistakable. One may suppose that the translator had both his Latin and his English source before him as he worked, and lightened his own labors by using, where he could, the words of the earlier English text. That he was not following only the *Cursor* in these places common to both his sources, is assured by such passages as that on the miracles wrought by Antichrist, where the translator is careful to add from the *Revelations* two miracles, the healing of the blind and of the halt, which the *Cursor*, following Adso, had omitted.⁶⁴

similarity of the Stowe text to the *Cursor* in this and in the preceding parallel was first noted by Miss Thiebaud.

⁶² *St*, 937-943; *Cursor*, 22373-4 and 22381-4. Other parallel passages are: *St*. 865-870; *Cursor*, 22111-22116, Antichrist's education; *St*, 871-878; *Cursor*, 22117-22122, Antichrist in the temple.

⁶³ Cf. p. 148 above.

⁶⁴ *St*, 881-4. Cf. J, p. 201 f. . . . *faciet signa & prodigia multa super terram ut ceci uideant, claudi ambulent.* . . . In other respects the Stowe text and the *Cursor* show many verbal agreements in this section: cf. *St*, 881-904; *Cursor*, 22141-22162.

Moreover, it is the Latin text which guides the course of the translator's narrative. In spite of large contributions in material and in verbal expression, the *Cursor* remains only a supplementary source.

The influence of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* is much slighter and is confined to a few parallels in wording, and to the addition of some details, in the section on the descendants of Cain. In the account of Cain's death, for instance, the translator must have had some other source besides the Latin text or the *Cursor*, for neither of these gives the place or the manner of Cain's death.⁶⁵ These details were supplied by Wyntoun, in two verses, closely imitated in the Stowe text.

Wyntoun,⁶⁶ 204-5:

And wiþ þat schot Cayme he slew,
That lurkand lay in till a busk.

St, 149-150:

Wythe schot he made hys sydyn
blede
As he lay slepyng ondyr a lynd.

The expression, *wythe schot*, especially, betrays a dependence on Wyntoun, for that phrase does not appear in other accounts of Cain's death.⁶⁷ Again, in the account of Lamech's sons there are several phrases and even lines

⁶⁵ The Latin text reads (J, p. 193) . . . *Lamech—qui fuit primus cecus qui interfecit Oaim*. The *Cursor* has a single couplet, 1513-14:

þis lameth was cald lameth þe blind,
Caym he slogh wit chaunge, we find.

⁶⁶ Ed. F. J. Amours, Scot. Text Soc., v. 50, Edinburgh, 1903, II, p. 29.

⁶⁷ Cf. Emerson, *Legends of Cain*, in *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXI, p. 874 f., for other versions of the story. Wyntoun, as Amours points out (v. I, Scot. Text Soc., v. 63, Edinburgh, 1914, p. lxix and p. lxxi), is using Comestor in this part of his chronicle, but the expression in question seems to be Wyntoun's own. Cf. Comestor, *Migne, Patrol.*, 198, col. 1079.

which find close parallels in the Scottish chronicle.⁶⁸ In the following couplet on the pillars of clay and stone, finally, the rime-words have been kept unchanged.

Wyntoun, 237-8:

The tane to sauf be fra the flude,
The toper fra fyre, pocht it war
wod.

St, 175-8:

The marbyll pelere sothe to sey
To be safe in watyr & floode
be tylen for yt ys towhe all wey
Thow be fere be neuer so wode.

Here too, the phrase, *pocht it war wod*, is one of Wyntoun's making.

These passages sum up the translator's total indebtedness to Wyntoun, one not large in amount, but unmistakable. They furnish, moreover, a slight indication of the date of the metrical translation, which if this relationship holds, must have been written after 1424, the *terminus ad quem* of the Scottish work.⁶⁹

The form into which the author has put his translation is an eight-line stanza with rime-scheme, abababab. Occasionally stanzas are incomplete, having only seven or six lines,⁷⁰ and sometimes the rime-scheme is altered.⁷¹ The incomplete stanza, in some cases, is clearly due to the carelessness of the writer, whether scribe or author, who has dropped out a necessary line. In other instances, the stanza was probably written in the first place with some lines lacking. Normally the verse is tetrameter, but here also are irregularities due to carelessness in transcription and in composition.⁷²

⁶⁸ Wyntoun, 243-4; *St*, 153-6. Wyntoun, 220; *St*, 158-9. This passage is a mosaic of borrowings, for besides Wyntoun, the Latin text and the *Cursor* also furnish details. Cf. *Cursor*, 1514 f. and J, p. 193.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Amours*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

⁷⁰ Cf. stanzas beginning vv. 231, 644, 811, etc. and vv. 81, 438, for those of six lines.

⁷¹ Cf. vv. 103 f., 127 f., 524 f., etc.

⁷² Cf. vv. 255, 630, 650, 753, 932, where words necessary to the sense are missing.

Of the literary style of the translation, little need be said. It is, on the whole, literal and labored, plain to the point of crudeness. Only too frequently the translator's eight-line stanza is built up of tag-ends, by the assistance of which the material for a couplet is spread over four or even eight lines. His Latin source, however, is equally barren of literary qualities. The English translation has at least the merit of reproducing its source with fair literalness.

V. TEXT OF THE *Revelations* ¹

Sum tyme was there a man of state.
 That was clepyd methodius.
 An holy byschop, a gret prelate.
 A man nobyll, & gracyows.
 5 He seruyd god erly & late.
 And helde þe techynge of ihesus.
 Hethen men to hym had hate.
 And martyryd hym as bokys tell vs.

But whyll þat he in preson lay.
 10 Er þat he to hys dethe wente.
 The holy gost vp-on a day.
 Was be merakyll to hym sent.
 And told þe byschope all þe aray.
 Of þe warde we arn in lente.
 15 Begynnyng & endynge sothe to say.
 Ryte to þe last day of Iugement.

Fyrste syn þe warde was wrowte.
 In sex termys hathe ben deuyde.
 fyrste god made all þinge of nowte.

1. Capitalization and punctuation are those of the MS. Contractions have been expanded in italics, *yr* being written in such words as *watyr*, *after*, in accord with the prevailing usage of the MS. Parts of words separated in the MS. are joined with hyphens and a few letters and words have been supplied in brackets. No stanza divisions are marked in the MS. Double *ll*'s are crossed throughout; *y*'s are occasionally dotted.

14. *inlente* MS.

- 20 Heuyn & erde large and wyde.
 Beste fflowle fynch all þat ys owte.
 He made þis yt may not be denyed.
 Lythe he made as hym best thowt.
 Man on erde a-while to a-byde.
- 25 Man he made & eke hys fere.
 And put hem to Ioy in paradyse.
 Adam & eve he hade hem there.
 And seyde adam at thy denyse.
 Take all þis ward & be þu here.
- 30 Swerly and make þe of all masteryes.
 Owt-take þou tre cum not þere nere.
 for yf þu do þow warkyste on-wysee.
- Than þe deuyll come for enuye.
 Ryte in lykenes of a serpente.
- 35 And with hys sleetyss faly & slay.
 He made Eue to hym assente.
 And sythyn Adam folylly.
 Of þis tre an appyll hente.
 And þrake goddys byddyng opynly.
- fol. 4 b. 40 All mankynd þer-for was schente.
- Owt of paradyse þan were þey dreuyn.
 Adam & eue bothe of þis synne.
 What god gan hym vndyr-nym.
 Adam seyð Eue made hym be-gynne.
- 45 Than with þis Iugement on hym þouyn.
 þere foode with trauayle & swet to wynne.
 In langore & sorow here lyfe to leyne.
 He to delve & sche to spynne.
- And in goddys byddyng for lytyll þey braste
- 50 No wondyr was god were wrothe.
 Owt of paradyse were þey caste.
 Nakyd with-owtyn clowt or clothe.
 And þus þey [were] in thraldam tharste.
 þat fyrste were lefe þo were þey lothe.
- 55 3et owt of paradyse when þey paste.
 Olene vyrgenyss were þey bothe.

43. *gafe* corrected to *gan* MS. *Hym* crossed out after *vndyr* MS.

45. Read *was* for *with* of MS.

- Than aftyr þat þe fyftene 3ere.
 Adam gate caym þat cayteff fell.
 And Calmanan hys systere fere.
 60 As methodye seythe in hys spell.
 Whan othyr fyftene 3ere owt were.
 Aftyr þat he gate Abell.
 And denoran hys systyr dere.
 Certenly as bokys vs tell.
- 65 In þe hundyrd 3ere & therty.
 Of adamys lyfe þe sothe to sey.
 Abell wele & buxumly.
 Dede sacryfyse to god all-way.
 And payyd hys tythys trwly.
 70 And schope hym to serue god to pay.
 But cursyd caym for enuy.
 Slow holy Abell vp-on a day.
- Adam for sorow of abell.
 And hundyrd wyntyrr led hys lyfe.
 fol. 5 a. 75 In schastyte þe trwþe to tell.
 And of hys wyfe toke he no ryfe.
 Tyl at þe laste goddys aungyll.
 Bad hym stynte of hys stryfe.
 And seyð adam god wyll þow mell.
 80 And dele more 3yt with þi wyfe.
- Than gate he sethe þat blyssyd chylde.
 þat aftyrward was stronge geauwt.
 But 3ytt he was bothe meke & mylde.
 And lyke to Adam in semlawnte.
 85 He schongyd all warkys wylde.
 All schrewdnes he gan to hawnte.
- þan aftyr-warde ys not to lynn.
 Adam wyth hys wyfe gan dele.
 And so god wold be-twyn þem tweyn.
 90 Chyldryn þey had bad & hele.
 Fowre sonys he had in certeyn.
 With-owt caym & eke Abell.
 And as þe story tellythe pleyn.
 þat dowterys adam had as fele.

47. Read *leuyne*.

50. *þow* deleted after *wondyr* MS.

- 95 In þe sex hundyrð ȝere.
Of adamys leuynges sekyrly.
Caymys sonys in wyk manere.
Gun vse ðere wyuys in Avowtry.
Whan eyte hyndyrð ȝere entere.
- 100 Were fulfyllid plenrely.
Ouyr all erde þer men were.
A-brode was spred þan lecherye.
- Whan nyne hundyrð ȝere & therty.
Of adamys lyfe was comyn & gon.
- 105 Than Adam deyde sertenly.
And was beryde in ebron.
Sythe hys kynrede drow to-geder a-non.
And fro caymys kyn made party.
Thus were þey deuydyd euery-schon.
- 110 In þe fyrste ward sekyrlye.
- fol. 5 b. Sethe drow hys kyn to an hyll.
ffast be paradyse I-wys.
And þere þey dwellyd & held þem styll.
& leuyd in lykynges & in lys.
- 115 And þere þat caym ded abel kyll.
& sched hys broderys blode a-mys.
In þat same stede was caymys wyll.
He to dwell & all hys.
- All malyfoars he to hym enbrace.
120 & þan he made a stronge cete.
ffor euer he dred hym in þat case.
þat Ablys dethe schuld vengyd be.
Effrom namyd he þat place.
& made yt a town of ryalte.
- 125 The fyrste cety þat euer was.
Be-forn þe flode of noye.
- In þe forty ȝere þan of Iareth.
Be a compte in scrypture caste.
þat was þe fyrste gre of sethe.
- 130 Of þe ward fyrste thowsande paste.
The ward was nere browt to nowte.
& all thorow caym in thardam thraste.
But sethe-ys kyn were as full sowte.
To make hem goode þat were on-stedfaste.

- 135 In þe secunde thowsend wyttirly.
Of Iarethe-ys lyfe more & lesse.
But a hundyrde þere & therty.
Men were full of cursaynesse.
Tho þat cam of caymys kyn sekirly.
- 140 Xuball & tuball with-owt gesse.
þe sonys of lamek certenly.
þey were leuynges in wretchydnes.
- Lamek cam of caymys seede.
He fell to blynde ryte as we fynde.
- fol. 6 a. 145 And ȝyt in story as we rede.
Thow þat lamek were so blynde.
ȝyt hym tyd to do þat dede.
To sle caym þat was onkynde.
wytke schot he made hys sydys blede.
- 150 As he lay slepynges vndyr a lynde.
- Thys eche xuball & tuball.
þat comyn of caym as I late tolde
werne þe fyrste men of all.
þat euer fonde crafte zonge or olde.
- 155 They were þe fyrste þat wrowte metall.
In Iryn. stele. syluyr. or golde.
And eke þe fyrste & pryncypall.
To fynde vp musyke bolde.
- They fonde fyrst crafte of syngynges.
160 And mynstrally more & more.
þey fonde þe fyrste crafte of werkynge.
In metell as I tolde be-fore.
and for þey had be for-castynges.
þat þe werd xuld sone be lore.
- 165 þey keste to kepe styll here cunnynges.
ffro fyre or flode þat amytyth sore.
- Than þey made pelerys too.
On of marbyll a-noper of tyle.
In eythyr peler þey closyd thoo.
- 170 All craftys þat were sotyll.
That what-so-euer came þer-too.

145. *fynde* first written for *rede*. MS.

ffyre or flode to make exyle.
 These pelers had þey made so.
 þat on xuld stond safe at all perell.

- fol. 6 b.
- 175 The marbyll pelere sothe to sey.
 To be safe in watyr & floode.
 þe tylen for yt ys towhe all-way.
 Thow þe fere be neuer so wode.
 Ther-for þe marbyll peler ay.
- 180 In noys flode stedfastly stooode.
 The tylen peler went hys way.
 ffor þat watyr was not goode.
- All here sotyll arte-ys sere.
 þat were conteynynd here on grownd.
- 185 were cloeyd in þe marbyll pelere.
 To be kepte hole & sownde.
 That oþer men when þey come here.
 Aftyr þat þe werd were drownde.
 þe same craftys myte vse & lere.
- 190 Aftyr þat þey were I-fownde.
- set þes same men sekyrly.
 þat were comyn of caymys kyn.
 þey fond þe art of astronomy.
 Thorow here sleytys & here gyn.
- 195 The corse of planetys þat ar sly.
 And all þe elementys more & myn.
 of sunne & mone & sweche mastery.
 þey were þe fyrste men to be-gyn.
- And ȝyt mo masteryys as we rede.
 200 So longe god lete þem leue here.
 That þey clerly knewe in-dede.
 þe kende corse of planetys sere.
 ffor astronomy wythe-owt drede.
 May no man know perlyte & clere.
- 205 But he may here in lyfe lede.
 þe hole terme of an hundyrd ȝere.
- ffor be þas a hundyrd ȝere come owt.
 As þes grete clerkys seyne.
 þe gret spere ys runne a-bowte.
- 210 And turnyd to hys fyrst state a-geyn.

- fol. 7 a.
- The corse of planetys all þe rowte.
 þan xall be know & be certen.
 And odyr wyse with-owtyn dowte.
 That crafe xall he neuer opteyne.
- 215 whan aftyr sevyn hundyrð ȝere.
 þat Iaerthe here in erde gan dwell.
 Ouyr all erde fere & nere.
 aweche synne & wretchydnes befell.
 And mannys hertys sett so entere.
- 220 with hydows males for to mell.
 þat yt ys not leful to here.
 nor no tunge to towch nor tell.
- Than goodys sonys as bokys tell vs.
 Couetyd to ly mennys dowterys by.
- 225 Goodys sonys we constru þus.
 Ar sethys kynrede sekyrly.
 ffor caymys sonys were vycyows.
 Mannys chyldryn were þey callyd for thy.
 Of myn autere seynt methodius.
- 230 I take wytnes þat I not ly.
- That god was wrothe in hys entent.
 And seyð a wondyr word I-wys.
 þat I made man I me repent.
 Or made hym to haue part of my blys.
- 235 My spryte xall not be lost ne lent.
 In man for he but flesche be schent.
 ffor man onkyndly dothe a-mys.
- þan sethe-ys kynrede with gret on-ryte.
 þey lay be women of caymys kyn.
- 240 An[d] gotyn gyauntys of hydows hyte.
 All in cursydnes & in synne.
 þey were ogly & fowle in syte.
 passyng all oþer men.
- Than bad god noe he xuld hym dyte.
- 245 A schyp he xuld be sauð in.
- fol. 7 b.
- Than noe went for sekyrnes.
 To make a schyp as god hym bad.

222. *Towch* or *MS.*

- An hundyrd wyntyſ as bokys wytnes.
 Was yt or þat ſchyppe was made.
 250 So longe ȝytt god of hys goodnes.
 Of hys vengeaunce he a-bode.
 To loke yf man ȝyt wold hym dreſſe.
 To mend þat he ſo forfeſte hadde.
- But nowt halpe yt þoo delayſe.
 255 In man was ſo rote faſte.
 & þer-for god as þe ſtory ſayſe.
 On hem to take vengeaunce at þe laſt.
 On erde yt reynyd xl. dayys.
 þe erde wyth flode was all ouer-caſte.
 260 All was drownyd & went a-wayys.
 Safe noe & hys mene paſte.
- Thys goode noe kome of ſethe.
 & hys iiij. ſonys ſothe to ſey.
 Sem. cham. & alſo lapheth.
 265 þat ſumdele ſeruyd god to pay.
 God ſeyd to noy all xuld to deſthe.
 ffor ſynne yt reynyd nyte & day.
 Safe noy & hys ſonys thre.
 & here wyuys xuld ſcape a-way.
- 270 Noy hadde þe ſchyp with-ynne.
 Hys wyfe & hys ſonys thre.
 & here wyuys more & myn.
 And ſo of all maner degre.
 Byrd & beaſt a copyll be-twyn.
 275 God ȝyt ſafe hym þat poſte.
 Where-with þe werde xuld eft be-gyn.
 And aftyr þe floode replaſchyd be.
- fol. 8 a. of noys lyfe ſex hundyrd ȝere.
 The floode of vengeaunce fyrſt be-gan.
 280 And leſtyd xij. munthys entyre.
 That all was gon man & woman.

236-7. There is evidently a line miſſing. Perhaps 236 ſhould end with *ys* for which the ſcribe careleſſly copied the laſt words of the following verſe.

255. Some word ſuch as *euil* has been omitted.

257. *to take* probably an error for *toke*.

- At þe xij monthys ende þis ys no were.
 þe flode of watyr pale & wan.
 wythe-drow & lond aperyd clere.
 285 And noe owt of hys schyp cam þan.
- Whan þat noe hadde fowne londe.
 And hys mene on þis wyse.
 he thankyd god of all hus sonde.
 And dede to god gret sacryfyse.
 290 And for þat god in noe ffonde.
 so gret kyndnes with-owtyn feyntyes.
 God blyssyd noe with hys honde.
 And all hys sonys for hys seruyse.
- Thus was þe ward with flode rynne.
 295 dystroyd castell town & wone.
 & be þat tyme as bokys sayne.
 þe secunde thowsand zere was gon.
 And all þe warde be-gan a-geyn.
 Of noys pore sede a-lone.
 300 þat wrowtyn fele wondyrz certen.
 As 3e may after here a-non.
- Of noys lyfe vj hundyrd zere.
 & twenty zere ryte to rede.
 he & all hys sonys in fere.
 305 Madyn gret byggyng in lond & lede.
 Here byggyng & here poste-styens sere.
 þey namyd þem regyons in þat stede.
 fol. 8 b. After þat þey of numbyr were.
 owt of þat schyppe when þat þey zede.
- 310 Thre hundyrd zere ho rekkyn a-ryte.
 After þe floode þan of noe.
 A sone he hadde Ionytus he hyte.
 And after fyfty zere fynde we.
 Noe to hys sone 3aue a plyte.
 315 Of ethan þat lordechepe fre.
 þer as þe sunne rysythe with bemys bryte.
 All hey vp-on þe est cuntre.
- Thre hundyrd wyntyre & fyfty.
 Noe leuyd & þan he deyyde.
 320 And after hys deynge sertenly.

hys sonys to-gedyr hem alydde.
 In senar þat was fast by.
 & þer þey schope hem to a-byde.
 And þer þey be-gan a grst mastry.
 325 God was not plesyd with here pryde.

In a wanhope were þey stadde.
 þat a floode xuld cum a-geyne.
 And for þat skyll þey were a-dradde.
 & made a towre with myte & mayne.
 330 So hey þat towre be-gonne þey hadde.
 It rechyd þe skyys ny hand certen.
 to make þe towre þey were ful mad.
 & god þer-of had gret dysdeyne.

But ȝet curted god in trone.
 335 non oþer vengeawns on hem sent.
 but here langage schongyd a-non.
 þat no man wyst what oþer ment.
 whan on bad brynge mortere & ston.
 wythe watyr in happe to hym he went.
 þus were þey sprekyd euery schone.
 fol. 9 a. 340 And all here ydyll trauell echent.

Whan þey faylyd þus of þer dede.
 And wondyrly wern so deuyd.
 These sonys of noye a-bowte gun sprede.
 345 ouyr all contres þat were wyde.
 Than Ionythus streyte he ȝede.
 In-to þe oryent þe est syde.
 & þer he keste þem owt of drede.
 In rest & in quyete to a-byde.

And þere Ionythus sekyrly.
 Of good god wysdam he hente.
 And god tawte hym astronomy.
 þe knowyng of þe cors how planets went.
 Sem hys brodyr went to Asay.
 355 In-to þat cunstre was he bente.
 Iaphet northeward gan hym hy.
 to þe weste se þat ys occydent.

353. *planets* was first written instead of *cors*, which is added above the line.

And cham went & hys mene.
 to þe myddys of þe worde rythe.
 360 to Ierusalem into þat cunstre.
 þer sythyn to dethe cryst was dyte.
 Cham held þer gret ryalte.
 & was man of mykyll myte.
 þe schyldyrn of cam þus rede we.
 365 were sauage wyle & lythe.

Ionythus zett fynde we than.
 hadde a dyscypyll þat hyte nemiroth.
 An howge geawt pale & wan.
 Wondyrly grym grysly & lothe.
 370 A gret hunter he was þat man.
 to chase bolys & borys bothe.
 þe towre of babylon fyrste began.
 þorow hys wytte with-owtyn othe.

fol. 9 b. Than aftyr-ward be-fel yt þus.
 375 Caymys sonys made a gaderynge.
 & as þe story tellyth vs.
 A-monge hem þey ohoosyn a kyng.
 & hym þey callyd pontycus.
 þat xuld hem gouerne in here doynge.
 380 Of schame as sethe methodyus.
 Mykyll baret gan vp to sprynge.

Than Iaphethe-ys sonys herd tell of þis.
 How caymys sonys made syche ryalte.
 & to Ionytus þey sent I-wys.
 385 Wrytys & masons gret plente.
 And byldyd a town þat callyd ys.
 Ionyta a gret cetye.
 In þis tyme was pes & lys.
 Be-tywx nemoroth & caymys sonys parde.

390 Than Iaphet sonys & caymys also.
 Werryd an[d] wex yche odyrys sone.
 Ionythus herd thes tell þoo.
 & sent to nemorothe word anon.
 That Iapheth-ys kynrede wold not ho.

371. This line was first written after v. 368 and then crossed out.

392. *thes* after *Ionytus* deleted, MS.

395 But stroy caymys kynrede sak & ston.
 & in þe begynnynge of all þis woo.
 þe þerd thowsand jere was gon.

Than fell yt so in þe forte thowsand.
 Ouer all þe word wex werre & debate.
 400 þat eche man coueytyd oþerys lond.
 & eche to stroy oderys astate.
 That nemoroth gan vndyrstonde.
 & to caymys kyndam hadde gret hate.
 & þer-to went with strenthe of honde.
 405 & schent þe regne & made yt mate.

fol. 10 a. So þat prouynce nemoroth helde.
 In was & note in rest & pees.
 þat yt no lenger þer dwell.
 but toke to hys eresdes.
 410 And eresdes þo with spere & schelde.
 caymys kyndom brent on a bles.
 & all þat wern in town & felde.
 he toke as prasonerys all þe pres.

The rubusenys there were a-chente.
 415 And þe palestines also.
 þe Amores & affres þat were hent.
 As prasonerys in care & woo.
 All westward to þe occydent.
 they fledde eresdes was here foo.
 420 þan eresdes homwarde went.
 & gate a son þat hyte cusdro.

Thys cusdro aftyrward was kynge.
 Of þe regne as we fynde.
 There Ionythus hadde hys wonnyng.
 425 thorow-owt all þe hey ynde.
 Tho caymys sonys made oft gaderynge.
 of men at foote an hydows mynde.
 xxi. m. be goode rekynnyng.
 to sale cusdro & all hys kende.

409. Some word after *hys* apparently missing.

411. *ables* MS.

428. *rekynnyge*, MS.

430 Than was cusdro sotyll of gyn.
 & hard tell of thys caste.
 & in hys londe he lete hym in.
 tyll þey to þe floode of tygyr paste.
 And when þey Ichon with-ynne.
 435 & entyrde with-in þe flodys faste.
 þan cusdro wolde no lenger blyn.
 but fel up-on þem as a blaste.

Cusdro þan hys oste a-rayyde.
 with elfantys strong & towe.
 440 to bere down þe foote-men at a brayde
 & to don dystruxcoun I-now.
 fol. 10 b. And þer camys sonys were ouer-leyde.
 Cusdro-ys ost smertly hem slow.

Ascapyd neuer on aftyr þeis.
 445 All londys þat in-habyte were.
 Wyth-in hem-self gan fare amys.
 Stroyen & warren here & þere.
 But zet or þis was don I-wys.
 As myne autyr wyll wytnes bere.
 450 A thowsend zere he seythe yt ys.
 Or þis be-fell so ouer all qwere.

In þe V. thowsend zere folowyngs.
 In þe fyue & twenty zere.
 Sabysas þat þan was kyngs.
 455 Of all hethen fare & nere.
 With gret ostys gaderyngs.
 He schewyd well hys powre.
 fflowre score safe tweyn þe good reknyngs.
 He dystroyd cytyis þere.

460 When sabysas as bokys seyn.
 Had dystroyd þe cytyis rote & rynde.
 fforthe he passyd in certeyn.
 to þe [þ]yrd kyndom of ynde.
 & þere he wrowte with myte & mayn.
 465 þat ȝyt ben hadde in mynde.

434. Verb evidently missing.

463. *lyrd* ms.

465. Word such as *works* or *deeds* missing. Cf. Latin text (J)
 p. 196.

And fro þes he turnyd ageyn.
In-to Arabye as we fynde.

470 fro arabye he wente full ryte.
In-to deserte þe sothe to tell.
Saba þe wyldyrnes yt hyte.
ther wonnyd þe sonys of ymaell.
Saba þere dede dyte.
A-monge þe paynemys fers & ffell.
fol. 11 a. Castellys stronge in strength & myte.
475 & þere he schope hym for to dwell.

But for to declare more of þis.
what was ymaell wyttirly.
Abraham-ys sone he was I-wys.
of haste born full trewly.
480 Isaake was hys sone of blysse.
gotyn in wedlock sekirly.
All Iewys & sarsenys þat now ys.
come of þes tweyne certainly.

The schyldyrn eerten of Israell.
485 come of Isaac sothe to sey.
þe sarsenys come of ymaell.
& all þat leue of paynemys lay.
Thys ymaellys sonys as bokys spell.
In mamentry was all here fay.
490 All in deserte þo folk gan dwell.
tyl yt be-fell þus on a day.

All þat were in þat wyldyrnes.
þer sabysas hadde þe castell pygth.
to-gedyr sone þey gan hem dresse.
495 with kynge sabysas for to fyte.
And as þe story berythe wytnes.
they ouercome sabysas with myte.
& many a thowesend more & leese.
ysmael-ys sonys to dethe þey dyte.

500 And þen at þe fyrst as story says.
ysmaellys sonys after þis dede.
owt of deserte þey went here ways.
And sowtyn warrys in length & brede.
fol. 11 b. They made many fowle affrays.

- 505 In-to þe myddys of þe word þey gun to sprede.
As god in ymaelys dayys.
Behyte to hym & to hys seede.
- They conqueryd wol ny euery londe.
Estward in þe oryente.
- 510 And afterward as I vndyrstonde.
Ysraell to dystroy þey went.
Thorow mayte & strength of here honde.
þe schyldyrn of ysrael were all to-schent.
& ȝet þes paynemys as I vndyr-sonde.
- 515 Many a fayyr cyte þey brente.
- Than after all þis þey ded ordeyn.
Schyppys þat were stronge & goode.
& westward seyledyn sothe to seyn.
Wol ny to rombe ouer þe floode.
- 520 And whyl þey dwellyd þer certen.
Camelys flesche was here foode.
& ffor to tell þe texte all pleyne.
Here drynk medelyd with bloode.
- Than þe grettest of here degre.
525 fowre pryncys þer þey ches.
oreb zebbe & Zebbee.
& salmana þis ys no les.
Thes were cheuetans of þo men.
To make here nobyly to encrease.
- 530 & þan to Israell þey gun to sene.
þat pepyll to dystroy wold þey not cese.
- Bvt þan god of hys grett grace.
halpe þe chyldyrn of ysraell.
- fol. 12 a. And sone he-fell þe chawne a case.
- 535 þey dystroyd þe sonys of ymaell.
Gedyon þe sonys of Ioas.
On hem was so fers & fell.
þat he þat folk a-geyn gan chas.
In-to desert for to dwell.
- 540 An hundyrd thowsand & forty.
Were alayn all be-dene pere.
& ysaac sonys hadde þe mastry.
& owt of thraldham clere.

But zet as seythe þe prophycy.
 545 Ysmaellys sonys fers & kene.
 Schull efte cum owt & bere mastry.
 & do more harm þan euer was sene.

Zet a-geyn þey xall come owt.
 & rewle all þe worde of reste.
 550 And ouer-come yt with batellys stowt.
 Northe. sowthe. est. & weste.
 All crysten kyngs xall hem dowl.
 & in here thraldam be therste.
 xall non wyth-stynte þat howge rowte.
 555 Nor non here scheltron breste.

But zet as arnst declaryd.
 Aftyr-ward as ȝe xall here.
 Zet xall þe paynemys be for-faryd.
 Thorow crysten mannys powre.
 560 The ebrews so well here wytte waryd.
 þey reynynd full a thowsend ȝere.
 þe romanys aftyr þat ne sparyd.
 At þe laste dyscomfytte all in fere.

The fers babylons as we fynde.
 565 flowre ml. ȝere regnyd also.
 þe macydoynes in hydows mende.
 to hem of perce dede care & woo.
 fol. 12 b. And aftyrward þe folke of ynde.
 conqueryd londys many moo.
 570 All crystendom to þem I fynde.
 And trybutarys wern hem too.

They ouer-ledde apres & spayne.
 nanerne eke & Arragon.
 frawnce prouynce & Almayne.
 575 þat was a lond of gret renown.
 And aftyr-ward in bretayne.
 All þey had towre & town.
 be than þe fyrst thowsande certen.
 was weryd owt be good reson.

Than whan þe ward xall drawe to ende.
 580 In þe laste ende yt xall be seyne.
 Zet ysmaellys sonys xall eft wende.

owt of here wyldyrnes carteyne.
 And ouer all xall þey waste & schende.
 585 & do grett dystres & payne.
 In what cuntre so þey lende.
 schall non with-stynte hem a-geyne.

Here cummyng xall be as we rede.
 A schastysynge with-owt mesure.
 590 to crysten men for here mysdede.
 & for here synny hard reddure.
 for synfull lyfe þat man xall lede.
 A-geynes goddys lawe & eke nature.
 þey xall be put in sorow & drede.
 595 thorow Iamaellys sonye I 30w ensure.

fol. 13 a. & also for owre gret foly.
 þat we fforgete goddys cummaundment.
 With þe pepyll of barbary.
 All crystendom xall be schent.
 600 A-monge crysten men seyth þe story.
 So mekyll fylthe xall be bent.
 þat yt ys schame & velony.
 To yeke or here to mannys entent.

Ther-for we xall a-by full dere.
 605 þe sarzenys xall haue þer wyll.
 Perce cilice & londys þere.
 With strengthe þey xall dystroye gryll.
 The lond of surrey xall owt-rere.
 & all crystendom þey wolde kyll.
 610 Greys & all pepyll in fere.
 with dynte of swerde þey xall spyll.

Affryk Egypt & eke Asy.
 Vndyr trebyte xall be leyde.
 Of golde & syluyr & þat strawngely.
 615 At certen termys to be payde.
 Spayne with dynt of sword xall dy.
 Saue sum fro dethe xall be delayde.
 & kawt as prasonerys suyrly.
 & to rawnsom ben a-rayyde.

620 ffrawnce gascony & eke Almayne.
 In batellys stomfete xall þey be.

- & take as presonerys in certeyn.
 Of þe gretteste of þem in gre.
 The romans xall be kyld & slayn.
 625 ffor þey xall turne þe bak & fle.
 þus yamaellys sonys with myte & mayn.
 xull wyn all þe yllys of þe see.
- fol. 13 b. Northe sowthe est & weste.
 ouer all xall haue passage.
 630 & with þe werk as hem leste.
 & do many a dede owtrage.
 Ierusalem xall be full therste.
 with presonerys of crysten langage.
 All holy londe xall be opprest.
 635 with þis pepyll þat ben sauage.
- The ward þere xall haue daungere.
 & sett in trebute & in dystres.
 sythe xall þey seke fere & nere.
 & a-geyn holy schyrche hem dresse.
 640 That xulde serue god in clennee.
 þey xall take þem all in fere.
 golde & perle & odyr ryches.
 ornaments þat of chyrchys were.
- And pretyn hem at þer wyll.
 645 crysten prestys here & there.
 with-owt mercy hem kyll.
 & kast þer bodyys þey no rekk where.
 And schyrchys brenne & apyll
 All cryetendom þus xall þey dere.
 650 & hem woo full yll.
- All londys xall be desolate.
 all xall be baren & bare.
 here dedys xall be vnmate.
 here lyuynge xall be angry & kare.
 655 3onge & olde for sorow sake.
 þan xall þey stowpe & dare.
 fol. 14 a. now ar owre elderys in goode state.
 þat felyn no þinge of þis fare.

646, 650. These lines are incomplete. The last line of the stanza is missing.

- Ryche & pore þus xall sey.
 660 3onge & olde make þer mone.
 Well at ese now arn þey.
 þæt dydd an hundyrð ȝere a-gon.
 Thus all londys þey xall a fray.
 & dystroy bothe stok & ston.
 665 & all xall turne to tene & tray.
 þorow ȝemaellys sonys owre fon.

 3et fro desert whan þey cum owt.
 All londs to dystroy & ouer-brenne.
 þey xall be lothely sterne & stowte.
 670 & eke not lyke to oper menne.
 Wome~~n~~ with schylde ouer all a-bowt.
 With swerd & fyre sle & brenne.
 þis wreche xall fall with-owt dowt.
 for þe wreche of wykkyd synne.

 675 Preste eke with-owt mercy.
 In chyrchys þey xall kyll.
 & women xall þey ly by.
 & in schyrchys here luste fulfyll.
 Here horsæ & mulys þey xull tey.
 680 To seynts tombs a-geyn all skyll.
 Here lemmanys þey xall clothe full try.
 In vestments at here wyll.

 All cryetandom with-owtyn were.
 In here thraldom xall be stadde.
 685 But þan xall stedfaste men a-pere
 þat in god arn trosty & sadde.
 fol. 14 b. and xall to cryst make here prayere.
 ffor þe bloode & watyr þat he schadde.
 to delyuer hem fro þat sorry dawngere.
 690 & be hys grace to make hem gladde.

 But as þe story makythe mynde.
 god xall ye not suffyr ay.
 ffor crysten men þat to god ar kynde.
 schall renyne þe ryte fay.
 695 But for þis skyll yt ys we fynde.
 to fulfyll þat god hym-selfe gan say.
 blyssyd be þe rote & rynde.
 That for me suffyrð tene & tray.

- As prophetys þat were here be-forn.
 700 slayn & martyryd for my sake.
 to lustyfe man & sey þer sore.
 That for my lofe desese gam take.
 yf he laste sadly euer-more.
 & to þe ende my love not slake.
 705 In heuyn he xall hys state restore.
 And saue hys sowle ffro woo & wrake.

 þan aftyr all þis woo & kare.
 Ismaellys sonys as I haue tolde.
 on here clothyng xall not apare.
 710 precyus stonys perle ne golde.
 þey xall make gret boost & fare.
 & sey what lond ys now so bolde.
 þat dare loke up but darke & dare.
 lordys of þe word we xall ben holde.

 715 & whan þey wene to be heyheste.
 fol. 15 a. And in here pryde hem gloryfe.
 Good god xall hys eye keste.
 to crysten men of hys mercy.
 here bondys of bondage xall he breste.
 720 & delyuer hem sothefastly.
 & brynge crystendom to reste.
 As we fynde in þis story.

 ffor þer xall ryse a crysten kyng.
 with þo felonys for to fyte.
 725 to dethe he xall þoo paynemys brynge.
 With dynt of swerd þorow godds myte.
 here schyldyrn & all here offsprynge.
 to dethe yche on he xall hem dyte.
 here wyvys in preson cast to clynge.
 730 Thus xall god for crysten ryte.

 þus þe eonys of ysmaell.
 all þat ben left on-slayn.
 In woo & thraldam xall þey dwell.
 Of crysten men sothe to sayne.
 735 & vij. sethys more as þe story tell.
 sorow & woo xall be here peyne.
 þan on crysten men be-fell.
 Be-for hand in certeyne.

- þan xall all sweche sorow cese.
 740 & all stryuis stynt & stonde.
 All crysten præsoners xall haue pes.
 In præsoun where þey be ffonde.
 & delyueryd clene þis ys no les.
 & wende home to here cunstre sonde.
 745 A-geyn xall all þinge þan encrese.
 fol. 15 b. And multyply on goddys grownde.
- þe kyng of romayns xall þat tyde.
 haue dysdeyne & gret dyspyte.
 on hem þat cryste be-forn denyde.
 750 Whyll þe werd stode in herd plyte.
 egyppte & Arabye londys wyde.
 þat forsok cryste meche & lyte.
 ffor þey in trowþe wolde [not] a-byde
 þey xall be worthy to þat wytte.
- 755 on erde þan xall be reste & roo.
 pees & solas Ioye & gladnes.
 xall now be lyke aftyr þer-too.
 Ne neuer be-forn þat tyme was.
 þer xall be sekyl troste alsoo.
 760 drede xall non ben in no case.
 ffor er þe warlde xall ende & hoo.
 Ther xall be reste in euery place.
- þey xall fare in þe selfe manere.
 As men fardyn in þe tyme of noe.
 765 þey ete & dranke & made good schere.
 And made fests of realte.
 weddyngs xall be many in fere.
 of reche & pore & euery degre.
 And whyll þis Ioy ys gretteste here.
 770 sonest xal yt sesyd be.
- for þan xall gogmangog nere cum
 owte of þe mownte of calpye.
 That god cloyd all & sum.
 At Alexandrys prayere suyrlly.

755. *onerde* MS.771. *cum nere* MS.773. *cloyed* MS.

- 775 þey xall dystroy all crystendome.
þey xall cum owt so hydowysly.
men all most wax defe & dum.
fol. 16 a. So xall þey drede here felony.
- 780 All þe worde þey xall ouer-runne.
And work howge & grett.
þey xall devowre men.
& women with schylde etc.
Edders & anakys þat brede in fen.
Hem xall þink deynty mete.
- 785 Regnes þey xall dystroy & bren.
& fowly mankynde þey xall threte.
- þis pepyll xall regne vij. ȝere.
And þan xall þey þorow here myte.
Take a cete ryche & dere.
- 790 Iosophath for sothe yt hyte.
but þan xall god slake here powre.
Wythe fere & brynston brennyng bryte.
þat fall xall on hem all in fere.
& all þe pepyll dystroy down ryte.
- 795 þan xall come an emprore.
Of greys & rome lord xall he be.
To Ierusalem with gret honowre.
& regne vij. ȝere in þat cunstre.
In þat place þat owre saueȝowre.
- 800 Cryet was naylyd on rode tre.
& he xall myldly ȝelde þat cure.
Hys croune & hys dygnyte.
- Hys crowne he xall sett full ryte.
On þe cros þat cryste on deyde.
- 805 & be-toke hys gost to godds myte.
þat for hym sufferyd wounnds wyde.
Than xall he loke vpward on hyte.
& hold hys honds to heuyn þat tyde.
- fol. 16 b. And þan xall he sen a syte.
- 810 þe sygne of a cros in heuyn a-byde.

780. Object missing.

781. þey xall deworow & vowre men with worow & marked for
omission. MS.

- But þan xall cum weret of aH.
 Antecryet þe deuelys byrde.
 cryst þat caytef hym-self xall call.
 & make hys name so kowthe & kydde.
- 815 Gret wondyrs werk he xall.
 but falsede xall þen vndyr hydde.
 þat saytowre false fowle hym be-fall.
- of þe werd he xall sett in mende.
 of þe elements more & mynne.
 820 erde & watyr fere & wynde.
 he xall come of Iwys kynde.
 Of þe seede of dan we fynde.
 he xall be begote & born in synne.
 & all come of cursyd kende.
- 825 yt xall not be as folkys haue tolde.
 he xulde be begotyn of a frere & born of a nune.
 but he xall be born of a bysmere bolde.
 þe werst woman ony-where may wone.
 That ys a strumpett & a scolde.
- 830 & be-gotyn of a fowle glotun.
 hys syre hys damme a thowsend-folde.
 xall be wers þan we devyse cunne.
- ffor rythe as cryst in mary lyte.
 & conceyuyd of þe holy goet
 835 be þe vertu of goddys myte.
 þat ys lord of myts moste.
 And born was of a mayde bryte.
 All in clennes & with-owt boste.
- fol. 17 a. To saue mannys sowle þat was ys ryte.
 840 from þe deuyll of hell & all hys oste.
- Ryte so xall a deuyll descende.
 In-to a woman full of synne.
 & in þat lothely lodge xall lende.
 At certen tyme here wombe with-ynne.
- 845 And whan a certen tyme ys epende.

817. Last line of stanza missing. In MS. the first line of the following stanza is linked to v. 816 but its rime word shows that that division is incorrect.

Hys dame & he xall parte on tweyne.
 þat sone of synne to wykkyd ende.
 Endles wo he xall hym wyne.

- 850 In Cozoga born xall he be.
 In bethsayda he xall be fedde.
 In capharnan regne xall hee.
 & sore he xall be dowtyd & dred.
 Ther-for seyde cryst words of pyte.
 As þey be in þe gospell red.
 855 Cozajaim ay woo be to þe.
 þe sone of pryde in þe xall be bredde.

- And þou bethsayda myne erthly foo.
 Euer-more ȝyt woo þow be.
 & þu capharnan woo be þe too.
 860 þe sone of synne xall regne in þe.
 Thow þou enhawnee þe soo.
 To reche to heuyn in ryte degre.
 Ȝet xall þu fall & for-doo.
 To hell grownde in dome of me.

- 865 Thus antecryst xall wondyrly.
 be moryschyd vp with Iogulars.
 With wytchecraft & with sorcery.
 With false Iapys & begylars.
 fol. 17 b. he xall lere Igramansy.
 870 & be cawte wyth-in charmers.
 þan aftyr all þis he xall by.
 & to Ieruselem take hys cors.

- And so seynt methody tellyth pleyn.
 In þe tempyll of salomon.
 875 þer xall þis wykkyd & cursyd awayn.
 as a god sett vp hys trone.
 where he xall sytt in certeyn.
 & werk wondyr many on.
 All trewe folk he xall do payne.
 880 or make hem wurchepe hym euery schone.

Gret wondyr he xall schew þere.
 make defe to here ȝefe blynd here syte.

871. Read *hy* for *by*.

- halt & crepys þat ben ony-where.
 make here lymmys heyll & rythe.
 885 Tres þat ben baren & sere.
 þorow wytchecraft of þat sory wyte.
 þey xall burgyn & leuys here.
 & blome & frute full blasynge bryte.
- hym xall þink in hys entent.
 890 þat he ys goddys sone veryly.
 of euery sondry element.
 he xall wark grett mastery.
 he xall to þe pepyll in here present.
 make to seme to þer ey.
 895 þat dede bodyys in grauys lent.
 xall ryse from dethe vp bodyly.
- ryte as symon magus dede.
 þat wrowt be falsed & be gyle.
 ryte so xall þat deuyllys byrde.
 900 gret wondys werk for a whyle.
 fol. 18 a. Hys mastryes xall so gret be kydde.
 þat seynts xall ny fall in parell.
 to leue all þat ys be-tydde.
 ys don be myte & not be gyle.
- 905 hym-self xall not walk in brede.
 but in þe same place þere.
 þat cryste hym-self walkyd & zede.
 whyll þat he in erde was leuynge here
 But hys dyscypyls fer xall sprede.
 910 ouer all þe werd bothe far & nere.
 to turn euery leuande lede.
 & make hem leue on fendys fere.
- And þoo þat leuyn on hys lay.
 Ryche I-now xall he hem make.
 915 & þoo þat wyll for-sake hys lay.
 xall goo to dethe sorow & wrake.
 Many a body þe sothe to say.
 xall to þat false beleue hem take.
 full goode crystene be þoo day.
 920 xall be in plyte cryst to forsake.

- Than xall ennok & ely.
 ben sent owt from paradyse
 & be-for all pepyll verily,
 þis Antecryst þey xall dyspyse.
 925 And proue be ryte & profyey.
 þat all hys maruelys & mastryse.
 Arn not but false & sorcery.
 & wrowt be non oþer wyse.
- fol. 18 b. Whan Antecryste ys þus scomfet
 930 meche pepyll xall hem renne-ay.
 And lewys namely in þat plyte.
 xall turne a-geyne to crysts lay.
 Than Antecryst for dyspyte.
 ennok & ely at certen day.
 935 to dethe with dyntys do hym smyte.
 for þat þey dyspysyd hys lay.
- And whan þey haue to dayys be dede.
 þey xall ryse vp to lyfe a-geyn.
 & whan þis cursyd wede.
 940 hathe reyned tweyne zere full & pleyn.
 And eke an half zere in þat stede.
 & led hys mastryys & hys may.
 no lenger he xall holde vp hys hede.
 but þan he xall draw to hys peyne.
- 945 Ihesu cryst goddys sone of myte.
 with many legyons a blysfull pres.
 of þe nyne orderys of aungyllys bryte.
 & whan he comyth þat prynce pere-les.
 he xall come with sweche a lyte.
 950 as all þe ward went on a blese.
 to dystroy euery wykkyd wyte.
- And as seynt gregory dothe expres.
 þe prynce of aungelys seynt mychaell.
 þis antecryst to dethe xall dresse.
 955 & sle þat felon false & fell.
 & xall hym put in sory preesse.
 In-to þe deppest pyt in hell.
 In endless peyn depe deprese.
 þer with damnyd euer to dwell.

- fol. 19 a. 960 And þan xall sytt þat hey Iustyse.
 goddys sone maker of lyte & leuyn.
 & deme vs aftyr owre seruyse.
 as we haue wrowt here olde & zynge.
 The wykkyd men he xall chastyse.
 965 & deme to hell with wykkyd steuyn.
 þey þat þan be fownde Iuste & wyse.
 xall streyte in-to þe blysse of heuyn.
- To þat blys he mot vs brynge.
 sothe-fast cryst þat deyyd on roode.
 970 as he of dauyd rote wolde sprynge.
 & for to by vs he sched hys bloode.
 As wystly as he made all þinge.
 kepe vs fro warkys wykk & woode.
 & he ys cryste curtes & kende.
 975 with grace he glad vs with all goode.
 Amen.

VI. NOTES

- v. 17 f. Cf. *Cursor Mundi*, v. 345 f. (Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., o.s. LVII f.)
- vv. 25-6. Tradition varies in regard to the place of Adam's creation. Syrian tradition makes it Golgotha, the middle of the earth, cf. *Cave of Treasures* p. 4 (Ed. C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, Leipzig, 1883) and the *Ethiopian Book of Adam*, which goes back ultimately to Syrian sources; cf. Bezold, p. ix (Ed. Dillmann, *Nachrichten von d. Georg-Augusts Universität u. d. königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissen. z. Göttingen*, 1858, No. 19, p. 219). More commonly it is given as Damascus (cf. *Genesis and Exodus*, v. 208, Ed. Morris E.E.T.S., o.s. VII) or as Hebron (cf. *Cursor*, v. 405-6 and Emerson, "Legends of Cain," *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass.* XXI, p. 857.)

972. *for* crossed out before *made* MS.

- v. 57. MSS. of the *Revelations* give either the 15th or the 30th year after the expulsion as date of Cain's birth. The long texts (cf. Sackur, p. 60) and the earlier copies of the short version (cf. Appendix) have thirty, but most of the short texts give fifteen.
- v. 62. *Delbora* or *Debbora* is the usual form. Cf. J, p. 192. The name is a corruption of an older form such as *Lebuda*. Cf. Dillmann, *Das Christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, Göttingen, 1853, p. 39, n. 52. So in the *Cave of Treasures* (p. 8) *Lebhudha* is Cain's sister, and *Kelimath*, Abel's.
- v. 69. Cf. *Cursor*, v. 1062 (Trinity ms.): *And trewely 3af to him his tende.*
- v. 73 f. The short Latin text omits this statement, but the translator has borrowed it from the *Cursor*, v. 1191 f.
- v. 91 f. *Fowre* is certainly an error; perhaps the writer meant *forty*. The number of children assigned to Adam is usually thirty sons and thirty daughters, besides Cain and Abel; as the translator would know from the *Cursor*, v. 1215 f., his source in this passage. The short Latin text says merely (J, p. 193) *Peperit postea Adam Eua filios et filias* (cf. Gen. 5, 5), while the long versions and the *Cave of Treasures* make no reference to other children after Seth. The Ethiopian *Contest of Adam and Eve* (S. C. Malan, London, 1882, p. 106) says "neither was any more offspring born of them; but only those five Cain, Luluwa, Abel, Aklia, and Seth alone." For the more popular tradition of thirty sons

and daughters cf. Comestor, col. 1080, and the *Post peccatum Adae* (Meyer, *Abhand. d. Philos.-Philol. Classe d. Königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1882, xvi, p. 229).

- v. 106. The place of Adam's burial, like that of his creation, varies according to different accounts. Hebron is most frequently named. Cf. J, p. 193; *Cursor*, v. 1416; *Post peccatum Adae* (Meyer, *Abhandl.*, xvi, p. 139 f.). In eastern tradition Adam and the succeeding patriarchs are buried in a sacred cave. Cf. *Cave of Treasures*, p. 9 f., and *Contest of Adam and Eve*, p. 116 f. This cave is located in Hebron, though that place is not named in the accounts just cited. But cf. Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*, Migne, *Patrol.*, 94, col. 1185: *Chebron in campi latitudine sita est . . . uno ad orientem stadio speluncam duplicem in valle habet, ubi sepulcra patriarcharum quadrato muro circumdantur*. In the case of Adam this cave is only a temporary resting place. His body is removed by Noah into the ark and after the flood it is carried by Sem and Melchisedech to Golgotha and there buried. Cf. *Cave of Treasures*, p. 19 f., and *Contest of Adam and Eve*, pp. 148-153. According to another tradition Adam is buried in Paradise. Cf. *Apocalypse of Moses* (Ante-Nicaean Fathers, xvi, p. 454) and *Vita Adae* (Meyer, *Abhandl. der. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, München, 1878, xiv, p. 242).
- v. 123. The name usually given to this city is *Enoch* or *Enos* in honor of Cain's eldest son. Cf. *Genesis* (Vulgate text), 4, 17; *Cursor*, v.

- 1504; M.E. *Genesis and Exodus*, v. 435. *Effrom* is taken from the short text of Methodius. Cf. J, p. 193.
- v. 127 f. Cf. Introduction, pp. 148 and 153 f.
- v. 129. *fyrste* is a mistake for fifth. Cf. *Cursor*, v. 1464.
- v. 145 f. Cf. Introd., p. 154.
- v. 191 f. Cf. *Cursor*, vv. 1341-1552.
- v. 225 f. Cf. reading of ms. B. in variant readings, Appendix, p. 193, n. 53.
- v. 240 f. Cf. Emerson, "Legends of Cain," p. 888 f. and 916 f.
- v. 248 f. Cf. variant reading of ms. B. Appendix, p. 194, n. 57. Other mss. of the *Revelations* do not give this detail. The *Cursor*, 1702 f. gives 120 years as the length of time granted for building the ark, taking this statement from Comestor, col. 1082, as Dr. Haenisch points out (*op. cit.*, E.E.T.S., o.s. cl, p. 6*). This period refers properly to the time of repentance granted to men, not to the time required for building the ark. Cf. Comestor's further statement (col. 1082) *et dixit Dominus hoc ante annos viginti, quam inciperet fieri arca, ut dicit Hieronymus, quae facta legitur centum annis*. Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. in Genesis*, Migne, xxiii, col. 948.
- v. 296 f. Comestor, col. 1081, notes the various dates assigned as the close of the second age, as follows: *Hujus aetatis annos Septuaginta ponunt duo milia ducenta quadraginto quatuor; alii ducenta sexaginta quatuor, Hieronymus non plene duo millia, Methodius duo milia*. Then he adds this observation on

Methodius's dating: *Ipse tamen per chiliades saecula disponit, nec apponit annos si supersint, et ideo nihil certum de numero annorum tradidit.*

- v. 301 f. This date is evidently a mistake, for the Latin texts as well as the *Cursor* (v. 2002) read 612.
- v. 312. Cf. Introd., p. 137 f. This son of Noah belonged originally to oriental tradition. Apart from his connection with the *Revelations* he was known in Europe in the Middle Ages as a great astronomer, either the teacher or the pupil of Nimrod. Cf. Haskins, *Nimrod the Astronomer*, in *The Romanic Review*, v, p. 203 f. In this rôle he is mentioned by Gower, *Confessio Amantis* vii, v. 1451 f. (*The English Works of John Gower*, II, G. C. Macaulay, Lond., 1901). Again, he usurps the place of Seth, visits Paradise and brings back branches of the fir, palm, and cypress. Cf. Geoffrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon* (Pistorius-Struve, *German. Script.*, Ratisbone, 1726, II, p. 242. Quoted by Meyer, *Abhandl.*, xvi, p. 112 f.). See also Sackur, p. 64, n. 1, for this and other references to Jonitus. Jonitus appears also in traditions of the founding of Rome by Noah and his sons, who are identified with Roman deities, i. e., Japhet becomes Janus. Here Jonitus foretells the future supremacy of the city. Cf. A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, Torino, 1882, I, p. 86, n. 18. (Ref. given by Sackur, p. 64, n. 1). Jonitus' rôle as prophet and astronomer in these later developments of the character are reminiscent

of the superhuman wisdom with which he is endowed in the *Revelations*. As an orthodox son of Noah, Jonitus was looked upon with suspicion by Biblical historians and commentators. Even Comestor, who quotes Methodius so freely, adds this note to the passage on Jonitus, (col. 1089): *Forte non est vera ratio Methodii*.

- v. 334 f. Cf. *Cursor*, v. 2255 f. (Göttingen ms.):

Bot grete god, þat euer es hende,
a curtais vengans on þaim gan send.

- v. 358 f. Cf. J, p. 195. According to Bede (*Hexaemeron*, Migne, xci, col. 115) both Japhet and Cham get a share of Asia, presumably Asia Minor and the coast land between that and Africa, in order to make the portions of the three sons more equal. In the eastern stories, however, the "middle part of the earth," which would include Jerusalem (cf. v. 360 of our text) belongs to Sem and his descendants. Cf. *Contest of Adam and Eve* (Malan, p. 163): "Unto Sem my first born son, shall his lot be from Jerusalem which is a great city as far as Quardayun and Andika." Cf. also the *Book of Jubilees* (Dillmann, Ewald's *Jahrbuch*, II, 1849, p. 251 f.). That this territory was held both by the sons of Sem and of Cham is evident from Isidore's account of Jerusalem (*Etymol.*, Migne, 82, col. 527): *Judaei asserunt Sem filium Noe quem dicunt Melchisedech primum post diluvium in Syriae condidisse urbem Salem in qua regnum fuit ejusdem Melchesidech. Hanc postea tenuerunt Jebusaei ex quibus sortita*

est vocabulum Jebus sicque duobus nominibus copulatis Jebus et Salem vocata est Hierusalem. The Jebusaei were descendants of Ham (Cham). Cf. *Genesis*, 10, 16.

- v. 382 f. This account of the struggles between the early kingdoms is peculiar to the *Revelations*. Cf. Sackur, p. 19 f.
- v. 414 f. These names are added in the interpolated version (B. M. Addit. 34018), and have been adopted in the short texts.
- v. 548 f. Cf. Bede's comment on Ismahel (*Gen.* 16. 12): *Hexaem.*, Migne, xci, col. 159. . . . *Saracenos vagos incertisque sedibus, qui universas gentes quibus desertum ex latere jungitur incursant, et expugnantur ab omnibus.* This much is from Jerome, *Liber Heb. Quaest. in Genesim*, Migne, xxiii, col. 963. Bede adds: *sed haec antiquitus. Nunc autem in tantum manus ejus contra omnes et manus sunt omnium contra eum; ut Africam totam in longitudine sua ditione premant, sed et Asiae maximam partem, et Europae nonnullam omnibus exosi et contrarii teneant.*
- v. 578. *fyrst* should be *fifth*. Cf. v. 129 and note. The close of the fifth age is not recorded in the Latin texts.
- v. 607 f. For similar description of the tribes of Gog and Magog cf. Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (Ethiopic version), London, 1896, II, p. 232. Sackur, p. 85, n. 4, gives further references.
- v. 771. The author means to refer to Gog and Magog, but he has confused these two in name with the British giant, Goemagot, who was slain

in a wrestling match with Corineus. Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Regum Brit.* (Transl. by A. Thompson, London, 1842, Bk. I, c. 16, p. 22 f.). Ref. given by Amours, Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*, I, note on v. 335. Note also Robert of Gloucester, *Chronicle*, Rolls Series, London, 1887, I, v. 508 f.: *Gogmagog was a geant suiþe gret & strong.*

- v. 783 f. Cf. *Kyng Alisaunder*, Weber, *Met. Rom.*, Edinburgh, 1810, II, v. 5972 f.

For hy libben by addren, and snaken
And wormes, that hy mowen taken
Mannes flesshe, and mannes blood
That hem thinketh swete and good.

- v. 811 f. In the account of Antichrist our author borrows freely from the *Cursor*, which in its turn is based on Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* (Migne, CI, col. 1295 f.).
- v. 849. In making Corozaim the birthplace of Antichrist Methodius differs from the usual tradition, according to which Antichrist is born in Babylon. Sackur (p. 41) suggests that this change is another of the arbitrary alterations of the author, made to fit the Biblical text (Luc., 10-13): *Vae tibi Corozaim*—which is immediately cited in our text. But there is evidence that the association between Corozaim and Antichrist did not originate with Methodius. In an Armenian legend of Antichrist, said to be compiled from fifth-century material, this statement occurs: "and he [Antichrist] is born in Chorazin, a village of the people of Israel." (Cf. *An old Armenian Form of the Antichrist Legend*, reprinted in

the English edition of Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, London, 1896, p. 255, from a translation by F. C. Conybeare, in *Acad.*, Oct. 26, 1895). Corozaim, as Antichrist's birthplace, appears in other works which show no influence of the *Revelations*. Cf. *Pricke of Conscience* (Ed. Morris, Berlin, 1863, for the Philological Soc.), v. 4166: *And in Corozaym he sal be born*. Mandeville gives both traditions (Ed. G. F. Warner, for the Roxburgh Club, 1889, p. 54): *And at Corsaym sall Antecriste be borne, Bot sum men saye he schall be borne in Babiloyne*. In a note on this passage Warner (p. 188) refers to several parallels for the statement about *Corozaim*. Cf. also Matzner's note in *Alteng. Sprachproben*, Prosa, Berlin, 1869, p. 214. But with one exception the places cited say merely that Antichrist was nourished in Corozaim. The exception is Magister Thietmarus, who records in his *Peregrinatio*, p. 7 (Ed. J. C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Med. Aevi Quatuor*, Lipsiae, 1873): *Corrozaim de qua nasciturus est antichristus*. Evidently there was an independent tradition which made Corozaim the birthplace of Antichrist. It was not the usual one, however. In two mss. of the *Revelations* an attempt has been made to reconcile the two accounts by identifying Corozaim with Babylon. Cf. Magdalene College., Oxf., MS. LIII, p. 210: *Antichristus nascetur autem in Corozaim que est ciuitas magna scilicet babilonia*. A similar statement occurs in Merton Coll., Oxf., MS. XIII, f. 54 b.

- v. 858 f. Cf. *Cursor*, v. 22144 f. These miracles are not recorded in the *Revelations*.
- v. 896 f. Cf. *Cursor*, v. 22161 f.
 Als symon magus in his guile,
 Right sua sal he þe folk bigile.
 For story of Simon Magus cf. *Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, Ed. Lipsius, Lipsiae, 1891, p. 224 f.
- v. 937 f. Cf. *Cursor*, v. 22373 and 22381-3. The usual tradition is that Antichrist will reign three and a half years, and that Elias and Enoch will rise after three days. Cf. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, p. 209, and Adso, col. 1297.
- v. 952. Cf. *Cursor*, 22400 for reference to Gregory.

VII. APPENDIX

THE SHORT LATIN TEXT OF THE *Revelations*

The following short version of the *Revelations* is transcribed from St. John's College, Oxford, MS. CXXVIII, (J), fol. 217^b-223^a, a MS. of the beginning of the eleventh century.¹ This text preserves several readings of the earliest version, represented in Sackur's critical text, which later copies have altered. Occasional corruptions in a word or phrase have crept in, and a few corrections, in the same hand which wrote the text, have been introduced. The text is written in a large, clear style, with an illuminated initial letter and occasional capitals stroked with green.

¹Cf. Coxe, *Cat. Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, II, p. 38. My sincere thanks are due to W. Stevenson, Esq., Librarian of St. John's College, for permission to transcribe this text.

Variant readings are added from Bodl. ms. 163 (S.C. 2016) (B), fol. 245 a-248 b, and from Rawl. Poet. 241 (S.C. 14732) (P), pp. 189-195.² B, a copy of the first half of the twelfth century, stands somewhat apart from the other mss. of the text, being slightly abridged at the beginning and at the end, and offering several independent emendations. J and B have a few readings in common which do not appear in other mss., as, for example, *tribulationem* for *tribulationes* (p. 200) and *fulgore* for *sulphore* (p. 201). But J is much more closely allied to P, a good representative text of the *Revelations*, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century. With the exception of B, the variations among mss. of the short text are few in number and of small importance.

[fol. 217^b] Incipit Liber Beatus methodi Episcopi Aecclesiae Patherensis et Martyris Christi De Principio seculi. Et inter regna gentium. Et de Fine Seculorum.¹

Sciendum namque est nobis fratres karissimi. quomodo in principio creauit deus celum & terram. et per ipsum omnia creata sunt. & quomodo fecit hominem. & aductorem similem sibi.² & posuit eos in paradyso. & uocauit nomina eorum Adam. & Euam. qui postea serpentino dolo decepti. eiecti sunt uirgines de paradyso. Anno autem tricessimo³ postquam eiecti sunt de paradyso. genuerunt Caim primogenitum. & sororem eius⁴ Chalmanan.⁵ et post tricesimo secundo⁶ anno genuerunt Abel. & sororem eius⁷ Delboran.⁸ Anno [fol. 218^a] centesimo tricesimo⁹ uite Ade. occidit Cain fratrem suum Abel. & posuit manum suam¹⁰ super eum. Anno autem tri-

¹ Cf. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1895, III, p. 338.

1 Incipit libellus Bemetoli quem beatus Jeronimus de greco in latinum transtulit. vel composuit. B. In nomine domini ihesu Christi Incipit liber Metodii episcopi ecclesiae paternis & martyris Christi quem de hebreo & greco sermone in latinum transferre curauit. id est de principio seculi. regna gentium & finem seculorum. Quem illustris uirorum beatus jeronymus in opusculis suis collaudauit. P. 2 sibi similem P. 3 XV P. 4 suam P. 5 Calmanan P. 6 xxxij P. 7 suam P. 8 delboram P. 9 cxxx P. 10 cen-

tesimo & trigesimo¹¹ uitae Adę. natus est ei filius nomine Seth. ad eius similitudinem. uir gigas. & magnus. Peperit postea Adam Eua.¹² filios & filias. Anno sexcentesimo¹³ uitę Adę ceperunt filii Caim abuti uxoribus fratrum suorum in fornicationibus nimis. Octingentesimo¹⁴ uero anno uitę Adę dilatate sunt fornicationes super terram¹⁵ nimis. & immunditię a filiis Caim. Anno¹⁶ autem non-agentesimo & trigesimo.¹⁷ mortuus est Adam. & sepultus est in hebron¹⁸ in¹⁹ primo miliario²⁰ seculi. Tunc disuinctę²¹ sunt generationes Seth. a generationibus²² Caim.²³ et abstulit Seth generationem suam²⁴ contra orientem in quendam²⁵ montem. qui erat proximus paradyso. Habitauit quoque Caim & eius cognatio²⁶ ubi nefandum fratricidium perpetravit. id²⁷ est²⁸ in india.²⁹ in³⁰ eodem loco deliciarum. ubi primus ipse Caim condidit ciuitatem. cuius uocabulum imposuit effrem. & hec³¹ prima facta est ante deluuium.

Quadragesimo³² autem anno tempore Jareth.³³ transiuit primum miliarium seculi. Trecentesimo & quadragesimo³⁴ anno uitę Jareth. in secundo miliario seculi³⁵ fuerunt³⁶ uiri malefici & artis pessime inventores de filiis Caim. & omnis³⁷ immundicie. et spurcie. id est obal. & tobal.³⁸ filii lamech³⁹ ceci. qui fuit primus⁴⁰ cęcus. qui interfecit Caim. Isti⁴¹ inuenerunt primi⁴² opera ferri. et aeris. & auri. & argenti molliendi. & ipsi primitus adinuenerunt⁴³ omnes artes musicas.⁴⁴ Post⁴⁵ annos autem septingentos⁴⁶ uitę Jareth secundo⁴⁷ miliario.⁴⁸ coepit⁴⁹ multa malicia peior⁵⁰ priore crescere super terram [fol. 218^b] que a nobis & negligenda sit & nec dicenda. Tunc concupierunt filii dei filias hominum.⁵¹ iratusque est⁵² domi-

omitted P. 11 ccc & xxx P. 12 Postea genuerunt Ad. & E. P. 13 Anno autem de P. 14 DCCC P. 15 super terram before fornicationes P. 16 B begins. 17 dccc & tricesimo B. DCCC & XXX P. 18 ebron B P. 19 omitted B. 20 millenario P. 21 diuise B P. 22 generatione B P. 23 Cain, Set B. 24 suam gen. B. 25 quemdam P. 26 Cain uero & eius cognacio hab. B. 27 omitted P. 28 inuidia P. 29 omitted B. 30 cui B P. 31 B adds id est damascum with ipsa est written above id est. 32 hec ipsa B hec est prima ciuitas f. P. 33 XL B P. 34 After Jareth B omits to in secundo. 35 XL P. 36 om. P. 37 fuere tunc B. 38 om. B. 39 Tubal B. 40 om. B. 41 before fuit B. 42 Isti primitus B isti enim P. 43 om. B. 44 inuenerunt B P. 45 auri & argenti & aeris molendi et omnes musicas artes ipsi inv. B. 46 autem added B. 47 septingentis corrected to septingentos J. dcc B. 48 in before secundo P. 49 seculi added P. 50 ceperunt P. 51 peior & crescere B. 52 nobis sit neg. & non dic. B. nec legenda nec dic. sunt P. 53 B adds Interfecto abel ab cain. genuit adam postea seth. Vnde ipse inquit. Possedi hominem per deum. Per filios namque dei

nus deus. & dolore cordis tactus dixit. Penitet me quod hominem feci super terra.⁵⁵ Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine. per eo quod caro est.⁵⁶ Post hæc ingressi sunt filii dei ad filias hominum. genueruntque ex eis gigantes super terram. & facti sunt atrocissimi⁵⁷ super cunctos homines qui habitant terram. Et tunc precepit dominus noe. ut faceret sibi archam.⁵⁸ & induceret uxorem eius & tres filios cum uxoribus eorum. quos reseruauit in archa. in undatione⁵⁹ diluuii. & factum est diluuium super omnem terram. Et tulit Noe ex omni animalia uiuente tam de uolatibus quam & bestiis.⁶⁰ & omnia que erant super terram que in archa reseruata fuerant. Anno sexcentesimo⁶¹ primo egressus est noe de archa⁶² cum omnibus qui⁶³ fuerant⁶⁴ cum eo. Tunc offerebat Noe holocausta⁶⁵ domino & benedixit⁶⁶ deus Noe & filiis eius.

Sexcentesimo & duodecimo⁶⁷ anno uite Noe in tercio miliario seculi reedificare⁶⁸ cepit Noe & filii eius nouam⁶⁹ possessionem⁷⁰ in terram⁷¹ & appellauerunt regiones⁷² illas tamnon⁷³ secundum nuncupationem numeri quo⁷⁴ exierunt de archa. id est octo. Tricesimo⁷⁵ autem anno in tercio miliario seculi.⁷⁶ genuit Noe filium & uocauit nomen eius Ionitum. Anno tricesimo & quinquagesimo⁷⁷ post diluuium dedit Noe eocham⁷⁸ id est orientem. in dominationem filii sui Toniti. & mortuus est Noe [fol. 219^a] cum completi fuissent dies⁷⁹ eius.⁸⁰ fuerunt anni nongenti quinquaginta. Post obitum Noe uenerunt filii eius in tercio miliario⁸¹ annorum⁸²

totam progeniem seth accepimus. a quibus nuncupabulum sumpsit. Per filias uero hominum cognationem cain intelligendam (*added above*) credimus. Interdictum namque fuerat a domino ut nemo sibi copulasset aliquam. nisi de sua tantum sobole. Quod illi transgredientes iratus est dominus & dolore cordis tactus intrinsecus dixit: Penitet me hominem fecisse. 54 *om.* P. 55 super terra *om.* P. B *adds* Non ideo dixit penitet ut aluius operis deum peniteret. sed admodum alicuius faciendis aliquid unde eum peniteret. quod postea destruit. Ac sic diceret. Ita delebo hominem quem creauit. B *omits text as far as* Et tunc. 56 *before* caro P. 56 grossissimi P. 57 B *reads* Igitur precepit d. noe ut sibi archam faceret. Legitur archa fuisse facta centum annis. B *omits as far as* Anno sexcentesimo primo. 58 in inundatione P. 59 de bestiis P. 60 DC P. 61 ad archam P. 62 que B P. 63 fuerunt B. 64 holocaustum B. 65 benedixitque B. 66 XII P. 67 edificare B. 68 *after* Noe. P. 69 terra B P. B *omits rest of sentence.* 70 *om.* P. 71 tam nomina P. 72 qui P. 73 Tricesimo uero B. 74 B *adds* post deluuium. 75 Tric. & 1 anno B. ccc. & quin. P. 76 eocham terram B. terram eocham P. 77 B *adds* uite. 78 B *reads after* eius, scilicet anni d. cccc. l. d cccc & 1 P. 79 tercium miliarium B. 80 *om.* B.

seculi & descenderunt in terram sannaar. & ceperunt edificare sibi⁸¹ turrim cuius cacumen pertingeret⁸² usque ad celum⁸³ & illic diuisit deus ira sua⁸⁴ quod facere ceperant. & dispersi sunt super faciem totius terre⁸⁵ & diuisi sunt super omnem terram. Jonitus autem filius Noe introiuit in⁸⁶ terram⁸⁷ eocham. id est orientem unde sol oritur. & habitauit ibi. & accepit a deo sapientiam. & omnem⁸⁸ astronomiam. & sydera celi ille inuenit.⁸⁹ Sem⁹⁰ filius Noe accepit terram asię. Cham⁹¹ terram meridianam quod⁹² est pars australis usque ad occidentem. Japhet introiuit contra aquilonem usque ad oceanum mare. & diuisi sunt in omnem terram. Jonitus filius Noe ipse⁹⁴ erudiuit⁹⁵ Nebroth, uirum gigantem & robustum uenatorem. & ipse Nebroth post diluuium edificauit turrim quę nuncupata est babylonia.⁹⁶ Anno septingesimo⁹⁷ in tercio miliario⁹⁸ edificata est babylonia magna.¹⁰⁰ Post hæc autem¹ fecerunt² sibi³ regem filii⁴ cham.⁵ cui nomen fuit⁶ Pontibus.⁷ qui tenuit puntum. & ex eo⁸ accepit nomen. Postea miserunt filii Japhet ad Jonitum uiros & artifices⁹ architectonię⁹ constructores.¹⁰ & uenerunt in eocham¹¹ ad Jonitum. & edificauerunt illi¹² ciuitatem quę nuncupata¹³ est Jonita. Et¹⁴ erat pax inter regnum Nebroth. & regnum pontibum¹⁵ filii cham. qui¹⁶ contra se inuicem¹⁷ rebellare¹⁸ ceperunt. Audito¹⁹ Jonitus scripsit epistolam ad Nebroth qui tenebat Babyloniam. Hoc²⁰ erat scriptum. quod²¹ regnum filiorum Japhet. hinc²² incipit delere regnum [fol. 219^b] filiorum Cham. Hęc primum²³ certamina apparuerunt inter regna & regna. super terram.

Anno octauo²⁴ in iiii²⁵ miliario²⁶ seculi semper pugnant utrinque²⁷ pugna.²⁸ & uictum est regnum²⁹ aduersus³⁰ regnum Nebroth³¹

81 ceperuntque ibi B. ibi P. 82 pertingerat P. 83 celos B. 84 iram suam P. after sua, B adds super eos qui hoc facere cep. 85 B omits rest of sentence. 86 om. B. 87 terram orientalem habitauitque B. 88 om. B. 89 adinuenit after astronomiam. ille nouit B. 90 autem added B. 91 Cam uero B. 92 que B P. 93 super B. 94 f. N. ipse om. B. 95 written in margin J. B P read genuit. J nearer original. Cf. Sackur, p. 64. 96 qui for & ipse N. B. 97 primus edificauit babiloniam B. 98 Dec B P. 99 seculi added B. 100 B adds Et erat pax . . . Cam. Cf. text below.

1 om. B. 2 interfecerunt B. 3 om. B. 4 erat B. 5 Pontubus B. Pontum B P. 7 ab eo after nomen. B. 8 artis added B. 9 architectono P. 10 structores B. 11 eoam terram B. 12 illic B. 13 uocata B. 14 added above; cf. n. 100 B. 15 pontibus P. 16 Dehinc B. inuicem se P. 18 bellare B. 19 hoc added B. Audiuit P. 20 in qua B. 21 quia B P. 22 hic B P. 23 prima B. primo P. 24 VIII B P. 25 quarto B P. 26 annorum added P. 27 uirili B. 28 pugna P. 29 Cham added B P. 30 a B. 31 B P add Et

principatum usque ad cucisheredem³³ regem. qui genuit heresdem³⁴ Heresdes autem ipse³⁵ concremauit regnum cham. & captiuauit omnis qui erant habitantes. iebuseos. & amorreos. palestinos. & afros.³⁶ qui erant ad occidentem. Postea heresdes genuit cusdrom³⁷ regem. Congregauerunt autem³⁸ se filii Cham trecenti xx³⁹ milia peditum⁴⁰ & uenerunt in regnum quod fuit Jonitl. ut debellarent ipsum. & preliarentur cum rege Cusdro. Audiens autem⁴¹ Cusdro.⁴² dimisit eos⁴³ usque. dum transirent⁴⁴ fluuium tygrem. Misit⁴⁵ Cusdro rex⁴⁶ suum exercitum cum elephantibus. & interfecit⁴⁷ eos omnes. & non remansit ex eis quisquam. Ex⁴⁸ tunc amaricata sunt regna contra⁴⁹ se inuicem.⁵⁰

Vicesimo. V⁵¹ anno in V⁵² miliario seculi. descendit Samisab⁵³ rex de ocham⁵⁴ cum exercitu magno. & depopulauit multas⁵⁵ ciuitates septuaginta & viii.⁵⁶ regni⁵⁷ illius.⁵⁸ & pertransiuit in⁵⁹ tertium regnum⁶⁰ indorum. Postquam⁶¹ de india fuit reuersus. uenit in arabiam. & perexit in desertum sabaa.⁶² in terram himmahelitarum & posuit ibi castra in terra filiorum himmahel. ibique deuictus est samisab⁶³ rex⁶⁴ a sarracenis. & ceciderunt⁶⁵ multa milia. & fugerunt.⁶⁶ & tunc primitus exierunt filii himmahel de heremo bella⁶⁷ certare. & introierunt in⁶⁸ regna⁶⁹ gentium. secundum quod promisit⁷⁰ deus⁷¹ himmaheli. quod e⁷² regione fratrum suorum figeret⁷³ tabernacula.⁷⁴ [fol. 220^a] Erant⁷⁵ castra eorum multitudo⁷⁶ nimia.⁷⁷ ceperuntque⁷⁸ pugnare⁷⁹ contra terram orientalem⁸⁰ & meridianam. ceperuntque.⁸¹ desolare urbes. & fecerunt⁸² sibi⁸³ nauigia⁸⁴ & uenerunt usque. in regiones occidentales⁸⁵ prope romam. & dominati sunt terris⁸⁶ eo tempore. Vnde corpora⁸⁷ edebant & carnes camelorum.

obtinueit regnum Nebroth. 32 tempus (?) for cucis B. cunctum heresdem P. J *evidently corrupt*. Cucis heresdem *may be confusion of Chuzimisdem and Eresdem*, cf. Sackur, p. 65. 33 *clause om.* B. 34 *om.* P. 35 *astros* B. 36 *cusdrum* B. 37 *om.* P. 38 *cccxx* B P. 39 B *omits to* & preliarentur. 40 *om.* P. 41 *Cusdrus* B. 42 *venire added* B. 43 *transissent* B. 44 *Tunc misit* B. 45 *om.* B. 46 *interfecerunt* P. 47 *Et* B P. 48 *inter* P. 49 *adinuicem* B P. 50 *quinto* P. 51 *sabissaba* B. *Samilab* P. 52 *eo* B. *eo*cham P. 53 *after* ciuitates B. 54 *id est LXX & VIII* B. *octo* P. 55 *regiones* B P. 56 *om.* B. 57 *usque ad* B. 58 *regno tercio* P. 59 *autem added* B. 60 *saba* B P. 61 *om.* B. *rex samilab* P. 62 *ibi added* B. 63 *quam plures added* B. 64 *bellis* B. 65 *om.* B. 66 *regnum* B. 67 *promiserat* B. 68 *dominus* B. 69 *ex* P. 70 *figerent* B. 71 *eius added* B. 72 *erunt* B. 73 *om.* *magna added* B. *nimia mult.* P. 74 *incipientque* B. 75 *pugnare* P. 76 *orient* B. 77 *om.* B. 78 *ad occidentalium* B. 79 *turris* P. 80 *im-*

& bibebant sanguinem iumentorum mixto lacte. feceruntque ²¹ sibi ²² de ²³ ipsis ²⁴ quattuor principes. Oreb. & Zeb. et Zebes ²⁵ & Salmana. Cunque introissent super filios israel. percussit eos ²⁶ dominus ibidem & tradidit eos in manus Gedeon hebrej filii Ioas. ²⁷ Fuerunt autem ²⁸ centum. XL. ²⁹ milia. & ceciderunt ibi ³⁰ principes eorum & persequens ³¹ eos Gedeon usque in eorum ³² patriam. Et liberauit deus ³³ filios israel a seruitute filiorum ismahel. Futuri autem sunt. ut sciant aliud semel. ³⁴ & destitutam faciant ³⁵ terram. & obtinere ³⁶ orbes ³⁷ terre & ³⁸ regiones a solis ortu usque ad occidentem. a meridie usque ad aquilonem. & usque ad romam. Et erit iugum eorum graue super ceruices gentium & non erit gens aut regnum ³⁹ quod eos possit expugnare usque. ad numerum temporum illorum. & postea deuincuntur ⁴⁰ a christianis ⁴¹ & ⁴² regno romanorum filii ismahel subiciuntur. ⁴³ & erit magnificum regnum romanorum super cuncta ⁴⁴ regna gentium. ⁴⁵ contrita ⁴⁶ fuerint a romanorum ⁴⁷ imperio. Nonne ⁴⁸ mille annos regnauerunt hebrei. & a romanis uicti ⁴⁹ fuerunt? Babylonij. IIII milia ⁵⁰ annorum ⁵¹ regnauerunt. ⁵² Macedonii ⁵³ & ⁵⁴ regnum parthorum ⁵⁵ afflixerunt armis. Scithi et indi supplices ad ⁵⁶ eos ⁵⁷ fecerunt ⁵⁸ afros. spanos. gallj. ⁵⁹ [fol. 220^b] germanos. sueui. ⁶⁰ britones bellericos ⁶¹ armis adquisierunt. Tunc iterum surgent ⁶² filii Ismahel de heremo ⁶³ & resistent contra regnum romanorum.

In nouissimo autem ⁶⁴ sexto miliario ⁶⁵ seculi. exient filii Ismahel de heremo. et erit aduentus eorum castigatio sine mensura & sine misericordia. & tradidit ⁶⁶ deus in manus eorum cuncta regna gen-

mundę bestię corpora edeb. id est carnes B. eo tempore added after corp. P. 81 Tunc fec. B. 82 om P. 83 om. B. 84 Zebie P. 85 after ibidem P. 86 Ydar B. 87 ibi added B. 88 C. XL P. centum XL & IIII principes eorum et persecutus est eos B. 89 after eorum P. 90 persecutus est P. 91 after patriam B patriam suam P. Liberauitque dominus B. 93 Futurum uero est ut faciant aliud simile B. ut exeant adhuc semel P. 94 facient P. 95 obtineant B obtinebant P. 96 orbem B. 97 om. P. 98 illas added B. 99 ab ortu solis B. 100 regem P.

1 deuincuntur B. 2 christiana gente B. 3 in added P. 4 subicientur filii I. regno rom. B. 5 magnificatur P. 6 omnia B. 7 cum added B P. 8 contrite B. 9 romano B. 10 sentence om. B. nonem annos P. 11 deuicta with de deleted J. 12 om. B. 13 annis B. 14 B adds & ipsi a romanis afflicti fuerunt. 15 Macedones B. 16 om. P. 17 B adds & sithyos. 18 om. B. fuerunt B. 20 gallos B P. suauos B P. 22 bellicosos B. babiliricos P. 23 surexerunt P. 24 rest as far as & erit om. B. 25 et added P. 26 annorum added P. 27 tradet B. 28 sunt B P. uel sumus written above B.

tium. propter peccata & scelera que operati sumus²⁹ contra dei³⁰ precepta. Itaque³⁰ tradidit nos deus³¹ in manus barbarorum. quia obliiti sumus precepta domini³² propterea³³ tradidit nos pollutis barbaris. Faciunt uero Christiani multa illicita quas³⁴ maculant semetipsos. quod turpissimum est³⁵ dicendum. propterea³⁶ tradidit illos³⁷ in manus sarracenorum. Persida autem³⁸ erit in captiuitate & occisione³⁹ cappadocia in occisione & captiuitate⁴⁰ erit. Sylicia erit in iubilatione.⁴¹ terra Syrie. erit in solitudine.⁴² & habitatores eius captiui⁴³ ducuntur.⁴⁴ cilicia⁴⁵ similiter & habitatores eius gladio peribunt. Grecia in occisione & captiuitate erit. Affrica erit⁴⁷ similiter. Egyptii⁴⁸ & orientes. asię⁴⁹ erunt⁵⁰ sub tributo⁵¹ graui in argento & auro⁵² ponderis⁵³ immensi. Spania gladio perit⁵⁴ & captiui ducuntur.⁵⁵ Gallia. germania. acquitania.⁵⁶ uariis preliis deuorata. &⁵⁷ multi ex eis captiui ducuntur. Romani in occisione erunt.⁵⁸ & conuersi in fugam. & insule maris erunt in dissolutionem. Et⁵⁹ obtinebunt filii ismahel⁶⁰ introitum ab aquilone & oriente & meridie. & occidente.⁶¹ & replebitur hierosolima de cunctis gentibus⁶² qui captiuij [fol. 221^a] ducuntur.⁶³ & replebitur terra repromissionis⁶⁴ de omnibus. Erit⁶⁵ iugum eorum graue super omnia⁶⁶ gentes. & erunt omnia sub iugo eorum. & erunt in⁶⁷ eorum⁶⁸ tributa. & omnia ornamenta diuitum⁶⁹ eorum erunt. & que fuerunt in ecclesiis⁷⁰ sanctorum siue aurum aut argentum. siue lapides preciosi. & omnia⁷¹ ornamenta ecclesiarum⁷² eorum erunt. et distribuent ministeria⁷³ dei.⁷⁴ & sacerdotes sicut populus.⁷⁵ quia ecclesię incendio concremabuntur. & erit⁷⁶ tribulatio multa. & proiciunt⁷⁷ corpora eorum in plateis eo quod non sint⁷⁸ qui⁷⁹ sepe-

29 domini after precepta B. 30 Ideo B. 31 before nos P. 32 Et added P. 33 rest of sentence om. B. 34 eo quod P. 35 ad added B P. 36 rest of sentence om. B. 37 eos P. 38 om. B P. 39 rest to terra Syrie om. P. 40 captiu. & occis. B. 41 in ululatione erit B. 42 habitans P. 43 before habit B. 44 after ducuntur P. 45 ducentur & below also B P. 46 Sesilia P. 47 om. B. 48 Egiptus B. 49 & asia B. 50 after tributo B. 51 after graui P. 52 auro et argento B. 53 pondere P. 54 peribit B P. 55 B adds habitatores eius. Romani . . . fugam (cf. below) written here and then deleted P. 56 uel Agathonia written above B. 57 om. P. 58 rest of sentence om. B. 59 Quod et P. 60 tenebit ismahel B. 61 ab orient. & occid. & a merid. ab aquil. B. 62 rest of sentence om. B. 63 ducentur P. 64 re erased P. 65 Et erit B P. 66 om. B. 67 om. P. 68 sub iugo eorum tributo & omnia diuitum ornamenta B. 69 ecclesia B. 70 om. B. 71 before orna. B. et diuitum added P. 72 destruent monasteria B. 73 om. B. 74 populi B P. erunt added P. 75 Eritque B. 76 proicient B P. also in J but corrected to present tense. 77 est P. 78 eos added B. 79 uocabitur B P. 80

liant. & erit iter sarracenorum a mari usque ad mare. & erunt regiones sine uia. & uocatur ⁷⁰ uia ⁸⁰ eorum uia angustię. & gradiuntur ⁸¹ simul seruietes ⁸² & seniores. diuites & pauperes cum afflictione & ⁸³ gemitu ⁸⁴ dicent. ⁸⁵ Beati illi sunt ⁸⁶ qui de hac luce ⁸⁷ nos processerunt. Hoc beatus Paulus ⁸⁸ apostolus predixit. ⁸⁹ Cum uenerit descessio ⁹⁰ primum. & reuelatus fuerit homo peccati. filius perditionis. ⁹¹ Quid ⁹² est aliud nisi ⁹³ discessio & ⁹⁴ disciplina qua corripientur uniuerſi habitatores terre. a filiis ismahelis? Propterea onagrum ⁹⁵ deus appellauit ismahelem patrem illorum ⁹⁶ dicente propheta. Onagri & capre. & desertum scilicet. & omnem speciem bestiarum super gregem est rapiens. Propter ⁹⁷ hoc in dissolationem ⁹⁸ tradent ⁹⁹ omnem terram. & erunt urbes multe ¹⁰⁰ destructę. Non ¹ sunt ² homines ³ sicut alię gentes. sed sunt filii ⁴ de heremo uenturi. Sunt ⁵ hominibus ⁶ odibiles. Audi imitationem ⁷ ipsorum. ⁸ quando de heremo exituri fuerunt. ⁹ Mulieres habentes in uteris partus. sinul ¹⁰ interficient gladio. ¹¹ Sacerdotes. ¹² in locis sanctorum interficient. in ecclesiis ¹³ [fol. 221^b] sanctorum concubent ¹⁴ cum mulieribus. & sacrata ¹⁵ ecclesiarum uestimenta ¹⁶ induent ¹⁷ ipsi. ¹⁸ & uxores eorum. ¹⁹ Jumenta eorum ²⁰ ad sepulchra sanctorum erunt. ²¹ tanquam ad presepia. & ²² erit tribulatio magna super christianos. qui habitant ²³ super ²⁴ terram. & tunc apparebunt fidelis qui sunt in Christo credituri. Non ²⁵ propterea misit deus has tribulationes super ²⁶ Christianos. ²⁷ ut iusti ²⁸ deleantur qui ²⁹ in Christo sunt credituri. sed ut manifestentur qui in ipso erunt fidelissimi credituri. sed ³⁰ sicut ipsa ueritas dicit. Beati estis cum persecuti uos fuerint propter nomen meum. et reliqua. ³¹ Sic ³²

om. B. 81 gradientur B P. J corrects future to present. 82 iuuenes B. 83 om. B. 84 dicentes B. 85 om. P. before ille B. 86 uita B. 87 om. B. after apost. P. 88 dixit B P. 89 dissensio B P. also below. 90 B adds qui aduersatur & extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus & cetera. 91 non added P. 92 om. B. 93 nisi B. 94 after illorum B. 95 B omits to propter. 96 Propterea B. 97 dissolationem B P. 98 after preceding hoc B. 99 before urbes P. 100 desertę B.

1 enim added B. 2 illi added P. 3 isti added B. 4 om. B. 5 & erunt B. om P. 6 after odib. B. 7 quoque added P. 8 eorum P. 9 Audi quid facient dum de here. exituri sunt B. sunt P. 10 similiter B. 11 before interf. B. 12 Sacerd. . . . sanct. om. B. 13 ecclesia B. 14 concubent after mulier. B. concubent P. 15 sacris B. 16 uestibus B. 17 se added B. 18 om. B. 19 suas B. 20 ligati sunt added B. ligabunt P. 21 om. B. 22 om. P. 23 erunt B. 24 om. P. 25 after Christo B. 26 enim added B. 27 om. B. 28 isti P. 29 sed ut qui in ipso sunt fidel. credituri manifestentur B. 30 om. B P. 31 cetera B. 32 sicut P. 33 sunt B. 34 prophetis

enim persecuti fuerunt³⁵ prophetas.³⁶ qui fuerunt ante uos. Sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem. hic saluus erit. Et post tribulationem³⁷ dierum que facte erunt³⁸ a filiis ismahel. & dissoluta³⁹ erit omnis terra ab eis. & fuerunt⁴⁰ amicti ornamenta. auro⁴¹ & purpura. & splendidis uestimentis⁴² tanquam sponsi dicentes, nequaquam ee possunt⁴³ eripere Christiani de manibus nostris. & gloriantes⁴⁴ in suis⁴⁵ uictoriis & dicentes.⁴⁶ ecce uicimus terram in fortitudine nostra. & que⁴⁷ habitant in ea. Tunc recordabitur dominus deus secundum⁴⁸ magnam⁴⁹ misericordiam⁵⁰ suam qua⁵¹ promisit diligentibus⁵² se. & qui in Christo sunt credituri. & liberabit eos de manu⁵³ sarracenorum. Surget autem rex⁵⁴ Christianorum & preliabit cum eis. & occidet⁵⁵ eos gladio. & captiuas ducet⁵⁶ mulieres eorum. & infantes eorum interibit.⁵⁷ & descendent filii Ismahel in gladium & tribulationem & afflictionem. & reddet illis deus⁵⁸ mala que ipsi⁵⁹ aliis fecerunt. & irruet⁶⁰ super⁶¹ eos mallitia.⁶² septies tantum. quantum in aliis gesserunt. & tradet illos deus in manus Christianorum. & erit regnum Christianorum⁶³ exaltatum⁶⁴ super omnia regna. & imponent⁶⁵ Christiani iugum⁶⁶ super eos graue. & erunt serui ipsi⁶⁷ qui remanent.⁶⁸ [fol. 222^v] & tunc pacificabitur terra. que ab eis fuerat destructa. & qui captiuati⁶⁹ fuerunt⁷⁰ ab eis. reuertentur⁷¹ in terram suam. & multiplicabuntur homines⁷² super terram. Et erit indignatio magna regi romanorum super eos qui Christum negauerunt.⁷³ Aegyptii⁷⁴ et Arabis. Christum negauerunt. & erit pax et tranquillitas magna super terram qualis non fuit antea. nec erit⁷⁵ similis post illam. pro⁷⁶ eo quod in nouissimo⁷⁷ fine seculorum erit.

& erit leticia &⁷⁸ pax⁷⁹ super omnem terram & requiescet⁸⁰ a tribulationibus⁸¹ suis.⁸² Cum fuerit pax & tranquillitas atque

corrected J. 35 tribulationes P. 36 facta erit B, post *added before* facta B. 37 disoluta B. 38 erunt B. 39 ex auro & argento B. 40 uestibus P. 41 possint *corrected* J. 42 gloriabuntur B. 43 *after* uict. B. 44 dicent B. 45 omnes qui B P. 46 om. B. 47 misericordie sue B. 48 quam B P. 49 diligent . . . credituri om. B. 50 manibus P. 51 gens B. 52 occidet B. 53 ducent B. 54 interficient B. interibunt P. 55 dominus B. 56 om. B. et *added* B. 57 quasi ymber *added* P. 58 in P. 59 calamitas B. *quam eorum added* P. 60 eorum B. 61 *before* regna B. 62 ponent B. 63 *after* eos P. 64 om. B. 65 remanebunt B. 66 captiui B. 67 fuerant B. 68 *before* ab B. *after* suam P. 69 multitudo hominum B. 70 denegauerunt P. 71 Aegyptii . . . negau. om. B. 72 *after* illam B. 73 om. B. 74 om. B. 75 requiescunt P. requiescent B. 76 laboribus B. 77 B *adds* hec est illa pax de qua dicit apostolus. 78

securitas.⁷⁸ *tunc*⁷⁹ repentinus interitus & erunt homines in diebus⁸⁰ illis. sicut erant in diebus noe. edentes.⁸¹ bibentes. letantes.⁸² nubentes.⁸³ & nuptias tradentes. & non erit in corde eorum⁸⁴ timor. Ita erit aduentus gog & magog. Et cum fuerit⁸⁵ ita⁸⁶ pax. tunc reserabuntur⁸⁷ portę caspię in lateribus aquilonis. & gentes ille⁸⁸ cum gog & magog.⁸⁹ & concutietur⁹⁰ omnis terra per timore eorum.⁹¹ expauescent⁹² omnes homines. qui⁹³ habitant super faciem totius terre.⁹⁴ & abscondent se in montibus. & in speluncis a conspectu eorum. Ex progenie enim sunt Iaphet. & exeuntes de transubera⁹⁵ aquilonis. Tales⁹⁶ igitur.⁹⁷ ut⁹⁸ carnes hominum comedant.⁹⁹ & serpentes. & iumenta. mulieres cum paruulis manducant.¹⁰⁰ & nullus¹⁰¹ est¹ qui possit expugnare illos.² & post VII annos temporum illorum cum comprehenderint³ ciuitatem Iosephen.⁴ immittet dominus unum⁵ de⁶ principibus suis & percutiet eos cum fulgore⁷ & igne sub uno momento. Et ueniet imperator grecorum. & sedebit in hierusalem VII annis. & [fol. 222^v] tunc apparebit filius perditionis. qui dicitur antichristus. Nascetur autem in gorasaim.¹⁰ nutrietur in bethsaida. & regnabit in capharnaum. Propterea¹¹ dixit dominus in euangelio. Ve tibi gorazaim. ue tibi bethsaida. ue tibi capharnaum. Si¹² usque ad celum exaltaberis. usque in infernum demergeris. Postea ascendet rex romanorum & grecorum in golgotha in quo loco¹³ dominus pro nobis¹⁴ mortem & crucis patibulum¹⁵ sustinere dignatus¹⁶ fuit.¹⁷ Tollet rex romanorum de capite suo coronam.¹⁸ & ponet eam super ceruicem¹⁹ suam. & expandet manus suas ad celum et tradet spiritum suum deo rex romanorum. & tunc apparebit signum crucis in celo. Post hec ueniet filius perditionis. &¹⁹ putabit²⁰ se quasi²¹ ut sit deus.²² & faciet signa & prodigia

secura tranquillitas B. 79 ueniet *added* B. 80 uidentibus B. 81 et *added* B P. 82 *om.* B. et *after* nubentes P. 83 ad *added* B. 84 sicut *added* P. 85 *after* pax P. 86 illa B. 87 desolabitur B. 88 surgent *added* B. 89 uenient *added* P. 90 concuetur J, *with* ti *in* *uigin.* 91 et *added* B P. 92 eos *added* B. 93 habitantes in terram B. 94 *om.* P. 95 plaga B. 96 *om.* B. 97 *om.* B P. 98 comedent B. coedent P. 99 manducabant B P. 100 non P.

1 erit B. 2 eos B. 3 *om.* B. 4 *om.* B P. 5 comprehendent P. comprehenderunt *with* ru *deleted* B. 6 et *added* B. Et tunc mittet P. 7 unus P. 8 ex B. 9 fulgure B. shurfure P. 10 corozaim, *below also* B P. et *added* B. 11 Propt . . . dominus *om.* B *adds* Unde. 12 Quasi B. 13 in eo loco quo P. 14 pro nobis *before* dominus B. crucem et mortem *after* domin. P. 15 mortem crucis B. 16 voluit B. Et tunc *added* B. 17 *before* de B P. 18 crucem P. 19 *om.* P. 20 putans se quasi sit deus P. 21 esse deum B. *After*

multa super terram. ut ceci uideant. claudi ambulent.²² surdi audiant. mortui quasi²³ resurgant.²⁴ etiam si fieri potest. ut electi in errorem deducantur. Ingredietur autem in hierusalem & sedebit in templo dei²⁵ putat²⁶ se quasi ut deus sit.²⁷ & erit exaltatum cor eius nimis cum sit homo ex uiri semine filius mulieris de tribu dan.²⁷ Et²⁷ erit fallax &²⁸ mendax²⁸ &²⁹ fraudulentia seducet multos. Post hæc³⁰ mittet dominus duos famulos sincerissimos. Enoch & Elijam, qui in eius testimonio reseruati fuerant³¹ ad arguendum ipsum inimicum. Et³² erunt nouissimi primi & erunt credituri iudei. Helyas autem & Enoch [fol. 223^a] arguent eum coram omni populo. & ostendent eum mendacem esse³³ atque³⁴ fallacem & confusum. Videntes³⁵ autem cunctę gentes mendacium ipsum preferentem & a sanctis dei confusum.³⁵ & tunc iudei credituri erunt.³⁶ & ex omni tribu³⁷ israel erunt interfecti pro Christo. C. XL. IIII. milia in diebus illis. Tunc antichristus fuore repletus. iubet³⁸ sanctos dei interficere.⁴⁰ & qui eis fuerunt⁴¹ credituri. & tunc ueniet dominus noster ihesus⁴² christus⁴³ filius dei⁴⁴ in nubibus celi cum agminibus angelorum & gloria celesti. Statim⁴⁴ interfecto antichristo⁴⁵ bestia & inimico seductore⁴⁶ gladio oris sui. &⁴⁷ qui illi consenerunt.⁴⁸ & erit consummatio seculi. & erit iudicium ubi erunt milia milium angelorum & decies centena milia archangelorum cherubin &⁴⁹ seraphin.⁵⁰ Ibi sanctorum agmina prophetarum. patriarcharum. apostolorum. martyrum confessorum. uirginum.⁵¹ Ibi autem⁵² iusti⁵³ & peccatores reddent rationem ante conspectum domini⁵⁴ pro ut gessit unusquisque.⁵⁵ Iusti⁵⁶ autem separabuntur ab impiis. iusti⁵⁷ fulgebunt sicut sol. seguentes agnum⁵⁸ uite. & regem celi.

deus P *inserts* et erit exaltatum . . . dan (cf. below). 22 ambulat P. 23 om. B. 24 B *adds* Quod & tunc temporis uix electi facere poterunt. 25 domini B. 26 putans quasi sit deus B P. 27 P *inserts* & faciet signa . . . deducantur. (Cf. n. 21). 27* uirili B. 28 om. P. 29 sua *added* B. 30 om. B 31 sunt reseruati B. et *added* P. 32 tunc *added* B P. 33 om. P. 34 et P. 35 Videntes . . . confusum om. B. 36 *before* iudei P. 37 om. P. 38 filiorum *added* P. 39 iubebit B P. 40 interfici P. 41 sunt P. 42 *before* dominus B. 43 uiui *added* B P. 44 & statim B. 45 Antichristum B. 46 bestiam & inimicum & seductorem B. 47 om. P. 48 *before* illi B. 49 ac B. 50 aderunt *added* B. 51 & confessorum & uirginum & omnium sanctorum B. 52 om. B. 53 impii B. 54 *phrase* om. B. 55 quisque gessit B. 55 *alters conclusion*; & separabuntur ab invicem. Iusti ibunt in uitam eternam. impii autem in penam. de qua nos eripere dignetur qui pro nobis crucifixus fuit. & mortuus est & sepultus. cui cum patre sanctoque spiritu est omnis

uidentes semper claritatem dei in cœlis & ⁵⁵ cum angelis sociabuntur in perpetuum. Impii ⁵⁶ autem descendent cum bestia in infernum. iusti autem in perpetuum uiuent & cum rege cœli sine ⁵⁷ fine ⁵⁸ gloriabuntur. & impii sine fine penam patientur. Vnde nos ⁵⁹ dominus eripere dignetur qui cum deo ⁶⁰ patre & spiritu sancto uiuit & regnat deus per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

CHARLOTTE D'EVELYN.

honor perhennis in secula seculorum. Amen. 57 uero *added* P. 58 angelum P. 59 *om.* P. 60 Iniusti P. 61 *om.* P. 62 *after* eripere P. 63 *om.* P. 64 *et filio* etc. P. *rest omitted.*

VII.—L'IMAGINATION FLAMANDE DANS L'ECOLE SYMBOLIQUE FRANÇAISE

Sous l'influence du déterminisme de Comte et des théories de Taine sur la race, le milieu et le moment, la critique littéraire de la seconde partie du 19^e siècle exagéra l'importance de l'élément collectif ou national dans la production des œuvres d'art et ne mit pas suffisamment en évidence l'influence essentielle du talent individuel. Depuis vingt ans environ, une forte réaction contre ces théories nous a fait oublier systématiquement l'élément racique pour insister exclusivement sur la personnalité des auteurs. On s'est plu à étudier les moindres détails de l'existence des écrivains, de leur enfance, de leur vie privée. On a même affecté d'ignorer—ou à peu près—l'influence du milieu, du goût de l'époque, des tendances existant chez les auteurs contemporains, etc., éléments qui nécessairement guident l'inspiration des artistes les plus indépendants.

Les critiques littéraires sont souvent devenues purement descriptives. On y dépeint le plus pittoresquement que l'on peut la personnalité de l'auteur. On fait ensuite l'analyse de son œuvre en montrant discrètement qu'on en a senti la beauté. Pour caricaturer cette abdication de la critique, un satirique n'a-t-il pas dit qu'elle consistait aujourd'hui à répéter en prose quelconque ce que le poète s'est efforcé d'exprimer en beaux vers ?

Un discrédit plus grand encore, si possible, s'attache aux attardés qui interviennent avec des notions de race à propos de littérature. Tout d'abord que reste-t-il du concept de race depuis que les savants ont démontré l'extrême complexité des milieux ethniques européens ? Et ensuite, les mouvements artistiques ne s'étendent-ils pas d'ordinaire bien au delà des frontières du pays où ils ont pris nais-

sance ? Oui certes, et l'on pourrait écrire une histoire de l'école symboliste, par exemple, en négligeant l'influence de la nationalité des poètes les plus marquants de cette école, de même que l'on écrit généralement—et trop souvent—l'histoire politique de l'Europe sans tenir compte des éléments ethniques ou moraux qui donnent pourtant la cause profonde de bien des événements.

Il est certain aussi que symbolisme, réalisme, romantisme, classicisme, etc. ne sont la propriété exclusive d'aucune race, mais ceci s'applique à tous les développements humains, et cependant il est de fait que certains types de civilisation conviennent plus particulièrement à certaines mentalités.

Les peuples méditerranéens avec leur esprit vif, subtil devaient l'emporter dans les périodes où le commerce et l'industrie demandaient plus d'habileté personnelle que d'organisation, et aussi aux époques où, comme le dirait M. Ferrero, la recherche de la qualité et de la beauté l'emportait sur celle de la quantité et de la puissance. Les Anglo-Saxons individualistes, migrants et entrepreneurs étaient tout désignés pour la conquête et la mise en valeur des nouveaux mondes. L'Allemand laborieux, obstiné et pratique paraît avoir un certain avantage à notre époque où l'organisation du travail s'impose de plus en plus et où l'on tend à estimer la quantité plus que la qualité. Bien qu', évidemment, aucun de ces peuples n'ait eu le monopole de ces genres de civilisation et n'ait pu, en fait, éliminer la concurrence ou la coopération des autres nations, il n'est cependant pas sans intérêt d'étudier quelles aptitudes naturelles prédisposaient chacun d'eux à "réussir" aux époques où triomphait tel ou tel type d'activité humaine.

On peut raisonner de même à propos des types d'art. On comprendra notamment sans longues démonstrations pourquoi le genre classique, tout de raison, de symétrie,

d'universalité était prédestiné à produire plus de chefs d'œuvre en France que chez les peuples individualistes, passionnés, rêveurs et chercheurs. L'école parnassienne ne pouvait aussi naître qu'en France, bien qu'une élégance aussi rigoureuse ait pu plaire de ci de là à des écrivains d'autres nations. Cette même France a produit d'excellents poètes symbolistes, mais pouvait-on s'attendre à ce que l'inspiration principale de ce dernier mouvement se trouvât dans une race où la vision, la sensation, le rêve sont limités par un si grand instinct de la mesure et une faculté d'abstraction si spontanée et si rapide ?

En fait, bien que parmi les poètes que l'on peut classer dans la catégorie des symbolistes (il est clair que ces distinctions ne sont pas toujours absolument tranchées) un très grand nombre aient vécu à Paris et que le mouvement ait une allure nettement française, il est impossible de ne pas être frappé par le fait que beaucoup de ces auteurs sont nés hors de France : Albert Mockel, lui-même, le théoricien de l'école est un Ardennais dont la famille est originaire de ce coin de terre où la finesse et la bonne humeur liégeoise voisine avec l'âme musicale et un peu mélancolique de l'Ardennais wallon ou thiois. Verlaine, la grande figure de l'école est, comme chacun sait, d'origine ardennaise bien que né en France et son talent n'est pas moins musical que celui de Mockel.

Retté et Séverin sont aussi d'origine ardennaise tandis que les symbolistes les plus caractéristiques : Maeterlinck, Van Lerberghe, Le Roy, Rodenbach, Elskamp, et Verhaeren sont franchement de naissance flamande.

Bien qu'ils soient tous, sauf le dernier, très épris de la culture française, il n'est pas sans intérêt de rechercher ce qui, dans leurs origines, les prédisposait à exceller dans le genre dit symbolique et à dépenser leur juvénile ardeur dans ce mouvement littéraire. Je ne m'efforcerai pas

après tant d'autres d'insister sur le contraste existant d'une manière générale entre l'esprit français ou, pour employer une expression plus consacrée qu'exacte, "l'esprit latin" d'une part, et la mentalité germanique, d'autre part. Il s'agit ici plus spécialement des Flamands, qui diffèrent considérablement tant des Anglais que des Allemands malgré leurs points communs. Comparé à son compatriote wallon, le Flamand se distingue par des impressions plus profondes, des passions plus fortes, plus durables en même temps que plus concentrées, un plus grand amour de la vie solitaire et taciturne. Son âme n'en est pas pour cela plus sereine. Son esprit est défiant, un peu farouche, son tempérament est plus violent, moins raffiné, moins ordonné.

Le trait qui nous intéresse le plus en ce moment chez le Flamand, c'est la vivacité de la sensation, plus grande que celle du raisonnement. Son imagination, aussi, est riche, concrète, inspiratrice. Ses images ont des couleurs vives et des traits précis. Cette précision de la vision peut s'appliquer au monde des réalités ambiantes et comme telle, devient la source de son réalisme si frappant et si impitoyable. Il n'est contenu ni par le sens de la mesure, ni par la convention; ni par l'idée. C'est comme une accumulation de tableaux aux couleurs riches, aux formes exubérantes, s'adressant à tous nos sens sans retenue mais aussi sans raffinement vicieux et avec un profond sens de la nature et de ses forces saines.

Tel est le réalisme qui s'étale dans les chefs d'œuvre de Rubens, Teniers, Jordaens, etc. . . . Mais ces peintres, on le sait, ont mis sur leur toile des scènes d'exception, des orgies antiques ou des "kermesses" (fêtes villageoises flamandes). Ce sont les jours où la nature exubérante mais généralement endormie du Flamand a de violents réveils et épanche son trop-plein de vie. Les furieuses descriptions de Lemonnier dans son *Mêle*, de Verhaeren

dans ses *Flamandes* et de Cyrille Buyasse dans ses nouvelles en langue flamande sont comparables à ces tableaux et même à ces excès populaires flamands. Ce sont des boutades d'artistes au tempérament riche, aux sensations intenses, à l'observation vraie. Ils sentent le besoin de briser toutes conventions et de donner libre cours au torrent d'images violentes formées au contact intime avec l'âme vigoureuse et frénétique du Flamand, qui bout aussi en eux. Mais ce sont là des fièvres d'un jour ou des maladies de jeunesse. Après ces soubresauts, le Flamand se renferme de nouveau en lui-même. Son calme pourtant est tout de surface, car son cœur reste ardent et il concentre son intensité de vie dans sa vision interne, dans le mouvement un peu confus de ses passions intimes, dans les émotions simples mais profondes de son existence journalière dans son home, à l'atelier ou à l'auberge.

Pour quelques peintures de grandes allures comme celles dont nous venons de parler, pour quelques cantates viriles telles que le *Lion de Flandre* ou le *Chœur des Van Artevelde* devant lesquels le *Wacht am Rhein* lui-même paraît faible, combien de chants doux qui remuent profondément l'âme de l'ouvrier et du paysan, combien de délicieuses petites toiles soulevant un coin du voile épais sous lequel se cache la vie privée du Flamand : scènes de cuisine ou de table, causeries de famille, etc. !

Dans ces productions, le réalisme n'est pas moins sincère que dans les grandes œuvres, mais il est discret, exact, minutieux. Il se répand en mille détails. L'observation du peintre, par exemple, n'est pas moins précise mais elle est plus sympathique ; on sent qu'il aime ce qu'il représente : cette vie quotidienne, ces ustensiles de ménage, ces outils, ces pipes, ces verres, ce demi-jour du home. On sent surtout que l'affection de l'artiste et son regard vont au delà de ce qu'il peint. Chaque objet évoque la paix,

le confort, le charme doux de l'existence journalière, de celle de ses amis, de son peuple, de lui-même. Que de délicieux moments de sa vie, il voit défiler devant ses yeux en dessinant les spirales de fumée au dessus de la table où, le soir, les amis fument et causent. Ces jeux de lumière tamisée, ces ornements de la tapisserie, ce geste familier d'un des compagnons, tout cela est associé dans son esprit avec le souvenir de ces instants de repos.

Ces cuivres rouges et jaunes, ces étains récurés, ces petits rideaux blancs bien plissés, ces "horretjes" qui adoucissent le jour en bleu doux, cette coiffe amidonnée de la jeune "Truitje" vaquant aux soins du ménage, tout cela évoque puissamment une jeune fille comme celle que le peintre a aimée, peut-être sans le dire et sans le savoir, tandis qu'elle se mouvait ainsi autour de lui au milieu des banalités de la vie quotidienne.

En d'autres termes, le Flamand aime tout ce qui évoque un aspect essentiel de la vie vraie, de sa vie, de celle de son peuple, tout ce qui est directement associé dans son âme avec un sentiment durable et profond. Sa vision interne est restreinte, bien définie mais très claire. Elle découvre, il est vrai, des profondeurs d'âme insondées, mais elle ne l'éloigne pas des réalités de la vie, elle ne fait que visualiser, concrétiser les émotions qu'il ressent au perpétuel contact avec la vie vraie. Elle n'est que le medium par lequel son âme prend conscience d'elle-même.

Rien de plus instructif à ce point de vue que d'étudier les mystiques flamands à toutes les époques. Leurs rêveries sont riches, colorées, pleines de petits faits, de petits tableaux, mais une même idée, sans cesse, gouverne leur imagination à travers ses pérégrinations. Leur âme est comme celle d'un pèlerin qui s'arrêterait à considérer toutes les pierres et tous les arbres de la route familière le menant au sanctuaire, parce que chaque objet lui rappelle qu'il est

sur le chemin bien aimé qui mène au but. Cette incarnation successive de l'objet de leur amour dans toutes ces formes familières enlève l'impression de mystère, de vague troublant, d'immensité écrasante à la vision des mystiques flamands. Dieu est toujours près d'eux comme un cher et fidèle ami dont la présence impressionne l'âme différemment d'après les heures du jour et les besoins du cœur.

Leur contemplation n'a rien du sublime ravissement des âmes religieuses de l'Espagne, qui se sentent transportées, arrachées à la terre par une attirance infinie. Ils invitent plutôt Dieu à venir près d'eux, à s'asseoir à leur table, à partager les douceurs de leur intimité. Tous les nobles sentiments qu'éveille en eux la présence divine: amour, dévotion, pureté, devoir, repentir, leur apparaissent sous des formes précises avec un contour, un visage et surtout des couleurs.

Rien de plus curieux à ce point de vue que de lire les œuvres de Jan Van Ruysbroeck en qui Maeterlinck trouva une âme sœur en dépit des différences de croyance. Ce prêtre du treizième siècle à l'âme douce et aimante, quitta sa paroisse de Bruxelles pour se plonger dans les solitudes de la forêt de Soigne, cette futaie aux hêtres altiers dont les troncs séculaires s'abattent en ce moment sous les coups impitoyables de l'envahisseur en exhalant la plainte déchirante que les hommes de Belgique, plus fiers que ces géants, retiennent au fond de leur cœur au milieu de leurs injustes tourments. Leur frondaison aux teintes intenses faisait tout le charme du vallon si bien nommé : Groenendael (le val vert) où se retira l'ermite, dont l'exemple inspira le mouvement des "Frères de la Vie Commune" de Deventer, les grands éducateurs de la jeunesse des Pays-Bas au 15^e siècle.

Ruysbroeck surnommé "l'admirable" nous offre donc

un exemple de ces hommes dont l'influence sur la société provient du courage qu'ils ont eu de se retirer d'elle pour voir plus clair en eux-mêmes. Dans son effort pour décrire sa contemplation de Dieu, il se perd en un torrent de figures et de symboles, tous très précis, très colorés :

Ensuite, chaque lampe avait un vase d'or, plein d'eau, où l'on éteignait le feu enlevé aux lumignons. En cela, nous apprenons que chaque don exige de notre esprit une intention tellement simple en chaque vertu cardinale que nous puissions éprouver en nous une amoureuse excession vers l'union de Dieu. . . . Ces excursions amoureuses sont nos vases d'or, pleins d'eau, c'est-à-dire de vérité, de justice et nous immergerons en eux nos mèches enflammées, c'est-à-dire les actes de toutes les vertus que nous devons pratiquer.¹

Voici maintenant trois passages où le symbolisme des couleurs est poussé très loin :

En cet article, nous comparons au Fils de Dieu la belle pierre qui s'appelle émeraude et qui est si verte que les feuilles et l'herbe et tout ce qui est vert, ne peuvent égaler sa viridité. Et elle emplit et nourrit par sa viridité les yeux des hommes qui la regardent. Or, que le Verbe éternel du Père se soit fait homme, c'est la couleur la plus verte que l'on ait jamais vue. Cette union est si verte et si belle et si joyeuse que nulle autre couleur ne la peut égaler ; et c'est pourquoi elle a empli et nourri les yeux des hommes qui s'y sont préparés en une vision pieuse.²

En ces quatre rideaux (du tabernacle) de couleurs diverses, Notre Seigneur ordonna à Beseleel et à Ooliab de tisser et de broder dessus à l'aiguille maints ornements. De même, notre volonté obéissante et notre intelligence mettront sur ces quatre couleurs divers ornements de vertu. Sur la couleur blanche de l'innocence, nous mettrons de rouges roses, en résistant toujours à tout ce qui est mal. Nous conserverons ainsi la pureté et nous crucifierons notre nature ; et ce sont rouges roses au doux parfum qui sont très belles sur cette couleur blanche. Nous broderons encore sur l'innocence des tournesols, par lesquels nous entendons l'obéissance, car, lorsque le soleil se lève à l'Orient, le tournesol s'épanouit vers ses rayons et se tourne

¹ M. Maeterlinck : Introduction à *l'Ornement des Noces spirituelles* de Jan Van Ruysbroeck, p. xlviii.

² *Ib.*, p. liv.

avidement vers la chaleur du soleil jusqu'en Occident. Et la nuit, il se ferme et cache ses couleurs et attend le retour du soleil. De même, nous épanouissons notre cœur par l'obéissance vers l'illumination de la grâce de Dieu.³

En cet article, nous comparons le Christ au noble saphir, dont il y a deux espèces: la première est jaune à nuance pourpre et semble mêlée de poudre d'or, l'autre est bleu de ciel et dans la réflexion des rayons solaires, elle émet une splendeur enflammée et on ne peut regarder au travers. Et nous trouvons tout cela en Notre-Seigneur car lorsque sa noble âme monte au ciel, son corps gisant dans le tombeau est jaune à cause du départ de l'âme, pourpre à cause de ses plaies sanglantes et mêlé de poudre d'or, parce qu'il était uni à la divinité. Et son âme descend aux enfers bleu de ciel en sorte que tous ses amis se réjouissent et deviennent bienheureux en sa splendeur. . . .⁴

Quand on connaît d'autres pages de Ruysbroeck dans lesquelles il parle de Dieu avec la sublimité de Platon ou de Plotin, on peut certes regretter que cette grande âme ait distribué le trésor de son extase en bijoux d'un genre qui sent un peu le toc. Elle le fait cependant si sincèrement; on perçoit si bien que ces images ne sont pas un procédé littéraire mais alimentent réellement sa vision, qu'on suit sans fatigue l'ermite à travers le dédale de ses figures.

On n'aurait pas autant de courage évidemment à parcourir les œuvres contemporaines des grands rhétoriciens. L'allégorie du *Roman de la Rose* ou des poésies morales de la fin du moyen âge ne ressemble pas mal à celle de Ruysbroeck et représente un goût assez répandu à cette époque. L'institution des "chambres de rhétorique" avec ses excès n'était pas restreinte à la Flandre, mais il faut pourtant noter que nulle part son succès ne fut si universel et si durable que dans les Pays-Bas. Certaines de ces sociétés aux noms suggestifs ("La Marguerite," "Le Souci d'Or,"

³ *Ib.*, p. xl, sq.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. l.

“La Fleur de Blé,”) existaient encore en ces dernières années.

Ce symbolisme bourgeois est certes risible. Il n'était pourtant pas, dans nos provinces, aussi conventionnel et fantaisiste qu'en d'autres régions. On s'y livrait avec sincérité et le genre exerçait réellement une séduction sur les populations. Que de braves Flamands de nos jours encore verseront une larme en chantant le *myosotis*, le lis de la vallée et d'autres figures de ce genre dont se servait déjà, non sans un certain bonheur, le moraliste Maerlant, l'éducateur de la démocratie flamande médiévale!

Ici encore, donc, le succès particulier d'un genre dans une région déterminée ne peut s'expliquer que par des prédispositions ethniques et nous ne ferons pas injure à Maerlinck, je pense, en insinuant que son appareil, si puissant pourtant, de lampes, de serrures grinçantes, de portes fermées, de vitrages, de cygnes, etc., dérive d'une imagination, sœur de celle des poètes flamands du moyen âge:

Vous avez les lampes,
—Oh! le soleil dans le jardin!
Vous avez les lampes,
Je vois le soleil par les fentes,
Ouvrez les portes du jardin!

—Les clefs des portes sont perdues,
Il faut attendre, il faut attendre,
Les clefs sont tombées de la tour,
Il faut attendre, il faut attendre,
Il faut attendre d'autres jours. . . .^a

De même, la façon dont il se sert des couleurs dans ses symboles est à peine différente de la manière dont nous les avons vu employer chez Ruysbroeck:

Cet ennui bleu comme la serre,
Où l'on voit, closes à travers

^a *Douze Chansons*, ch. XII, St. 1, 2.

Les vitrages profonds et verts,
Couvertes de lune et de verre,

Les grandes végétations
Dont l'oubli nocturne s'allonge,
Immobilement comme un songe
Sur les roses des passions.*

La parenté d'âme entre Maeterlinck et Ruysbroeck est toutefois d'un caractère plus profond. Tous deux voient les choses qui nous entourent avec une grande sincérité, une grande précision d'observation, mais tous les deux aussi, ont pour elles une douce affection parce que derrière elles, en elles, ils voient ce que l'homme pressé n'aperçoit pas. Cette intuition de l'âme des choses, c'est le "trésor des humbles" et c'est aussi l'idée charmante qui inspire *L'Oiseau Bleu*. Il y a tout un monde qui nous environne dont nous ne voyons que les signes. Il nous est révélé par la méditation, les pressentiments, les impondérables auréolant les objets les plus ordinaires d'un halo de mystère. Maeterlinck et Ruysbroeck aiment le monde à cause de ce qu'il cache mais qui leur est révélé à eux, comme par un sens supérieur. Tous deux sont insatisfaits du monde des apparences et aspirent à connaître le mystère de l'au-delà, mais tandis que l'ermite est serein parce qu'il a trouvé Dieu, le poète est sujet à la tristesse, à l'inquiétude que laisse en son âme sans cesse préoccupée du problème de la mort et du bonheur, l'intuition un peu trop vague d'un "être panthéistique" et d'une "âme du monde." Tantôt, il croit percevoir comme une porte et un voile lui dérochant la vue des espaces infinis, tantôt il éprouve un soulagement résigné, une fraîcheur douce mais superficielle en sentant la brise soufflant de cet au-delà obscur sur son âme retenue dans la "serre chaude" de ce monde :

* *Serre d'Ennui*.—*Serres Chaudes*, Poème 3, St. 2, 3.

J'attends la lune dans mes yeux
Ouverts au seuil des nuits sans trêves,
Afin qu'elle étanche mes rêves,
Avec ses linges lents et bleus.¹

O ce verre sur mes désirs!
Mes désirs à travers mon âme!
Et l'herbe morte qu'elle enflamme
En approchant des souvenirs!²

D'autres jours ouvriront les portes,
La forêt brûle autour de nous,
C'est la clarté des feuilles mortes,
Qui brûlent sur le seuil des portes. . . .³

Ce contraste produit en des âmes parentes et toutes deux naturellement mystiques par la présence ou l'absence de la certitude de l'existence de Dieu s'accroît encore, si l'on compare Maeterlinck à son contemporain, le poète flamand, Guido Gezelle, mort il y a quelques années. Comme Ruysbroeck, Gezelle est un prêtre vivant dans la solitude en communion parfaite avec le Créateur. Gezelle, toutefois, est en relation non moins constante avec la création, car c'est par la nature que Dieu lui parle comme c'est la perpétuelle préoccupation de la présence de Dieu qui lui fait trouver aux moindres aspects des choses une signification profonde. L'amour de Gezelle pour Dieu se répand, se distribue sur tout ce qui l'entoure. Inversément, son âme aussi poétique que pieuse est attirée instinctivement par tout ce qui remue, tout ce qui fleurit, tout ce qui souffre et jouit, tout ce qui a de la couleur et du son. Elle s'éprend sincèrement, pleinement, profondément de tous les êtres, même des plus humbles, des plus oubliés, des plus dédaignés des poètes à la vision plus éclectique. Son œil

¹ *Ronde d'Ennui*. St. 4.—*Serres Chaudes*, Ed. 1895, p. 53.

² *Verre ardent*, St. 2.—*Id.*, p. 63.

³ *Chanson*, St. 3.—*Douze Chansons*.

sûr les découvre dans la campagne flamande, le long des sentiers blancs coupant les bruyères ardentes, le long des canaux dormants avec leurs rangés de peupliers frémissants. Il chante les insectes dans l'herbe et la poussière, les mésanges dans les buissons en même temps que les saules bleus dans le soir et les bouleaux livides dans les clairières ensoleillées :

O soupir des frères roseaux !
 O puissé-je comprendre votre triste chanson !
 Quand le vent souffle sur vous, sans pitié,
 Quand il plie et secoue vos tiges.
 Vous vous inclinez humblement,
 Vous vous relevez pour vous incliner encore,
 Et vous ne cessez de chanter votre triste chanson,
 Que j'aime tant, O frères roseaux !

O soupir des frères roseaux !
 Combien d'hommes ne te remarquent pas
 Et n'entendent pas la douce harmonie !
 Sans écouter, ils passent et s'en vont,
 Là bas où le cœur les attire,
 Là bas où le cliquetis de l'or les appelle,
 Et ils ne comprennent pas votre soupir,
 O mes chers roseaux frémissants !

O soupir des frères roseaux,
 Retentis dans mes tristes chants !
 Et que ces plaintes arrivent jusqu'à Toi,
 O Dieu, qui nous fais vivre tous deux !
 O Toi, qui aimes même le faible chant
 D'une tige de roseau,
 Ne rejette pas la plainte
 Du pauvre, faible roseau souffrant que je suis.*

Gezelle converse avec tous les êtres, il les prend pour confidents et leur parle du grand amour qu'il a pour leur Créateur. Il lui semble qu'il l'adorera mieux en présence de tous ces amis muets auxquels il donne une âme capable

* *Het Ruischen van het Ranke Riet.*

de s'unir à la sienne dans le même élan vers les réalités suprêmement consolantes, dont la nature n'est que le voile délicieux. D'autre part, ce sentiment de fraternité avec toutes les créatures lui inspire pour elles une affection pleine de familiarité:

Un nid de mésanges est apparu dans le tronc du saule,
 Là bas caché,
 Avec ses quinze œufs éclos.
 Et les voilà jouant dans l'arbre
 De ci, de là, en bas, en haut, à droite, à gauche.
 Ils sont beaucoup!
 Et je ris, je ris, je me tors de rire! ²¹

Ou encore:

Le soleil rouge cerise
 Descend doucement dans le nid
 Que Dieu lui a bâti
 Dans le pays des soirs.

Si doucement
 Que nul ne le voit,
 Il tire le rideau
 Et s'endort sur sa couche.

Bonsoir, soleil,
 Bonne nuit! Que Dieu
 Bénisse et préserve ton éclat
 Et nous garde tous! ²²

Il est donc bien de l'école de ces mystiques à l'âme accueillante et simple, heureux de leur joie intérieure et prêts à la partager avec tous. Il est le confident de toutes les bêtes et toutes les fleurs, comme il est celui des braves campagnards qui partagent avec lui leurs peines et leurs joies les plus intimes. Cette délicate sympathie pour tout ce qui

²¹ *Meesennest.*

²² *De Kriekenroode Zonne.*

vit lui donne un sens affiné des réalités les plus profondes. Le livre des âmes est ouvert tout grand devant lui comme celui des choses et il y trouve des trésors cachés, il y lit des décrets divins. Comme Maeterlinck, il a le sens de la destinée :

Il est des gens qui avec une miette de pain atteignent un âge avancé et semblent défier la mort.

Il en est aussi que la vie a bannis de la route du bonheur, dès le début de leur course. Ce sont les enfants de la mort.

J'en ai connu un, que sa mère berçait en disant : " Mon enfant ! "

Ce n'était pas vrai, c'était l'enfant de la mort.

Elle vivait et vivait deux fois quand elle le pressait sur son cœur et trois fois quand elle lui donnait le sein, à son enfant . . . l'enfant de la mort.

Tandis que les autres enfants, le soir, s'endorment joyeux en songeant à leurs compagnons et se disent : " Ah !, si ce pouvait être demain matin ! ", lui, il soupire . . . après la mort.

La mort est sa compagne et son amie. Il connaît sa main livide. Il connaît son pas sourd et sa voix, sa tombe, son cimetière.

Elle est comme sa compagne de jeux. Son cœur l'appelle. Oui, elle est déjà blottie dans son cœur, la mort, est voilà pourquoi, qui soupire et écrit : " Viens ! "

Elle tardait et le temps lui paraissait long. Un jour pourtant, elle vint. Il était à sa place habituelle, c'est là qu'elle arriva et qu'elle le trouva.

Elle entra dans la maison. Il la reconnut et marcha vers elle. Elle monta et il monta. Elle se coucha et il se coucha. Elle rit et il lui sourit.

Une femme dit " Oh ! il rit, il rit ! Qu'a-t-il donc ? Que fait-il, lui qui jamais ne rit ? Seigneur, notre jeune frère est guéri ! "

" Ah !, dit alors une autre femme, j'ai trouvé ce rire étrange. C'est ainsi que riait mon pauvre mari et . . . hélas ! "

Dans un effort avec un long soupir, son âme brisa ses liens et rapide s'envola dans le sein de sa mère.

Les yeux mi-clos et la bouche entr'ouverte, il gisait là avec un sourire et tous ceux qui le regardaient disaient : " Mon Dieu, comme il lui ressemblait ! "

Le laboureur dans les champs entendit le triste son de la cloche au loin, et, délaissant sa tâche un instant, il releva la tête et pensa : " Ce doit être pour l'enfant de la mort ! "

Et un malheureux, un deshérité de la vie murmura: "J'espère en une meilleure vie que cette vie de mort.

Et je voudrais sur le chemin de la vie m'en aller avec une miette de pain, si seulement au ciel je pouvais m'envoler comme l'enfant de la mort."²²

Je ne suis que trop conscient de ce que, cités par petits fragments et dépouillés de l'admirable musique de leur rythme, ces poèmes perdent la plus grande partie de leur charme pénétrant. Obéissant simplement à son talent et sans rien savoir des théories des écoles, Gezelle, comme beaucoup de symbolistes, a fait de la musique des vers la partie essentielle de la poésie. Ses odes sont comme des sonates. Ces extraits, à tout le moins, feront voir que la vision de Gezelle est aussi nette que celle des autres Flamands, dont nous avons parlé. La citation suivante ne pourra que confirmer cette impression:

Comme ils sont noirs, les arbres, là-bas,
Dans la neige, si sournoisement tombée,
Pendant la nuit, dont elle a dissipé
Les ténèbres mauvaises!

Regardez-les! Comme ils sont droits!
Ce sont des dessins au charbon,
Des signes ou des lettres,
Sur un immense parchemin.

Les étoiles, là-haut, brillent
Comme des yeux sans nombre.
Elles semblent nous regarder
De la tête de ces géants.

Et ceux-ci grandissent encore,
Et paraissent toujours plus noirs
Sur la neige. Mais attention!
Nous en voyons deux au lieu d'un.

Ce sincère et naïf amour des couleurs et des contours c'est bien ce que nous avons trouvé chez Ruysbroeck et

²² *Het Kindeken van de Dood.*

Maeterlinck. D'autre part, ce roseau plié par le vent, dans lequel il reconnaît son âme persécutée, souffrante, mais toujours chantant les louanges de son Créateur, cette perpétuelle présence de la mort, comme d'une amie, auprès du petit phtisique sont encore autant de traits caractéristiques des symbolistes chez un poète indépendant de toute théorie d'école.

Puisque l'incarnation de l'âme du poète en images qui le suivent comme des compagnes est si caractéristique des auteurs flamands, il ne faut pas s'étonner de la trouver dans des personnalités aussi différentes que celles de Gezelle et de Verhaeren. L'âme immense et ardente de ce dernier, dans ses moments de recueillement, se montre au poète comme une série d'apparitions obsédantes, peuplant les rêveries pénibles de son cerveau fatigué. Il s'agit du Verhaeren de Londres quand accablé par une crise physique et morale, il sentait l'obscurité tomber dans son esprit dont s'étaient envolés les idéals de sa jeunesse. Il alla chercher dans les brumes de la Tamise l'atmosphère propice à sa tristesse. Les hommes du Nord, dans leurs afflictions et leurs angoisses ne trouvent de consolation qu'en communiant avec la mélancolie de leurs paysages sombres. Leur âme se projette si complètement sur le cadre de leur vie, qu'elle ne pourrait s'accommoder d'un décor de soleil et de clartés, alors qu'elle étouffe dans les vapeurs de la tristesse. Les quais de la Tamise avec leur patine de suie et de boue, leur manteau de brouillards opaques où filtrent les larmes de lanternes fallottes lui donnent la joie amère que l'on ressent en rencontrant un ami en proie aux mêmes angoisses que soi-même. Il est à remarquer que Verhaeren a tellement identifié Londres avec son âme qu'il n'a aperçu de cette ville que le côté triste. Il voit le chagrin qui l'opprime s'incarner dans toutes les images lamentables de la misère des quartiers du

port : eaux noires, murs calcinés, chevaux émaciés, femmes en guenilles, marins ivres dans la boue, cercueils qui traversent la nuit, wagons de marchandise se heurtant bruyamment de toutes parts et s'écoulant en files ininterrompues vers des destinations vagues :

En sa robe, couleur de fiel et de poison,
Le cadavre de ma raison
Traîne sur la Tamise.

Des points de bronze, ou les wagons
Entrechoquent d'interminables bruits de gonds
Et des voiles de bateaux sombres
Laissent sur elles choir leurs ombres.

Sans qu'une aiguille à son cadran ne bouge,
Un grand beffroi masqué de rouge
La regarde comme quelqu'un
Immensément de triste et de défunt.

Au long des funèbres murailles,
Au long des usines de fer
Dont les marteaux tonnent l'éclair,
Elle se traîne aux funérailles.²⁴

Plus tard, Verhaeren régénéré ne sera pas moins obsédé par le spectacle des grandes villes dont l'esprit tumultueux et avide se manifestera à ses yeux en images non moins concrètes : music-halls, bourses, grands magasins, usines. La métropole affamée d'humanité lui hantera l'esprit sous la forme d'une pieuvre aux tentacules rapaces suçant au loin dans les campagnes le sang des races hallucinées par le tourbillon de la vie moderne. Mais ce spectacle ne le déprimera plus, parce qu'il n'y verra plus le symbole de la misère immense d'un monde dépouillé de beauté se précipitant dans les ténèbres et le désespoir. Il y verra la souffrance féconde et régénératrice d'une humanité se

²⁴ *La Morte*. Finale des "Flambeaux noirs," *Poèmes*, II, p. 205.

frayant péniblement mais hardiment et sûrement la voie vers de nouvelles destinées. La noblesse de l'effort, la grandeur de la victoire dans la lutte contre les forces brutes de la nature se projette maintenant devant ses yeux sous la forme de théories claires " d'ouvriers aux membres robustes, aux gestes puissants et sûrs allant droit au but dans leur noble tâche: forgerons, semeurs, bûcherons, débardeurs, mineurs," etc.:

Groupes de travailleurs, fiévreux et haletants,
 Qui vous dressez et qui passez au long des temps,
 Avec le rêve au front des utiles victoires,
 Torses carrés et durs, gestes précis et forts,
 Marches, courses, arrêts, violences, efforts,
 Quelles lignes fières de vaillance et de gloire,
 Vous inscrivez tragiquement dans ma mémoire! ¹⁵

Que de précision, que de netteté encore dans cette évocation rayonnante! Il nous faut toutefois ramener l'attention sur les jours de tristesse du poète afin d'insister sur la grande ressemblance entre l'union de Verhaeren avec Londres, confidante de ses mélancolies, et l'ardent attachement de Georges Rodenbach à "Bruges la morte," il s'agit de l'antique ville avec ses canaux à l'eau dormante, ses ruelles capricieuses où, parmi les pignons en escalier, se glissent les béguines dans leurs capes noires, les "cloches" discrètes de nos aïeules. Elles obéissent au son des cloches moins silencieuses, qui à travers toutes les vicissitudes des événements humains n'ont cessé de bercer la rêverie pieuse des générations flamandes, jusqu'en ce jour où elles se trouvent menacées par la rapacité d'un ennemi avide de bronze pour son œuvre de mort. Tel est le décor profondément poétique qui hante les rêveries de Rodenbach. Peu de poètes ont non seulement communiqué aussi intimement

¹⁵ *L'Effort*.—(*La Multiple Splendeur*.)—Cf. Van Bever et Léautaud, *Poètes d'aujourd'hui*, II, p. 316.

avec l'âme de la vieille Flandre mais l'ont ressuscitée dans leurs écrits avec une grâce aussi séduisante. Bruges est pour le poète non seulement une Béatrix qui lui sourit dans ses extases mais un horizon où sa rêverie se matérialise en images toujours nouvelles :

O ville, toi ma sœur à qui je suis pareil,
 Ville déchuée en proie aux cloches, tous les deux,
 Nous ne connaissons plus les vaisseaux hasardeux,
 Pendant comme des seins leurs voiles au soleil,
 Comme des seins gonflés par l'amour de la mer.
 Nous sommes tous les deux la ville en deuil qui dort
 Et n'a plus de vaisseaux parmi son port amer,
 Les vaisseaux qui jadis y miraient leurs flancs d'or;
 Plus de bruits, de reflets. . . . Les glaives des roseaux
 Ont un air de tenir prisonnières les eaux,
 Les eaux vides, les eaux veuves, où le vent seul
 Circule comme pour les étendre en linceul. . .
 Nous sommes tous les deux la tristesse d'un port
 Toi, ville! toi, ma sœur douloureuse, qui n'as
 Que du silence et le regret des anciens mâts,
 Moi dont la vie aussi n'est qu'un grand canal mort!

Et c'est pour être ainsi que l'une et l'autre est digne
 De la toute-présence en elle d'un doux cygne,
 Le cygne d'un beau rêve acquis à ce silence
 Qui s'effaroucherait d'un peu de violence
 Et qui n'arrive à flotter comme une palme
 Qu'à cause du repos, à cause du grand calme,
 Cygne blanc dont la queue ouverte se déploie,
 —Barque de clair de lune et gondole de soie—
 Cygne blanc, argentant l'ennui des mornes villes,
 Qui hérissé parfois dans les canaux tranquilles
 Son candide duvet tout impressionnable;
 Puis quand tombe le soir, cargué comme les voiles,
 —Dédaignant le voyage et la mer navigable—
 Sommeille, l'aile close, en couvant des étoiles! ²⁸

Cette vie abattue, veuve et morne comme "un grand canal mort," cette âme emprisonnée dans un cercle de

²⁸ *Le Règne du Silence.*—Van Bever et Léautaud, *o. c.*, II, p. 172, sq.

glaives comme le "minnewater" dans son cadre de roseaux, ces plaisirs infidèles et disparus comme des vaisseaux dorés aux voiles lourdes d'amour, mais surtout ce beau cygne blanc glissant sur la surface des eaux apaisées, comme un doux sentiment de bonheur rare et discret dans une âme recueillie, c'est bien le style de Ruysbroeck, ce sont les couleurs et les allégories à la fois ingénieuses et naïves des moralistes flamands. Comme eux, Rodenbach chérit les méditations solitaires. Sa passion pour la vieille Flandre est délicate, pieuse, nullement exaspérée ni sombre. C'est un amour sans angoisse, ni ravissement, un mysticisme aimable, familier, rassurant. Virginia Crawford ¹⁷ voit dans cette timidité, cette touche délicate un effort pour satisfaire le goût des salons, mais c'est à tort, selon moi : Rodenbach avait simplement la mentalité de tant d'autres Flamands à l'âme concentrée et au mysticisme serein. Comme dit Verhaeren : ¹⁸

Il est de ceux qui se renferment à l'encontre de ceux qui se déploient. Il a mis des sourdines à ses vers et à ses pensées, il déteste les tapages de l'orchestre : c'est un recueilli. Il apporte dans l'art contemporain un encens pris aux cérémonies d'un mysticisme nouveau que ne connurent ni Baudelaire, ni Verlaine. Il le recueillit non point en des chapelles espagnoles ou des cathédrales françaises mais en des béguinages flamands. Mysticisme précis, propre, dominical, mysticisme de confessionnal, de triduums et de neuvaines, mysticisme de banc de communion qui, les mains jointes, s'en va vers l'hostie, non pas nu-pieds en marchant sur des jonchées, de ronces et d'épines, mais en foulant aux pieds des dalles bien nettes avec des sandales blanches et pieusement feutrées.

Rodenbach n'est pas un désolé, ni un mélancolique, mais il y a toujours un voile de tristesse sur ses pensées. Max Elskamp, un talent de moindre envergure représente le même mysticisme flamand sous sa forme joyeuse. C'est

¹⁷ *Studies in Foreign Literature*, p. 185.

¹⁸ *Rev. Encyclop.*, 28 Janv. 1899.

celui des processions et des églises richement polychromées, celui pour lequel la piété est une sensation des yeux autant et plus qu'un élan du cœur. C'est une manifestation de cette avidité pour les couleurs et le mouvement qui, comme nous l'avons dit, se réveille à certains jours dans l'âme généralement concentrée du Flamand et la secoue sous une cascade de couleurs, de sons et de joies. Ces processions tout en excitant réellement la piété populaire attirent la foule par les mêmes attraites que les "ommeganks" de jadis accompagnant la "joyeuse entrée" des princes ou les concours des chambres de rhétorique, les cortèges pleins de géants peinturlurés, de chevaux piaffeurs et surtout de costumes châtoyants, de lanternes, de banderoles et de bannières aux couleurs vives. Comme Elskamp le dit lui-même,¹⁹ son imagination a été frappée dès sa plus tendre enfance par ce genre de piété flamande qui parle aux sens, les dilatant devant les statues ornées et enluminées ou les rétractant devant les images effrayantes d'enfers rougeoyants ou de grands calvaires livides.

C'est le côté rassurant et gracieux de ces démonstrations populaires qui a persisté dans l'imagination du poète. Il peint les âmes simples des nonnes proprettes et les vitraux aux teints polis, les clochettes alertes des couvents secouant la torpeur des matins brumeux :

Or, c'est matin vert aux prairies
Et, Marie, regardez la vie :

Comme elle est douce infiniment
Depuis les arbres et les étangs

Jusqu'aux toits loin qui font des îles ;
Et, Marie, regardez vos villes,

Heureuses comme des enfants
Avec leurs cloches proclamant

¹⁹ *Van Bever et Léautaud, o. c., I, p. 60.*

Les paix naïves d'évangile
Du haut de tous les campaniles.

Dans l'aube en or aux horizons
Que saluent, Marie-des-Maisons,

Les miens des tâches coutumières
Et dévoués tout à la terre.²⁰

.

La sérénité des âmes pieuses et heureuses tandis que le monde s'agite est encore mieux rendue dans les strophes suivantes:

Et Marie lit un évangile
Avec ses deux mains sur son cœur
Et Marie lit un évangile
Dans la prairie qui chante fleur.

Et l'herbe et toutes les couleurs
Des fleurs, autour épanouies
Lui disent la joie de leur vie
Avec des mots tout en douceur.

Or, les anges dans les nuées
Et les oiseaux chantent en chœur,
Et les bêtes, têtes baissées,
Paissent les plantes de senteur;

Mais Marie lit un évangile
Oubliant les heures sonnées
Avec le temps et les années,
Car Marie lit un évangile:²¹

.

La vision d'Elskamp, moins puissante que celle de la plupart des autres Flamands, n'en est pas moins, comme chez eux, précise et plastique. Comme le dit M. R. de Gourmont,²² "les idées se présentent presque toujours à

²⁰ *Aux Yeux—Louange de Vie.—Van Bever et Léautaud, o. c., I, p. 64.*

²¹ *Enluminures. Van Bever, etc., o. c., I, p. 68.*

²² *Van Bever et Léautaud, o. c., I, p. 60.*

lui sous la forme d'images significatives ; sa poésie est emblématique. . . . L'âme personnifiée en un jeune homme ou une jeune fille, en un enfant, traverse des paysages, agit sur les éléments, subit la vie, travaille à des métiers, se promène en barque, pêche, chasse, danse, souffre, cueille des roses ou des chardons ; c'est très mièvre le plus souvent et diffamé par une naïveté qui a d'elle-même une conscience trop précise." Cette dernière circonstance n'empêche pas cette naïveté d'être spontanée et naturelle, découlant des mêmes sources qui alimentèrent l'imagerie des mystiques et des rhétoriciens :

Et me voici vers vous, les hommes et les femmes,
Avec mes plus beaux jours pour le cœur et pour l'âme

Et la bonne parole où tous les mots qui s'aiment
Semblent des enfants blancs en robes de baptême,

Car c'est en aujourd'hui la belle Renaissance
Où ma douce sœur Joie et son frère Innocence

S'en sont allés cueillir en se donnant la main,
Sous des oiseaux chantant les fleurs du romarin.

Pour fêter paix venue au jardin de Jouvence,
Qu'ouvrent ici la Foi et la bonne Espérance.

Or, voici doux pays et lors, à mes couleurs,
La vie comme un bouquet de joies et de senteurs,²²

.

Elskamp est né à Anvers et, comme tous les gens de l'ancien pays de Brabant, comprend avant tout la joie de vivre. . . . Les Flamands des Flandre ont des fonds d'âme plus sentimentaux. Leur sensation est plus délicate et plus discrète, comme on le constate non seulement en Maeterlinck mais dans ses deux compagnons gantois : Gré-

²² *Louange de la Vie—Van Bever, etc., o. c., I, p. 64.*

goire Le Roy et Charles Van Lerberghe, deux recrues importantes de l'école symboliste parisienne.

Grégoire Le Roy, comme tant des Flamands dont nous avons parlé, se construisit un monde de rêve avec lequel et dans lequel il vécut plus réellement que dans celui des réalités. Il poussa même les choses à tel point qu'il se laissa glisser insensiblement vers un état d'extrême pauvreté. Sa vision est si véritablement celle d'un peintre qu'il s'appliqua tout d'abord à faire des tableaux. Ce sont les paysages des Flandres qui l'attiraient. A peine eut-il terminé ses études qu'il se retira dans le hameau de Castel sur les bords mélancoliques de l'Escaut avec leurs brumes, leurs bœufs endormis dans les hautes herbes, leurs embrasements du soir. Bientôt toutefois, inspiré par la solitude, il se mit à écrire des vers et accepta d'aller rejoindre son ami Maeterlinck à Paris. Il se fatigua cependant assez vite de la grande ville et s'en revint au cher pays mener une existence calme dans le refuge de Laethem-Rust (dont le nom peut se comprendre: " Respectez ce repos!").

Dans son recueil pertinemment intitulé: *La Chanson du Pauvre*, il chante ses illusions d'autrefois et celles-ci prennent dans son imagination des formes plastiques:

Je suis celle qui s'est enfuie
De ton cœur un soir d'autrefois,
Celle qui pleure et qui s'ennuie,
Qui n'a plus de corps ni de voix.

J'étais d'une chair triste et belle
Et si lointaine en sa pâleur,
Qu'à peine il te souvient d'elle
Comme d'une morte en ton cœur.*

Sa vie veuve des joies d'antan est comparée à une vierge sombre:

* *Van Bever*, etc., o. c., I, p. 232.

Ma vie est veuve d'ici bas;
Elle est veuve et triste sans doute?
Je ne sais, n'ayant même pas
Remarqué son deuil sur ma route.

Mais je la pressens sans la voir:
Ce doit être une fille sombre,
Aimant l'automne dans le soir,
N'errant qu'aux étoiles, dans l'ombre."

Il ne lui reste qu'à attendre paisiblement "la dernière visiteuse":

Elle entrera chez moi comme ma bienaimée,
Sans frapper à la porte et familièrement
Ne faisant ni de bruit, ni de dérangement,
Enfin comme entrerait la femme accoutumée.

D'ailleurs comme déjà la chère le savait,
Elle n'aura pas peur en voyant mon visage
Si pâle et si défait et bien douce et bien sage,
S'assoiera sans parler à mon triste chevet.

Et, maternellement, comme l'eût fait ma mère,
Après m'avoir parlé quelque temps du bon Dieu,
La chère me dira: "Veux-tu dormir un peu?"
Et content de rêver je clorai ma paupière."

Bien qu'il y ait une grâce pénétrante et une profonde sincérité dans les vers de Le Roy, son compagnon, Charles Van Lerberghe est sans doute, un plus grand poète. L'imagination de ce dernier qui est entièrement de la même espèce que celle de Le Roy a plus de puissance, ses images ont plus de couleur. Son caractère le plus distinctif est le recul, l'atmosphère qui font flotter ses images dans un espace d'incertitude. Il aime comme son ami, Maeterlinck, à présenter ses créations sans les ramener à rien de connu, comme si elles étaient suspendues en l'air, sans

"Ib., p. 284.

"Ib., p. 288.

attache ni de temps, ni de lieu. Il tient à ce que ses poésies aient toujours quelque chose d'inexpliqué, une certaine contradiction dans les figures, qui rappelle la manière dont les faits nous apparaissent en rêve :

Heures et choses incertaines;
 Au loin dans les bosquets de fleurs,
 Me chantent mes divines sœurs,
 Et j'écoute leurs voix lointaines.

Je tremble de joie et d'effroi.
 Nue en ma chevelure blonde,
 J'attends que le soleil m'inonde,
 Et qu'une ombre tombe de moi.²⁷

Ou encore :

De mon mystérieux voyage
 Je ne t'ai gardé qu'une image
 Et qu'une chanson, les voici :
 Je ne t'apporte pas de roses,
 Car je n'ai pas touché aux choses,
 Elles aiment à vivre aussi.²⁸

Dans le fragment suivant, on ne sait qui a été tué ou qui a tué. Le lecteur ne peut que pressentir ce qui se passe en symbole comme à propos d'un crime inconnu dont on entend le bruit à distance :

Je l'ai tué, je l'ai tué !
 Il tombe.
 Écoute. Une voix dans le soir a crié
 Sur la mer sombre : Tu l'as tué !

Comment l'as-tué mon Dieu, de ces mains blanches
 Qui n'auraient pas blessé une colombe
 Ni tué une fleur ?²⁹

On notera toutefois que mystère dans le cas présent ne

²⁷ *L'Attente—Entrevues.*—*Van Bever*, etc., o. c., II, p. 233.

²⁸ *La Chanson d'Ève*, *Ib.*, II, p. 285.

²⁹ *La Chanson d'Ève*, *Ib.*, II, p. 288.

signifie pas : imprécision et obscurité. Chez Van Lerberghe plus encore que chez les symbolistes, l'imagination est nettement colorée, matérialisante et . . . flamande. Il l'a reconnu lui-même : " Une âme d'ange ne me ferait pas détourner la tête, si elle n'était pas enveloppée de beauté. Un ange pour moi, ce n'est qu'une pure forme, une jolie fille dont je revêts mes pensées. Je suis très flamand sous ce rapport." ²⁰

Vers le soleil s'en vont ensemble
Mes pensées, divines sœurs.
Elles chantent; l'air pâle en tremble,
Comme s'il y tombait des fleurs.

Ou encore :

Quand vient le soir,
Des cygnes noirs,
Ou des fées sombres,
Sortent des fleurs, des choses, de nous :
Ce sont nos ombres.²¹

Et avec un charme tout spécial :

Ma sœur, la pluie,
La belle et tiède pluie d'été,
Doucement vole, doucement fuit,
A travers les airs mouillés.

De ma bouche, elle approche
Ses lèvres humides de fraises de bois;
Rit et me touche,
Partout à la fois,
De ses milliers de petits doigts.

Puis vient le soleil qui essuie,
De ses cheveux d'or,
Les pieds de la pluie.²²

²⁰ *Van Bever*, etc., o. c., II, p. 280.

²¹ *La Chanson d'Eve*, *Ib.*, II, p. 287.

²² *Ib.*, p. 287.

Les aveux de Van Lerberghe analysant sa propre vision indiquent évidemment que tout n'est pas purement instinctif dans l'emploi intensif de ces images chez les symbolistes. L'application consciente de cette forme d'imagination en a fait un procédé, une manière d'art qui eut son heure de vogue et ses enthousiastes. Des Ardennais comme Mockel, Séverin et même Verlaine, et de purs Français ont pu manier le symbole avec un bonheur égal à celui des Flamands dont nous avons parlé; ils y ont souvent mis une grâce, une légèreté, une délicatesse de touche qui généralement manque aux Flamands, mais ces avantages, ils les doivent précisément au fait qu'ils dominent leurs images et leurs combinaisons d'images. Ils s'en servent comme d'un vêtement, drapant légèrement une pensée qui se meut libre, suivant ses mouvements propres. Le Flamand, au contraire, trouve ses pensées incarnées dans ces images précises. Elles sont la forme ou tout au moins l'accompagnement naturel, favori de ses conceptions; elles leur donnent leur valeur inspiratrice et artistique. Elles l'aident réellement à penser comme nous avons vu que c'était le cas chez les mystiques. Il suffisait donc qu'un nombre suffisant de Flamands pénétrassent dans le monde littéraire de langue française pour que, par une génération spontanée, le symbole florisse et envahisse la poésie de sa végétation exubérante. De là à sa découverte comme forme consciente d'art il n'y avait qu'un pas et c'est ainsi que l'imagination flamande moins raffinée, moins sûre de goût mais plus riche que celle du Français vint réjouir la poésie française fatiguée par la perfection technique du Parnasse et la morbidité de l'école décadente, un peu de la même façon—*mutatis mutandis*—que l'exubérance orientale pénétra dans l'art grec à l'époque alexandrine. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, les chefs d'œuvre ont été dûs à la perfection de l'instrument poétique, la précision de la langue,

la sûreté du goût, la puissance de la tradition chez les artisans littéraires du peuple le plus raffiné, au moins autant qu'à la richesse un peu fruste et pas toujours très pure du minerai étranger.

Dans cette amalgamation du tempérament des hommes du Nord avec la grâce "latine," la Belgique a joué une fois de plus le rôle qu'elle n'a cessé de remplir depuis quinze siècles. Elle est le coin du monde où l'âme franque s'est alimentée et enrichie aux sources de la civilisation antique, qui n'ont jamais cessé de couler depuis l'empire romain. C'est là que les Carolingiens se sont mêlés au sang romain et ont lentement absorbé durant trois siècles ce qui restait de culture romaine dans les pays mosans ; c'est là que, plus tard, les séduisantes productions littéraires du moyen âge français furent traduites en néerlandais et purent de la sorte pénétrer le monde germanique où elles fécondèrent l'art des "Minnesinger." En même temps qu'ils ont rempli et qu'ils continuent à remplir ce rôle si utile d'intermédiaire, les pays belges ont fait preuve d'originalité dans les domaines de l'art et de la pensée. Si, comme l'étude présente le démontre, l'imagination des Flamands se distingue bien de celle des Français, elle ne diffère pas moins de celle des Allemands. Cette abondance de lumière, ces traits nets, ces couleurs vives, cette atmosphère joyeuse et rassurante ne rappellent guère la nébulosité, le ténébreux, la gravité si fréquentes dans les poésies allemandes. En outre, tandis que dans ces dernières, la sentimentalité domine, chez le Flamand, la sensation l'emporte et les conceptions sont plus nettes, plus directement inspiratrices d'action. De même que les peintres flamands atteignent souvent aux tons et aux reflets des artistes italiens, Ruysbroeck, malgré son fond d'âme si vraiment flamand donne souvent à ses rêveries un parfum méridional. L'élégant

drame religieux de Vondel, le réalisme fin et ironique des moralistes flamands ont aussi une saveur spécifique.

Le critique littéraire autrichien, M. Stefan Zweig, l'historien des œuvres de Verhaeren et de Maeterlinck a donc raison d'écrire: ³³ " Cette race neuve—la race belge—est forte et l'une des plus capables qui soit en Europe. Le voisinage de tant de cultures étrangères, le contact avec tant de nations si diverses l'ont fécondée. Le travail sain des champs a fait les corps robustes; la proximité de la mer a ouvert les regards vers l'horizon. Comme en Amérique, le mélange des peuples et la fertilité d'une terre saine ont ici engendré une belle et puissante race. En Belgique, la vitalité est magnifique. Nulle part en Europe, la vie n'est aussi intensément, aussi allègrement vécue. . . . La Belgique toujours a combattu pour sauvegarder son sens de la vie, pour jouir de l'existence pleinement et jusqu'à la satiété."

Le grand philologue et esthète allemand, M. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, parle à peine différemment: " Les Van Eyck n'ont pas été des Allemands, Rubens et Van Dyck encore moins. Une souche populaire qui a produit de tels hommes a le droit de prétendre qu'on la reconnaisse indépendante." ³⁴ Ces penseurs germains ont prononcé la condamnation de la politique impérialiste allemande, qui après avoir écrasé le peuple belge par les armes, s'efforce de le représenter au monde comme dépourvu d'individualité et destiné à se laisser absorber par les nations qui l'entourent.

ALBERT CARNOY.

³³ *Emile Verhaeren. Sa Vie, son Oeuvre.* Paris, Merc. Fr., 1910, pp. 22-25.

³⁴ *Reden aus der Kriegszeit*, IX, p. 14.

VIII.—WORDSWORTH AND HERMES TRISME- GISTUS

At the very beginning of the nineteenth century, which has aptly been called "the century of the child," a new sense of the sacredness of childhood found expression in Wordsworth's song written in 1802:

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The Child is father of the Man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.

This little lyric Bliss Perry calls the "key-note of all Wordsworth's poetry."¹ The comment seems justified by the reappearance of the idea in *The Prelude* (5, 506, 511):

Our childhood sits,
Our simple childhood, sits upon a throne
That hath more power than all the elements.
I guess not what this tells of Being past,
Nor what it augurs of the life to come;

We find it, furthermore, in the concluding book of *The Excursion* (9, 36-44):

Ah! why in age
Do we revert so fondly to the walks
Of childhood—but that there the Soul discerns
The dear memorial footsteps unimpaired
Of her own native vigour; thence can hear
Reverberations; and a choral song,
Commingle with the incense that ascends,

¹ Cf. the Cambridge Edition of Wordsworth.

Undaunted, toward the imperishable heavens,
From her own lonely altar?

Its most memorable expression, certainly, is the *Ode—Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* (published 1807). Here we are told,

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home:

Throughout the *Ode* the poet speaks of the child as enjoying a mystical insight into God's ways as revealed in nature—an insight due to the child's celestial origin. Though destined to fade as life continues, this sense of oneness with a celestial order may be recalled even after it has passed away, and may furnish a basis, or at least a hint, of immortality.

Though Wordsworth disclaims any didactic purpose in writing the *Ode*, and adds, "It is far too shadowy a notion to be recommended to faith as more than an element in our instincts of immortality," the basic idea was, nevertheless, far from being with him a mere poetic fancy. That, indeed, it was a fundamental article of his creed is shown by what he says of it in his prose. In the *Essay On Epitaphs* given in Wordsworth's notes to *The Excursion*,² he wrote:

Forlorn and cut off from communication with the best part of his nature must that man be who should derive the sense of immortality, as it exists in the mind of a child, from the same unthinking gaiety or liveliness of animal spirits with which the lamb in the meadow, or any other irrational creature is endowed; who should ascribe it,

² Knight's Ed., Wordsworth's Poetical Works, v, pp. 400 ff.

in short, to blank ignorance in the child; . . . for, if we had no direct external testimony that the minds of very young children meditate feelingly upon death and immortality, these inquiries which we all know they are perpetually making concerning the *whence*, do necessarily include correspondent habits of interrogation concerning the *whither*. Origin and tendency are notions inseparably co-relative. . . . We may, then, be justified in asserting that the sense of immortality, if not a coexistent and twin birth with Reason, is among the earliest of her offspring: and we may further assert that from these conjoined, and under their countenance, the human affections are gradually formed and opened out.

Misled, no doubt, by Wordsworth's introductory note,⁸ in which he mentions the widespread belief in a pre-existent state, calling it an "ingredient in Platonic philosophy," critics in general, though recognizing the marked difference between the thought of Plato and that of Wordsworth, have, nevertheless, assigned to Wordsworth's conception of childhood a Platonic origin. Thus Knight's note in the Edinburgh edition on the verse "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting" begins,

This thought Wordsworth owed consciously or unconsciously to Plato. . . . but there are some differences in the way in which the idea commended itself to Plato and to Wordsworth. The stress was laid by Wordsworth on the effect of terrestrial life in putting the higher faculties to sleep, and making us "forget the glories we have known." Plato, on the other hand, looked upon the mingled experiences of mundane life as inducing a gradual but slow remembrance *ἀνάμνησις* of the past.

The ultimate source of Wordsworth's sense of the holiness of childhood may with some show of probability be designated as that strange blend of oriental mysticism and of Neo-Platonism known as the Hermetical books, formerly attributed to the legendary Egyptian god Thoth,

⁸ Compare *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, xvi: "Man's life is like a Sparrow," and the *Answer to the Letter of Mathetes*, published in *The Friend* in 1809, in which he restates the main theme of the *Ode*.

afterward called *Hermes Trismegistus*. In the tenth treatise of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, called *The Key*, the ladder of being is described as made up of three rungs: Man, the Cosmos, God.

Three, then, are they: God, the Father and the Good, Cosmos, and Man. God doth contain Cosmos; Cosmos containeth Man. Cosmos is ever God's son, man is Cosmos's child. Not that, however, God ignoreth man; nay, right well doth He know him, and willeth to be known (*The Key*, 14-15).

Man's salvation, the Olympian way that leads to God, is the Gnosis:

This is the sole salvation for a man—God's Gnosis. This is the way up to the mount (*The Key*, 15).

By the Gnosis is meant that liberation of the mind which enables it to see the things-that-are, namely, the Intelligible Cosmos. Of this Gnosis the soul, according to Hermes, is already at birth the possessor. The new-born child already knows the truth. Hermes would have endorsed Wordsworth's apostrophe,⁴

Thou best philosopher, who yet dost keep
Thy heritage, thou eye among the blind,
That, deaf and silent, read'st the eternal deep,
Haunted forever by the eternal mind,—

But the growing body, according to both Hermes and Wordsworth, causes forgetfulness and a separation from the Cosmos.

Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy.⁵

Similarly Hermes speaks of the child:

Behold an infant's soul, my son, that is not yet cut off from the

⁴ *Ode On Intimations*, 110-113.

⁵ *Ode On Intimations*, 66-68.

world soul, because its body is still small and not yet come unto its full bulk. . . . A thing of beauty altogether is such a soul to see, not yet befouled by body's passions, still all but hanging from the Cosmic Soul! But when the body grows in bulk and draweth down the soul into its mass, then doth the soul cut off itself and bring upon itself forgetfulness, and no more shareth in the Beautiful and Good. And this forgetfulness becometh vice (*The Key*, 15).

Though Coleridge knew the Hermetic books,⁶ it is highly improbable that Wordsworth was acquainted with them. His debt to Hermes, assuming that it existed, was indirect, through Henry Vaughan, the Silurist. We know Wordsworth possessed a copy of Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* (1650), and that the poem *The Retreat* contained in that volume was the immediate source of the mystical sense of the sanctity of childhood embodied in Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations*. The proof of Vaughan's influence upon Wordsworth in writing the *Ode* Grosart has given in detail in his edition of Vaughan⁷ and need not be repeated. It will be necessary, however, to establish a probability that Vaughan was himself acquainted with the Hermetic books.

Such a probability is easily shown, even though the fact cannot be conclusively proved. In the seventeenth century nearly all intelligent men had at least heard of Hermes. Certainly those who, like Milton, were interested in philosophy could refer to "thrice-great Hermes"⁸ with an assurance of being understood.⁹ Especially popular was

* Coleridge's sonnet xvii beginning "Oft o'er my brain does that strange fancy roll" expresses a belief in a prenatal life, and may have been in part due to the author's reading of Hermes. The latter he mentions (letter to Thelwall, Nov. 19, 1796) as one of "my darling studies."

⁷ *Henry Vaughan's Works*, in Fuller Worthies Library, Vol. II, pp. lxii-lxviii.

⁸ *Il Penseroso*, 88.

⁹ Milton almost certainly had read the Hermetic books.

Hermes with the Rosicrucians, who venerated the Hermetic books almost as a sacred scripture. So great was their devotion to Hermes as to furnish a frequent theme for satire. Samuel Butler, for example, says of them:

As for the Rosy-Cross philosophers,
Whom you will have to be but sorcerers,
What they pretend to, is no more
Than Trismegistus did before,
Pythagoras, old Zoroaster,
And Apollonius their master:
To whom they do confess they owe
All that they do, and all they know.*

To this cult Henry Vaughan's twin brother Thomas, to whom he was devotedly attached, almost certainly belonged notwithstanding his emphatic denial. The Rosicrucian brotherhood is now known not to have been a society in the sense of an organization holding meetings, and possessing officers and a listed membership. It was simply a group of isolated individuals who held certain views in common, and this community of interests was their only bond of union. Thomas Vaughan's interest in the Rosicrucian mysticism is attested by his writings. Besides a Preface he contributed to the translation (by an unknown hand) of Andrea's *Fama Fraternitatis*, London, 1652, and introductory verses for the English translation of Cornelius Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, London, 1651, he wrote at least one book that identifies him as one of the Hermetic philosophers. This was the *Magia Adamica: or The Antiquitie of Magic, and the Descent thereof from Adam downwards, proved. Whereunto is added a perfect and full Discoverie of the true Cælum Terræ, or the Magician's Heavenly Chaos, and first Matter*

* *Hudibras*, 2, 3, 651 ff.

of *all Things*, 1650. The books seem to have been widely read. We know that Oliver Cromwell owned a copy, and that Samuel Butler made it the basis of some of his satire of the Rosicrucians.¹¹ Since the Hermetic books were known, not only to the learned, but even to the less intelligent public of Vaughan's time, and since he was intimately associated with men who, if not themselves members of the cult, were at least contributors to its thought, the identity of Vaughan's ideas with those of the earlier mystics may most naturally be accounted for by assuming his acquaintance with the Hermetic literature.

Unless a belief in the sacredness of childhood be credited to Vaughan as wholly original with him, we must assign its origin to the Hermetic books, for nowhere else in the literature of the ancient world is such a belief set forth. It certainly is not to be found in the classics. Both the Greeks and the Romans in the classical period, far from assigning to the child any special sacredness, even denied its right to live except at the whim of the parent. The practice of exposing children was general in Greece, and particularly so at Athens, as is shown by the frequent references of Aristophanes and Euripides to the practice. A striking example Euripides furnishes in *The Phœnician Maidens*, where at the beginning of the play Jocasta tells the story of the exposure of Œdipus.¹² At Rome infanti-

¹¹ Butler's notes to *Hudibras* in the edition of 1674 show not only a careful reading, but that Vaughan's preposterous assertions regarding the antiquity of magic and the "heavenly chaos," furnished the basis for some of the gibes against the Rosicrucians in the character of Ralpho (*Hudibras*, I, 1, 531-532). Moreover, Butler's character of An Hermetic Philosopher (*Butler's Remains*, II, p. 226, Thyer's edition) is obviously inspired by Vaughan's book.

¹² Way's Translation, Vol. III, p. 345.

cide was a crying vice of the Empire.¹³ Both Pliny¹⁴ and Seneca¹⁵ defended it.

There is some basis for the belief that the first recognition of the rights of children in the ancient world came about as a result of the teaching of the Hermetic books. The first law in Rome designed to safeguard the lives of children was the famous edict of Constantine of May 12, 315 A. D. This edict provided for the giving of state aid to parents too poor to rear their children. The inspirer of the edict was probably Lactantius, the noted rhetorician, teacher, and church-father, to whom Constantine had entrusted the education of his son Crispus. Lactantius had just written his work on *The Divine Institutes*, and had dedicated it to the Emperor. The latter was undoubtedly familiar with its contents, which included an impassioned plea for the child's right to live.¹⁶ That Lactantius was an admirer of Hermes, and a student of the works of mysticism that were ascribed to him, is amply proved by the twenty-five references he makes to the Hermetic books. Of these references fifteen are paraphrases or assertions as to Hermetic beliefs, and ten are translations of passages in the Greek text. Since all of these references and citations are found in *The Divine Institutes*, it would appear indisputable that he had read the Hermetic books before writing that work, and that, therefore, an influence upon him of the Hermetic belief in the sacredness of childhood is not at all improbable.

If the earliest legislation to protect the rights of children really was, as seems possible, inspired by the Her-

¹³ Lecky, *European Morals*, II, p. 27.

¹⁴ *Natural History*, IV, 29.

¹⁵ *De Ira*, V, 15.

¹⁶ *Divine Institutes*, Bk. 6, Chap. 20.

metic literature, we must credit also the whole modern reverence for childhood, of which Wordsworth's poetry was only one of many expressions, in no small degree¹⁷ to these books of mysticism.

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"To ascribe it wholly to them would be, of course, absurd; for the reverence for childhood that came into modern life from the mystics was immensely strengthened by the teachings of Jesus. Unquestionably He lifted to a higher plane our whole conception of childhood. By making the helplessness of children an emblem of the dependence of God's people upon His love and care, Jesus threw a kind of halo over childhood itself that has reacted upon men's thought of it.

IX.—“ACCORDING TO THE DECORUM OF
THESE DAIES”

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In the winter of 1567-8 five gentlemen of the Inner Temple presented before the queen a tragedy entitled *Gismond of Salerne*.¹ In 1591-2 Robert Wilmot, author of the fifth act, publisht a revision of the entire work under the name *Tancred and Gismund*.² This was reprinted by Doddsley. The earlier version has cum down to us in two ms. copies, both in the British Museum: *Hargrave* 205, knoen as *H*, and *Landsdowne* 786, knoen as *L*, the former dating from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the latter from the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. *L* has been reprinted by Brandl in volume LXXX of *Quellen und Forschungen* and by Cunliffe in his *Early English Classical Tragedies*. Renewed study of the work finds a stimulus in the recent publication of a fotografic reproduction of *H* in Farmer's facsimile edition of *The Old English Drama*.

Why did Wilmot take the trubl to get out the new version? Not for public performance—he scornd that. In his address “To the Worshipful and learned Societie, the Gentlemen Students of the Inner Temple, with the rest of his singular good friends, the Gentlemen of the Middle Temple, and to al other curteous readers,” he declares:

I am now bold to present Gismund to your sights, and unto yours only, for therefore hav I conjured her, by the lov that hath bin these 24. yeres betwixt us, that she waxe not so proud of her fresh painting, to stragle in her plumes abroad, but to contein her selfe within the walles of your house; so I am sure she shal be safe from the *tragedian tyrants* of our time, who ar not ashamed to affirme that

¹ To be referd to in this paper as *G. of S.*

² To be referd to in this paper as *T. and G.*

ther can no amarus poeme savour of any sharpnes of wit unlesse it be seasoned with scurrilous words.

He even doubted whether it was proper for him, as a member of the clergy, to undertake the task, not feeling certain what kind of witness a work of such a nature would be—whether for him or against him—on the day of judgment. It must therefore have been a strong inducement that finally resolved his mental conflict in favor of performing the task.

It seems likely that he was prompted at this late date to issue a revision of *Gismond*, by the recent notable production of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn; for there seems to have been a traditional rivalry between that institution and the Inner Temple. In 1561-2 the Inner Temple distinguished itself with the production of *Gorboduc*, the first regular tragedy in English and the first English drama to employ blank verse. For five years the unique position of this play remained undisputed. When, however, in 1566, Gray's Inn came out with *Jocasta*, the Inner Temple hastened to retrieve its position and in the following year brought out *Gismond of Salerne*, in which, as in its first production, it showed greater originality than its rival; for *Jocasta* was merely a free translation of a tragedy of the same name by Dolce. Moreover, its plot bore a strong resemblance to that of *Gorboduc*. In both, the conflict between two brothers precipitates a tragedy which a parent—in one case the mother, in the other the father—attempts to avert. The young Templars now dropped blank verse, apparently because this had been imitated in *Jocasta*, and set their material in the new field of the Italian *novella*. They enjoyed the pre-eminence thus restored, for twenty years. Then in 1587-8, when plays of the purely Senecan type had ceased to be expected, Gray's Inn came out with *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, the material drawn, as in *Gorboduc*, from mythical English his-

tory. Probably it was to offset the effect of this obsolete production, that the loyal Wilmot decided to publish his long-cherisht *Gismond*, alterd to suit the new taste. That he came under the influence of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* is proved by his attempt to divide the corus into four parts, each part to be sung by a different member. Such division was an innovation on the part of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*.

Before considering the alterations in *Tancred and Gismund* it is important to note a significant set of relations. There has been too much loose talk about the connections between the English Senecan plays and the popular drama. One prominent riter, speaking of *The Spanish Tragedy*, tels of its departure from the practis that had been folloed in *Gorboduc* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. Now *The Spanish Tragedy* preceded *The Misfortunes of Arthur*. Again, an eminent authority rites: "*The Spanish Tragedy* marks an advance on the strictly Senecan ghosts of *Tancred and Gismund* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur*." Here, too, ther is the thotless implication that *The Misfortunes of Arthur* preceded *The Spanish Tragedy*; and besides, there is no gost in *Tancred and Gismund*, even assuming that the riter ment *Gismond of Salerne*. If we keep our dates distinctly in mind we ar imprest with sum interesting facts. *The Spanish Tragedy*, a play ritten for popular performance, was the first English tragedy to introduce the gost, and the scolarly authors of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* did not disdain to copy the innovation. There can be no dout of this, since Kyd had departed from Seneca in making the gost appear not only at the beginning of the play, but also at the end, and incidentally between the acts; and in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* the gost appears also at the end, and the first portion of its final speech is modeld on the first portion of the final speech of the gost in *The*

Spanish Tragedy. The lesson taught here is that dramatic conditions had become such that the popular theatre compelled the attention even of scholars who doubted the technical propriety of the popular play.³ In other words, the popular drama was becoming a standard; and in the next few years the authority of this new standard must have grown in a positive degree, so that in 1591 Wilmot believed that the way to commend his revision to the favorable opinion of the exclusive aristocratic and learned audience he had chosen for himself, was to announce on the title page that the play was "newly revived and polished according to the decorum of these daies." Let us investigate the extent of his revision.

The change in the later version that instantly strikes our attention is that of versification. With certain explainable exceptions, the rime, in which all of the earlier version is written, is dropped for heroic blank verse; for Marlowe had settled once for all that this was the proper medium of tragic expression. The two speeches of Cupid (I, i and III, i), Lucrece's report of Gismund's condition (III, ii), Renuccio's report of the execution of Guisard, and the coruses, remain in rime. These are not considered an integral part of the play. The speeches of Cupid are merely prologs, while those of Lucrece and Renuccio correspond to the messenger's speech in classical tragedy. Indeed Renuccio is designated in *H* "Rednuccio the messenger."

The other mechanical changes in the play are dictated generally by a desire to make the play better adapted to stage production; for although he professed himself averse to a performance in a public theater, yet he would have been happy to see a private production. In his dedication to

³ Kyd himself was an admirer at heart of the strictly Senecan type, as proved by his subsequent association with the Countess of Pembroke's coterie, and his translation of Garnier's *Cornélie*.

Lady Mary Peter and Lady Anne Gray he assures these "worshipful ladies" that such a thing wud not be expensiv. A variation in Cupid's opening speech shows that the riter had the spectator in mind:

Meanwhile, *sit still*, and here I shall you show *etc.*

and the revised epilog closes with the line:

Now *draw the curtens* for our scene is done.

The stage directions in the original version are sumtimes naivly impractical. Such ar usually alterd in the revision. The alterations generally indicate that Wilmot studiously sot to improve the dramatic effectivness of his scenes. They ar mor minute and aim at concreteness. They reveal a preference for fulness, variety, and movement on the stage. Sumtimes characters ar brot on merely to be sent off, thus to increas the movement. These qualities ar in contrast to the ideals of the Senecan model, which aimd at simplicity and dignity. Compare with the corresponding directions in *T. and G.*, the directions in *G. of S.* at the following points: I, i, 1; i, end; ii, 1; iii, 1; iii, end; II, ii, 1; III, iii, 1; iii, end; IV, i, 1; i, end; IV, 1; V, ii, 84.

There is an attempt at mor advanst tecnic. In the earlier version ther ar two confidantes—Lucrece, Tancred's sister, in the second act, and Claudia, a "woman of Gismond's privie chamber," in the third act. It was a Senecan rule that the confidante of the female protagonist shud be her nurse. Apparently the author of Act II and the author of Act III had not cum to an agreement about the observance of this rule; the latter, it seems, insisting on conceding to it to the extent of making the confidante a subordinat. Wilmot simply dropt Claudia and assined her share to Lucrece.

In *G. of S.* (II, i) Gismund merely complains to her

aunt, Lucrece, about her continued widowhood and her ignorance of her father's intentions. In *T. and G.* she confesses, in quite a natural manner, that she is in love, and with one of the nobles at the court. This constitutes quite an improvement in the exposition of the plot.

A similar improvement is effected by Wilmot when, in Act II, scene ii, he introduces Guisard, Gismund's lover, together with the two remaining characters of the play. The three are brought on as mutes. To be sure, he might have done still better by creating an interest in them. As it is, the best that is accomplished is that when Guisard subsequently appears as the lover, we remember having seen him before.

In *G. of S.* entrances and exits, and openings and closings of scenes, are mechanically contrived. Generally a character comes on, speaks his piece, and goes off without any more ado. In *T. and G.* they are more thoughtfully managed, and the stiff rigidity of the original is softened by the introduction of appropriate transitions, and an effort at "shading off," as Furnivall would call it. To a certain extent the stage directions cited above serve to indicate this. Other illustrations follow.

The original play opens with characteristic abruptness. Cupid comes down from the "heaven" and begins:

Loe, I, in shape that seems unto your sight *etc.*

We can almost picture him making a preparatory bow. In the revision there precedes a well conceived introductory line that shades off naturally:

There rest my chariot on the mountain tops.

At the end of I, iii of *G. of S.* Tancred and Gismund go off for no other reason than that the author has written no more for them to say. In *T. and G.* a motive is supplied

for their departure, and for leaving behind Gismund's four maidens, who ar to act as chorus.

In II, i, 76 of *G. of S.* Lucrece dismisses Gismund, who exits without saying a word. In *T. and G.*, Gismund exits with parting speech, to which Lucrece responds:

Gis. I leave you to the fortune of my starres.

Luc. The heavens I hope will favor your request.

In *G. of S.* Lucrece, left on the stage, soliloquizes and decides to interview Tancred, who then makes an opportune appearance, as in the Roman plays. In *T. and G.* we are prepared for Tancred's appearance by a remark of Lucrece:

I heard it said

He meanes this evening in the parke to hunt;

Here will I wait attending his approach.

In *G. of S.* Lucrece, finishing her soliloquy, addresses Tancred without any greeting or preparation of any sort. In *T. and G.* this puppet-like arrangement is don away with. As Tancred enters with his companions, redy for the hunt, he cals out:

Uncouple all our hounds: Lords to the chase:

then seeing Lucrece, he says to her:

Faire sister Lucre, what's the newes with you?

and thus the scene continues naturally.

In *G. of S.* Lucrece delivers her speech, Tancred responds with a longer speech, and then, for the sake of the formal ending of the scene, Lucrece accompanies the King into the palace, even tho ther ar three good reasons why she shud not: Tancred has been violently disturbd by her report of his dauter's desire to wed, she has no business in the palace, and she has to return immediatly to meet Gismund, who enters upon their exit. In *T. and G.*

Tancred turns irritably to his companions with the demand:

Return the chase; we have been chac'd enough—

and exits with them, leaving Lucrece on the stage.

In II, iii of the older version Lucrece reports the unfavorable result of her interview with the king on behalf of Gismund, and when she is thru, Gismund formally proceeds to deliver her reply, without any sort of transition. In *T. and G.* her response is introduced with words that are effective not only as a transition, but also in that they give the speaker personality:

Gis. Deare Aunt, I have with patient eares indurde
The hearing of my fathers hard behest:

The closing of II, iii in the later version is made apt by having Gismund beg Lucrece for consolation and moral support, which the latter promises.

The opening of III, iii in *T. and G.* exemplifies an interesting device for dramatic effectiveness. In *G. of S.* Guisard steps out on the stage and proceeds with his soliloquy. In the revision he comes on with Julio and Renuchio, and we learn at once that he is in a disturbed state of mind, for he turns to his companions and begs them to leave him to himself. Thus we are made curious to hear what is on his mind.

The same device (of bringing characters on as an excuse for sending them off) is employed at the opening of IV, i and IV, iii of the revised version. The latter opens with Tancred saying:

Renugio depart; leave us alone.

In *G. of S.* this scene consists of two speeches. Tancred rebukes Gismund, and she replies and departs. In *T. and G.* her exit is preceded by a brisk dialog that serves to

heat Tancred's rage, and so justifies, dramatically, his subsequent relentless conduct. The last words ar:

<i>Tan.</i>	Begone.
	Returne unto thy chamber.
<i>Gis.</i>	I wil goe.

In *G. of S.* (v, i), when Renuchio has finisht telling the corus the story of Guisnard's execution, he walks over to Gismund's chamber and begins abruptly: "Thy father, o Queene," etc. In *T. and G.* ther is a transition. After his narrativ he asks the corus:

	Where is the Princesse chamber?
<i>Chorus.</i>	Lo where she comes.

Wilmot, in his zeal for natural transition, forgot that Renuchio cud not be ignorant of the wherabouts of Gismund's chamber. Besides that he was capten of the gard, he had once befor gon ther to fetch her.

A similar transition is supplied at the opening of v, iii.

In *G. of S.* Gismund's life cums to an abrupt termination. After dictating the epitaf she says no mor and the direction reads: *Gismond dyeth.* In *T. and G.* her last words ar:

	And so vaine world, farewell.
	My speech is painefull, and mine eie-sight failes.

In the revised version an attempt is made to break up long speeches, or to shorten them. Lucrece's appeal to Tancred in II, ii is an exampl. The original of thirty-two and a half lines is broken in two by an excited dialog, and the two parts ar shortend.

Similarly, in the folloing scene, Lucrese's report of her interview with Tancred is broken in two by a dramatically apt interruption by Gismund, that creates interest in her personality, and makes us realize that the

speech is being address to a particular individual, who is listening to it:

Luorece. This is his final resolution.

Gis. A resolution that resolves my bloud
Into the ice-sie drops of Lethes flood.

An excellent exampl of abbreviation is found at the end of iv, ii. In *G. of S.* we read:

Tan. This must you doe: this se you doe in hast.

Julio. Both this and ells what your grace thinketh good
I shall obeie as long as life doth last.

In *T. and G.* the second line of Julio's respons is dropt, rendering it mor soldier-like, and, therefor, mor effectiv dramatically.

In the same scene (ll. 89 ff.) the question, "Shall I destroie them bothe?," is elaborated into six lines in *G. of S.* In *T. and G.* the elaboration is dropt completely; and that the alteration was not made merely for the sake of brevity is indicated by the fact that the succeeding fourteen lines ar amplified into thirty-six, to depict Tancred's mental conflict. Other instances of a speech being lengthend ar Gismund's defense, in iv, iii, and Tancred's rebuke to Guisnard, in iv, iv. In each case the speech is considerably alterd and renderd mor vigorous.

Ther ar other alterations making for dramatic effectiveness. Cupid's complaint in i, i, is made mor concrete and vivid by the addition of four lines:

A brat, a bastard, and an idle boy,
A rod, a staffe, a whip to beate him out,
And to be sicke of love, a childish toy—
These are mine honors now the world about.

Near the end of the same speech six lines ar added as an address to the allegorical figures, which ar visibly presented in the revision, making them activ participants in the action.

Act v, originally pend by Wilmot himself, is made to undergo the most radical changes. Here he seemd to feel most liberty to express himself. Scene one, to be sure, remains merely a frank imitation of the conventional dialog, in Latin tragedy, between the messenger and the chorus. But after that the act becums a praiseworthy attempt to depict human caracter and emotion. At the very opening of Scene two, Wilmot hastens to correct an ingenuus inconsistency. In the first scene Renuchio had announced his determination to depart the moment he has deliverd his message, with Guiszard's hart, to Gismund, so as not to witness her anguish; yet, in *G. of S.* he remains til line twenty-four. In *T. and G.* Gismund receivs the message and graciously dismisses Renuchio with a gift.

A passage (ll. 28-33) in which Gismund declaims against the cruelty that has forst her to see her lover's hart with her own eyes, is replaced by these lines:

Yet in this wound I see mine owne true love,
And in this wound thy magnanimitie,
And in this wound I see thy constancie.
Go, gentle hart, go rest thee in thy tombe;
Receiv this token at thy last farewell:

She kisses it

Thine owne true heart anon will follow thee,
Which panting hasteth for thy companie.

The three successiv lines beginning with the same frase suggest the influence of *Tamburlaine*; ⁴ kissing the cup containing her luvver's hart is a theatrical tuch; and the two lines following ar dramatic and hav human interest.

⁴The same influence is suggested by four lines in Cupid's speech (III, 1) in *T. and G.*:

*Thus love shall make worldlings to know his might
thus love shall force great princes to obey;
Thus love shall daunt each proud rebelling sprite,
thus love shall wreake his wrath on their decay.*

Theatrical effectivness is also attained a littl farther on, in *T. and G.*, wher Gismund is made to remove the ornaments from her hair, letting it stream wildly in the wind.

When she is about to take the poison, in *T. and G.*, the corus, individually, plead with her to desist, but she finally silences them with the words:

My mind is setled; you with these vain words,
Withhold me but to long from my desire.
Depart ye to my chamber.

Insted of obeying her command, however, they declare, "We wil hast to tel the king hereof," and depart into the palace insted of Gismund's chamber. On their departure Gismund quietly remarks:

I will prevent
Both you and him. Lo here, this harty draught,
The last that in this world I mean to tast,
Dreadlesse of death, mine Earle, I drink to thee.

Wud it be extravagant, on the strength of the situation in general and the last line in particular, to believ that ther was a conscius relation between Gismund and Juliet?

Compared with *T. and G.*, the development of the remainder of this scene in *G. of S.* is tame—one short speech by Tancred and Gismund each, another short speech by Tancred, then a long speech by Gismund, ending with her deth, and folloed by Tancred's lamentation. In *T. and G.* father and dauter becum startlingly human. An attempt is made to utilize the theatrical and emotional possibilities of the truly tragic situation. The accomplishment, perhaps, does not mesure up to the attempt, but in this discussion we ar primarily interested in the attempt.

Greater emfasis is laid on paternal and filial tenderness. For instance, *O King* becoms *Oh father, King*, and *O my daughter* becoms *Oh my sweetheart*.

In *G. of S.* Gismund not only requests that she be buried in one tomb with her lover, but she even dictates the epitaph eternizing their star-crossed love. In *T. and G.* she merely requests that they be buried together; Tancred himself gives commands to Julio to "engrave some Royall Epitaph of love" upon their tomb.

In *G. of S.* Gismund gives her thanks before making her request, so that she dies with startling abruptness after dictating the epitaph. In *T. and G.* the order is reversed, and Gismund can appropriately ad:

And so, vaine world, farewell.

My speech is painefull, and mine eie-sight failes.

thus rendering her death less artificial. Besides, her death pangs are described by her father. Indeed, Wilmot makes much more of Tancred's lamentation in *T. and G.* than in *G. of S.*

In *G. of S.* Tancred, in his lamentation, declares his intention to take his life in the tomb of the lovers after he has seen them properly buried. But by 1591 Kyd and Marlowe had made scenes of violence and bloodshed popular on the stage, so it behooved Wilmot to follow the fashion. In the revised version, therefore, Tancred determines to slay himself then and there. So he calls Julio and makes him swear on his thigh to execute Gismund's last wish, and to bury him in the same tomb with the lovers. Julio finds it his duty to importune his king to desist; so opportunity is afforded for another example of brisk dialog, which only serves to intensify Tancred's purpose. He commands Julio not to interfere lest that he "make up the fourth to fill this Tragedie," and then deliberately puts out his eyes, as guilty participants in the calamity.⁵ He further justifies

⁵ In having Tancred put out his eyes before killing himself, Wilmot imitated Frederigo Asinari, who, in 1576, had written a tragedy on the same subject.

this apparently superfluous act of self-torture as a fitting preparativ for the jurney down to the relm of darkness on which he was about to embark. This horrible scene, which the audience is made to witness, is preceded by a word picture hardly less revolting.

In *T. and G.* Tancred's last words befor applying the sord to himself: "Daughter, I come," serv as a very effectiv termination to the play; but they ar hardly consistent when we remember that only a moment ago he told us that he was embarking for the land of "everlasting night." He shud not expect to find his dauter ther. Besides, Gismund herself had informd us that she was passing "to the pleasant land of love, where heavenly love immortall flourisheth." However, since Wilmot's effort was a laudabl one, we must be charitabl with him when the very eagerness of his effort causes him to trip up.

Even the corus is made to undergo significant changes. In *G. of S.* it consists of four "gentlemen of Salerne"; in *T. and G.* of four handmaids of Gismund. As such they can be, and ar, made participants in the action. They engage in dialog with the caracters, as in Seneca. But they do mor than that. They act as caracters themselves. They receiv orders which they obey or disobey, as the action demands. They cum out with Gismund, and stay behind by order of Tancred. When they try to interfere with Gismund's plans of suicide, she commands them to retire to her chamber; but they openly disobey her and run to the palace to inform the king of her intentions.

Ther remain to be considerd certain additions that must be lookt upon as doutful. These ar the dum shos preceding each of the last four acts, and three indicated incidental songs, distributed amongst he first three acts. Neither *H* nor *L* includes them or any reference to them. Brandl believes they wer absent in the original performance. At

any rate it may be considered a certainty that the dum shos as we have them, were not part of the original performance. We are first to this conclusion by two pieces of evidence; namely, the absence of a dum sho before the first act, and the content of the dum sho before the third act.

In place of a dum sho before Act I, Wilmot altered the first scene in such a way as to make it a typical dum sho, only vocalized. This he accomplished by presenting visibly the allegorical figures that are named in the original version, and having them take part in the action. It does not seem likely that he would have dropped a dum sho to do this. A more reasonable explanation is afforded by the nature of the four dum shos we have. They are a departure in their kind. Wilmot had learned that the drama must be concrete, so instead of being allegorical introductions, they carry on the action from one act to the other, presenting scenes that are supposed to be enacted off stage, the characters being those that appear in the play. Indeed, the spectacles before the second, fourth, and fifth acts might readily be made integral parts of those acts, respectively, by giving the participants speech. Of course there was no room for a performance of this kind before the first act. Apparently, therefore, Wilmot, having composed dum shos for the other acts, decided to give the first act a substitute by altering its first scene in the manner explained.

The evidence afforded by the dum sho preceding the third act is incontrovertible; for its content fits the text of 1591, but not that of 1567.

The problem of the three songs is no less puzzling. In the first place, the text of not one of the songs is given. In the next place, there is an addition to the text in each case to introduce the song. In the third place, the author's frank comment on the first song is: *Quae mihi cantio nondum occurrit*. If there were no more evidence to be con-

siderd, it wud be reasonabl to infer that the songs wer not part of the original version. But the puzzle is sprung on us by the stage direction that is supposed to follo the third song. It reads:

After the song, which was BY REPORT very sweetly repeated of the Chorus, Luorece departeth into Gismund's chamber.

Ar we to understand by this that a song had really been sung at the performance? If so why is not the text given? The second song, too, if it had ever been composed, wud surely hav been printed, for it was supposed to be a glorification of Elizabeth. Besides, an argument that favors the presence of dum shos in *G. of S.*, namely, that they ar present in *Gorboduc* and *Jocasta*, wud favor the absence of songs. Their inclusion does not accord with the Senecan model. It seems likely that Wilmot provided for them in his revision, under the influence of the popular theater.

A redily notisabl difference between the erlier and the later version is the presence in the latter of no less than six specimens of brisk dialog, wheras ther is only one in the former.⁶ While these specimens wer undoubtedly inspired by a desire for animation and excitement, yet we must not welcum them too warmly, for in one sense they ment the opposit of progress. They all belong to one conventional pattern—non other than the classical stichomyth. Even here we can probably trace the immediat influence of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, which presented numerous examples of stichomythic dialog. It is likely that Wilmot's ear did not distinguish the unnatural tone in the type he was using. Be this as it may, that he frankly realized that he was imitating what he knew to be a classical model, is proved by the fact that in the stichomyth

⁶ In *G. of S.*, I, lii. In *T. and G.*, I, iii; II, li; IV, iii, iv; V, li, lii.

in v, iii he introduces a reference to Jove, while thruout the rest of the play he is at pains to eliminate classical theology. However, these stichomyths do help to break up the monotony of the discourses and to accelerate the motion of the play; so we may hail them as improvements. Perhaps Wilmot wud hav preferd to imitate the mor natural tragic dialog developept in contemporary tragedies, if he had been able to read them in print; but they wer as yet accessibl only in the theater, and as a makeshift, ther was sufficient resemblance between the Senecan stichomyth and the one line antithetic dialog characteristic of the period.⁷

The alterations thruout the play ar, on the hole, carefully made. The patches and seams ar not glaringly obvius. In three instances, however, Wilmot nodded, and the result in each case is an absurd inconsistency. To one of these, attention has been cald abuv. In the other two instances the contradiction is even mor palpabl. They occur in III, iii, and IV, ii.

When Wilmot came to revise III, iii, the length of Guisard's soliloquy made him lose the drift. Certain lines causd him to becom imprest with the singularly dramatic nature of the situation; namely, *that these two passionat luvvers had never spoken of their luv to each other*; so that insted of merely intimating the fact by the words, "*as it appereth by prefe of her gestures*," he burst out in an expression of the wonder of it al:

Heavens, have ye seen, or hath the age of man seen
Recorded such a myracle as this?
In equall love two noble harts to frame,
That never spake one with another's blisse!

Yet befor the end of the speech he forgot about this

⁷ One example of stichomythia in genuin Senecan style is found in Shakspeare: *1 Henry VI*, IV, v, 34-43.

"miracle," and made the occasion when Gismund gave him the cane containing the letter, a dance, during which Gismund *whispers luv*, frankly and prettily offering to surrender herself to Guiszard, giving him not only the cane, but also a "golden tresse" from her "alluring lockes."

In iv, ii of *G. of S.* Tancred enters alone and in a soliloquy reports the scene of intemperat luv he had witnest between Gismund and Guiszard. Then calling Julio, he commands him to apprehend the gilty erl, adding:

what is his fawlt neither shall yon enquire,
nor I can now declare.

In *T. and G.* Tancred enters with Julio and Renuchio; so he tels his story to them, introducing it with the words:

Heare me, my friends; but as ye love your lives,
Replie not to me; hearken and stand amaz'd.

Yet, at the end of the scene, when Tancred orders Julio to arrest Guiszard, Wilmot forgot to omit the king's refusal to giv an explanation. He even alterd part of it to improve the rythm, changing "nor I can now declare" to "Nor list we to disclose."

A comparison between the two versions givs evidence of the improved staging conditions that had developt during the interim. The original play cals for a setting, to a certain extent resembling that of the medieval stage, while the revision cals for the regular Shakspearean stage.

When Renuchio, in v, i of *G. of S.* finishes telling his story to the corus, the stage direction reads:

Renuchio delivereth the cup to Gismund IN HER CHAMBER—

and the dialog between Renuchio and Gismund follos. In *T. and G.*, on the other hand, the direction reads:

Gismund commeth OUT OF HER CHAMBER, to whom *Renuchio delivereth his cup, saying.*

Likewise in v, iii (v, ii in *H*), the king, having been informd that Gismund has taken poison, enters, and the direction reads:

Tancred cometh out of the palace.

He speaks four lines; then we read:

Tancred entereth INTO GISMONDS CHAMBER—

and we witness the scene between father and dying dauter. As Gismund expires, Tancred exclaims:

O me, alas! now do the cruell paines
of cursed death my dere dawghter bereave.
Alas, whie hyde I here? The sight constraines
me, woefull man, *this wofull place to leave.*

and the stage direction is:

Tancred cometh out of gis: chamber.

Then follos Tancred's final lamentation.

In *T. and G.*, on the other hand, Gismund, having cum out of her chamber to meet Renuchio, remains out, so that her father does not need to enter her chamber to find her.

It must be observd that the difference is confined to one scene.⁸ The play, in both versions, is enacted on what the directions designate as "the stage," except that in *G. of S.* v, ii, save for four lines, it is enacted within Gismund's chamber. It is evident that up to v, ii the interior of Gismund's chamber is not visibl. Caracters repeatedly make their exit by entering therein. Apparently at the opening of v, ii, a curten is drawn, revealing the princess' chamber, furnisht at least with a cupbord or an equivalent piece of furniture, for a direction in *H* reads:

*now goes she to some cupp borde or place wher the vyoll of poison ys
and takes yt and sayes:*

* Two scenes, according to the division in *L*.

When Wilmot revised the play he realized that here was an awkward succession of scenes to handl on a stage presenting a single locality, so he dodged the difficulty by having his heroin do the les natural thing of committing suicide on the "stage" insted of her own room.⁹ Here she takes the vial of poison out of her pocket.

If Gismund's chamber ~~was~~ situated in the back of the stage, which is wher it most naturally wud be, then it corresponded to the "inner stage" of the later theater.

The differences between *G. of S.* and *T. and G.* thus far indicated, ar of a mecanical nature, concernd with the matter of the play, therfor easy to discover. Less simpl, but not less important, is the task of tracing the differences in the spirit. Yet even here we hav sum tangibl evidence to gide us. The gentlemen of the ins of cort lookt upon dramatic composition as a scolarly intellectual amusement, and as a practis useful from the didactic standpoint. Hence the material of a play mite be anything that cud be fitted into the recognized Senecan mold, and be made to teach the desired lesson. Thus in *G. of S.*, altho the play is ritten for a modern audience, and the story is a modern one, and the caracters hav modern names, yet the religion and the moral standards ar those of Seneca. When Wilmot revised the play he felt that the drama must interest itself in life for its own sake. Accordingly he pruned out classical theology and substituted Christian for pagan ethics.¹⁰ The caracters no longer cal upon Roman gods. On the contrary, when Tancred imposes an oath upon Julio, he follos the exampl of the patriarchs Abraham

⁹ It may not be amis to call attention to the fact that Shakspere, too, was confronted by a similar difficulty in *Julius Cæsar*, III, i. Apparently he met it with no mor skil than the author of *T. and G.*

¹⁰ The fact that he retained the classical machinery in the figures of Cupid and the furies strengthens rather than weakens the point.

and Jacob, and has his servant lay his rite hand upon his thi.

In the earlier version, Gismund's conception of life after deth is indicated in the folloing (v, ii, 75):

But let us dye:
for in such sort it likes us to assay
to passe down to the paled ghostes of hell,
and there enioye my love whom thus my sire
wold not permitt in earth with me to dwell.

This pagan conception is changed in *T. and G.* to a Christian, neo-Platonic conception:

Now passe I to the pleasant land of love,
Where heavenly love immortall flourisheth.

In *G. of S.* the corus, at the end of III, iii, informs us that

. . . seldome times is Cupide wont to send
unto a Joiefull love a Joiefull end.

This pagan idea is made "moral" in the revision by the substitution of a single word, so that it reads:

. . . seldome times is Cupid wont to send
Unto an *idle* love a ioyfull end.

In *G. of S.* (IV, i) Megaera cums as the spirit of revenge, sent by Pluto at the request of Gismond's deceast husband, who

. . . prayed due paine for her that thus hath lost
due care of him.

In *T. and G.* this husband

. . . praied due paine for her, that thus hath lost
All care of him *and of her chastitie.*

Wilmot was so anxius in his revision to emfasize Gismond's crime of unchastity, for the sake of dramatic justis, as wel as to make the play les pagan, that he

inserted a line having nothing to rime with, at the same time making the sentence structure incoherent. He himself, in his prefatory address, affirms a didactic purpos, declaring that his play agrees with those of Beza and Buchanan in "commending vertue, detesting vice, and lively deciphering their overthrow that suppress not their unruey affections." It may be askt whether Gismund, who, from the moral standpoint, is a woman of sin, whose conduct is an exampl of abominable vice, is presented in such a way as to be detested by the reader or spectator. Decidedly not. From first to last our sympathy is always with her. And so is the author's. In the "argument" appended to the original version the sinful luvrs suffer no reproach, but we ar told that Tancred slew himself "with his owne hand, *to the reproche of his own and terror of others crueltie.*" In the revision the point is made even mor clear, the passage being alterd to read: "*to his owne reproch, and the terror of all other hard hearted fathers.*" Apparently, then, the moral lesson of the play is a warning to fathers not to deal harshly with sinful daueters.

Likewise, the third sonnet appended to the original version, and retaind in the revision, speaks very approvingly of the luv of Gismund and Guiszard, but concerning the king it says:

The king prayes pardon of his cruell hest
and for amends desireth yt may suffice
that with his blood he teacheth now the rest
of fond fathers that thei in kynder wise
entreat the jewells wher ther comfort lies.

To make this admonition mor effectiv, Wilmot, in the revision even incorporated it in the play, putting it into the mouth of Tancred himself, and, save for the final dramatic apostrofe to Gismund, making it the last word of the play:

. Now, fathers, learn by me;
 Be wise, be warnde to use more tenderly
 The iewels of your ioyes. Daughter, I come.

In the prefatory address to the gentlemen of the Inner and the Middl Templ, he speaks of the luv he has entertained for Gismund for twenty-four years; and even Webbe, in his epistl to Wilmot, urges him to print the play, for otherwise he wud "defraud *sweete Gismund* of a famous eternitie." Webbe's carактерization of Gismund may be taken as an indication of a representativ attitude toward the heroin and her history.

Finally, Wilmot's protestations of a didactic aim takes on a humorous aspect when, in recommending the work to the worshipful ladies to whom he dedicates it, he speaks of the refreshing effect that the perusal of a mournful play with a moral lesson has during weary winter. Plainly, Wilmot's asseveration of a moral purpos was hypocritical. It was stil demanded by convention,¹¹ and in his own case was rendered imperativ by his position as a clergyman.

One must not bring this discussion to a close without including certen other passages which hav an indirect bearing on the central aim of this comparison, in that they giv evidence of the alertness with which the authors folloed the literary movements of the day.

When *G. of S.* was composed the Petrarchistic vogue in France was still activ, tho its best fruits had alredy been ripend by the *Pléiade*. The most common of the conventional themes of this vogue—the suffering caused the passionat luv by the disdain of the lady—is alluded to in the corus at the end of the fourth act. The corus admonishes us against passionat luv, promising us that "he that doth in vertue his ladie serve," does not find

¹¹ On this subject, see the present riter's *Literary Criticism from the Elizabethan Dramatists*, pp. 3 ff.

... his lief or death in her one sight,
as pleaseth her to smile, or ells to frowne,
that holdes his hart. *he writes his wofull laies*
to move to pitie or pluck adowne
her stonie mynd which yelds as to the seas
the rockie cliefe that standeth on the shore.
And manie a time the guarden of ther lov
repentence is.

An exampl of the rite kind of luv is afforded by Petrarch
and Laura:

So whilome did the learned Tuscan serve
his chast ladie and glorie was ther end.

The first of these passages is omitted in the revision,
but its place is taken by an exposition of the ideal luv, the
conception of which had been developd by Renaissance Pla-
tonism:

The love of vertue in thy ladies lookes,
The love of vertue in her learned talke,
This love yields matter for *eternall bookes*,
This intiseth him abroad to walke,
There to *invent and write new rondelaies*
Of learned conceit. Her fancies to allure
To vaine delights, such humors he allaies,
And sings of vertue and her garments pure.

In the fifth act, also, ther is a pertinent reference in-
serted by Wilmot. When Gismund takes the poison she
remarks:

Now passe I to the pleasant land of love,
Where *heavenly love immortall* flourisheth.

If we remember that up to the year in which Wilmot
issued his revision, Petrarchism had made its appearance
in England in only three widely separated and compara-
tively unimportant publications,¹² we can realize how much

¹² *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557; Spenser's translations from Petrarch
and DuBeHay, 1569; Watson's *Hekatompathia*, 1582. The English
sonnetteering vogue began with the publication of Sidney's *Astrophel*

alive he was to contemporary literary currents, and, therefore, how sensitive he must have been to the "decorum" of his day.

It would be easy to exaggerate the importance of these two versions for our knowledge of the development of the Elizabethan drama. If we had no extant plays written, say, between 1585 and 1595, their importance would be considerable. But we have *The Spanish Tragedy* and we have *Tamburlaine*; so we know the direction taken by the dramatic forces of the time. Indeed, if we had only *Tancred and Gismund* to depend on, we should have a very erroneous conception of the typical English play of 1591; for the original was not a popular play and the revision was not intended for popular performance. The value of *T. and G.* to the student lies only in its variations from *G. of S.* The example of a scholar, prompted to literary activity apparently by a desire to enhance the honor of the Inner Temple, and avowing his contempt for the public theater, falling, nevertheless, into the irresistible grip of that theater, is an eloquent lesson on the vitality of the dramatic forces of the period.

DAVID KLEIN.

and *Stella*, 1591. For a fuller treatment of this matter see the present writer's "Foreign Influence on Shakespeare's Sonnets" in the *Sewanee Rev.*, vol. XIII.

X.—HERMANN KIRCHNER'S *CORIOLANUS*

Hermann Kirchner,¹ son of Joachim Kirchner, was born November 11, 1562 at Hersfeld in Hessen. As a youth he was sent to Copenhagen to live with his brother, and there in the Ducal Library he began his higher studies. Thence he went to Rostock, and in 1587 to Marburg, supplied with recommendations from Chrytaeus, the historian, to the poet and dramatist, Aegidius Hunnius, who was until 1592 Professor of Theology in Marburg.

Between 1590 and 1594, which latter year marks the triumph of his poetical career, originated most of the works on which his fame as a poet rested among his contemporaries. Though during this period he nominally devoted himself to the study of law and history, he is mentioned as "Musae et Astreae Studiosus," and he signs himself "Poeta et L. L. Candidatus," or merely "Poeta." On the reputation of the productions of these years he is associated by Lotichius with the poets Eobanus Hessus, Cordus, and Paganus. In the *Laurea Doctoralis*, a collection of Latin congratulatory verses written by friends and admirers, he is placed with Cordus, Paganus, and Frischlin. It would seem that his fame as a poet was well

¹ For Kirchner see (1) Joh. Kessler, *Ehrengedächtnüss und Christliche Leichpredigt bey dem . . . Begräbnüss . . . Hermannii Kirchneri* . . . Erfurt, 1620; (2) Joh. Petri Lotichii *Bibliothecae Poeticae pars III*, Francof., 1625-1628, pp. 197-201; (3) Wilhelmus Dilichius, *Urbs et Academia Marpurgensis* (ms. in the Landesbibliothek in Cassel); (4) D. Paulus Freherus, *Theatrum Olariorum Virorum &c.* Noribergae, 1688; (5) Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten und Schriftsteller Geschichte*, III, Cassel, 1787. Some account of *Coriolanus* (1591) and a résumé of its contents have been given by Theodor Odinga in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, vol. IV.

established at home by the year 1594, when, through the kindness of his friend, Johann von Riedesel, hereditary Court-Marshal, he was taken along to a Diet of the Empire at Regensburg as a member or attaché of the Hessian delegation. While at the Diet, or beforehand, Kirchner had composed several Latin anagrams on the name and in honor of the Emperor, Rudolph the Second. Through the good offices of the Hessian ambassadors Kirchner received the opportunity of reciting some of these anagrams before the Emperor, the Electors, and their courtiers. Emboldened by their applause he begged the Emperor in an extemporaneous Latin poem for the poetic crown, whereupon the latter, answering in a few words in Latin, granted the request. Hereafter Kirchner is characterized on the title-pages of his writings as *Poeta Caesareus Coronatus*, or *P. C. C.* Probably as a result of this signal honor, upon his return to Marburg he was immediately appointed Professor Extraordinarius in the University. In 1599 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Kirchner became Professor Ordinarius in 1603 and was Decanus in 1609-1610. At various times he filled the office of public orator at University functions. He became afflicted in May, 1614 with some mental disease and, wandering away from Marburg secretly, found refuge at Herrenbreitungen with his father-in-law, who was secretary in the service of Sophia, widow of Count Poppo of Henneberg and a sister of Heinrich Julius, Duke of Braunschweig. He lived here, a pensioner of the Countess, till his death in 1620. A monument with a portrait adorned his grave in the Schlosskirche at Herrenbreitungen for a few years till the castle and church were devastated by the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War.²

²J. C. Geisthirt, *Historia Schmalcaldica*, in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins f. henneberg. Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 1881, p. 114.

The earliest poem of Kirchner's printed and preserved to us is connected with one of the last of Nicodemus Frischlin.³ The first of the two poems is signed "Nicodemus Frischlinus, scripsi Marpurgi 15 Jan. 1500," and the other, "Hermannus Kirchnerus Hersfeldianus." Frischlin had come to Marburg in 1589 from Braunschweig, but was ordered to leave with his family in the following January.⁴ Kirchner learned to know him therefore in the beginning of the last year of his troubled life. Frischlin is mentioned with regret the next year by Kirchner in the *Regnum Conviviale*, a Latin poem in hexameters, descriptive of a students' celebration of the festival of the Three Magi. It was the remembrance and influence of Frischlin which induced Kirchner the next year, when adapting Sixt Birck's *Sapientia Salomonis* to the tastes and wishes of a public accustomed to the new style in the drama, to supply the humor and the comic parts by taking them over bodily from Frischlin's play. In the selection of the *Rebecca* for this purpose he must also have been influenced by the successful production of it on the stage in Schmalkalden, January 19, 1589.⁵

Another strong influence toward the drama was the precept and example of his teacher Hunnius; for here as in the case of Frischlin, a very early production of Kirchner's

³ *Carmina votiva et gratulatoria: in honorem Quattuor Virorum ac Juvenum Excellentis Doctrinae et virtutis Christophori Pauli Hassi, Hieronymi Treutleri Silesii, Theodori Akolck Westphali, et Petri Hermanni Nigidii Marpurgensis, Cum in utroque jure Doctorum Insignia illis conferrentur a celeberrimo Jureconsulto Nicolao Vigelio, in Academia Marpurgensi, 29. Januarii, Anno 1590. Scripta ab amicis. Marpurgi, typis Pauli Egenolphi, 1590.*

⁴ D. F. Strauss, *Leben und Schriften der Dichter und Philologen Nicodemus Frischlin*, Frankf., 1855, p. 444.

⁵ Goedeke, II, 147, 169a.

associates his name with the older poet.⁶ Kirchner's *Coriolanus* also bears the impression of the influence of Hunnius in respect to meter, names of characters, etc.

In 1590 we find the first reference to the friendship of Kirchner's "Maecenas," the Landgrave Maurice.⁷ Kirchner may have known the latter personally when both were students at Marburg. Maurice, having matriculated in 1587, remained a student there three years.⁸ Between the anagram on the name of Maurice in this elegy and the dedication of the third edition of the *Orationes* in 1614, lies, according to all evidence, an unbroken friendship of twenty-four years. Lotichius mentions two principal things about Kirchner; his talent (*natura*) and the favor of Maurice:

Favor Illustrissimi et Magnanimi illiusque Herois, Hassiae Landgravi, Poetae non solum, sed et Apollinis Poetarum celsissimus, qui quod usdem esset sacris a teneris usque unguiculus deditissimus, eo majori interiorique clementia hunc Kirchnerum, subditum suum Vates Vatem, imo Apollo-Princeps Alumnum, complexus, fuit.

Kirchner looked on Maurice not only as his lord and master, but as a friend and adviser in literary matters. In the preface to his *Coriolanus*, he printed this characterization of his relations to Maurice from the pen of one of his friends:

Felicem te Vate Ducem, qui praesidet Hassis!
Ter te felicem Principe doctiloquo!
Nam neque te posset Princeps meliore Poeta
Principe nec posses tu meliore frui.

⁶ In Hunnius' *Orat. Fun. de vita et morte Dav. Lucani*, Marburg, 1590, there is a preface, a *Naenia πρὸς πομπῇ* by Kirchner, and at the end a *Parentatio Eidem . . . ab Hermanno Kirchnero, Musae et Astreae Studioso*.

⁷ In the *Elegia de vita et morte illustrissimi &c. . . . Hedwigis &c.*

⁸ J. J. Wynkelmann, *Gründliche und wahrhaftige Beschreibung der Fürstenthümer Hessen und Hersfeld*, 1697-1754.

He dedicated to his patron, among his more important works, the *Anagrammatismorum Centuria*, and the three editions of the *Orationes*. We note in his writings various references to Maurice, his moderation and sobriety,⁹ his learning and versatility in writing,¹⁰ his studies in rhetoric, logic, music, mathematics, grammar, oratory, and politics,¹¹ and his ability as an orator in German, Italian, French, Latin, and Greek.¹² Maurice does not seem to have responded in kind to Kirchner's poetical greetings and dedications, as he did to those of others of his subjects and contemporaries. But so little of Maurice's poetry has been preserved that it does not follow that Kirchner had no poetical recognition from the Landgrave.

Kirchner seems to have been the recognized Poet-laureate of the Hessian royal family after he received the imperial poetic crown in 1594. Most of the odes which celebrate occurrences in this family come after that year. One of these¹³ was occasioned by the baptism of the Princess Elizabeth (born March 24, 1596) at which time her godmother, Queen Elizabeth of England, sent the Earl of Lincoln on an embassy to represent her at the ceremonies at Cassel. In the Earl's suite were the actors Robert Brown and John Webster.

Kirchner's professorship in Marburg was that of History and Poetry at first and later that of Oratory and Rhetoric. Judging the popularity of his work in oratory by the various editions of his Orations, his fame as an orator seems to have equalled, if not excelled, that as a

⁹ *Legatus*, II, 4.

¹⁰ *Orationes*, 1599, XVII.

¹¹ *Orationes*, 1599, XVIII.

¹² *Orationes*, 1599, Preface.

¹³ *In salutare Lavae Illustrissimae Puellae, Illustr. . . Mauriti . . . Filiolae Elizabethae*, Marburg, 1596.

poet among his contemporaries. When the English traveller, Coryat, was in Germany, his attention must have been called to Kirchner and his work; for two of the latter's orations in praise of travel—particularly in Germany—were translated by Coryat and included in the *Crudities* (1611). Kirchner began also a collection of some notable orations of his own and previous times.¹⁴ Of this work he was able to put forth a second volume and a third was completed and issued after his incapacitation, in 1618, by Balthasar Exner.

There are numbers of disputations, also, generally included in any mention of Kirchner's works, as in Jöcher, but not included by the author in his edition of the orations. Most of them seem to be preliminary studies to his activities as a writer on Jurisprudence. The works in this subject belong to a period later than those in poetry and oratory. Almost all the large libraries in Germany, France, Italy, and England have one or two editions of these works, which shows that their use at the time of their publication must have been wide-spread.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Superioris Aevi, imperatorum, regum, electorum, ducum, ac Principum, Heroum, Curricula: Orationibus ac elogiis clariss. virorum comprehensa. Studio Herm. Kirchneri . . . collecta atque edita, Volumine primo. Marpurgi MDCIX.*

¹⁵ *Hermannii Kirchneri J. U. D. Orat. Ac. P. O. Caesaris Historiarum et Antiquit. Professoris in illustri Academia Cattum LEGATUS. Cunctis tum in Jurisprudentiae politicarumque artium studiis, tum in reip. administratione versantibus lectu scitu, et scitu necessarius. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Caes. Majes. Lichae, MDCXIII. Enlarged editions in 1610 and 1614.*

Hermannii Kirchneri D. RESPUBLICA. Methodicae Disputationis acie tum veterum recentiorum Politicorum opinionibus candide et probe excussis, Marburg, MDCVIII. Later editions, 1609, 1614, 1634.

Hermannii Kirchneri, J. U. Doctoris, MORVILLEBIUS: De officio et dignitate Cancellarii, libris quattuor expositus, Marburg, MDCXIII. Second edition, 1620.

Kirchner's *Coriolanus* ¹⁶ was written in 1591 and published in 1599. Copies are to be found in the Stadtbibliothek in Zürich and in the University Library in Giessen. Its length is 2727 lines. The action begins with the departure of Coriolanus for Antium, after he has been exiled by the Roman people urged on by the tribunes. In Shakespeare's drama this is Act iv, scene iii. Naturally, Kirchner's play, with the scope of its action half that of Shakespeare's, yet with its length greater, is not by any means as lively as the English drama. The Latin School-drama, as a type, however, was rhetorical rather than dramatic, and recitation and practice in the usage of Latin took higher place in the performance than the action itself. Hence no opportunity to make use of the long speeches of the historical sources is neglected.

In the preface the author tells us that his friend, the Rector Hermann Vulteius, had recited to him the story of Coriolanus as given in Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Odinga has wrongly concluded from this statement that the works of these three historians were the sources of the drama. I can find no evidence that Kirchner used Livy in any element of the story in which the latter differs from Dionysius, and only two places (I, i and iv, ii) show Plutarch, when he gives a different account from the others, to have been used. Almost without exception the long speeches of the historical characters of the play are taken from the account of Dionysius, and one is tempted to suppose that the very profuseness and prolixity of this historian commended him to Kirchner. I have been unable to determine whether he used Dionysius in the original

* CORIOLA | NUS TRAGICO- | COMICA | AUCTORE | HERM.
KIRCHNE | RO. I. V. DOCT: ORATO | RE ET POETA CAES. C.
PRO | fess. humaniorum literarum in Acad. Marpurgensi. | Auctoris
impendio | Typis Caspari Schefferi | Marpurgi excusa. MDXCIX.

Greek or in a Latin translation, of which there existed several at that time.¹⁷

CORIOLANUS

Prologue. Ira, with the additional designation of Prologus, takes the place of the *herold*, usual in Latin and German dramas contemporary with this one, and, as in the case of Ayres's *Spiegel weiblicher Zucht*, where Venus serves as prologue-speaker, Ira characterizes herself in her monologue as one who has great power over all animate beings, but especially over the hearts of men. After a short recital of the deeds which she stirs up men to do she mentions her particular purpose in this play and thus indirectly gives the usual recital of the contents of the piece even to her own discomfiture at the hands of the one woman who accomplished more than all the men were able to do.

Act I. Sc. i. Monologue of Coriolanus who introduces himself:

Ego sum ille Coriolanus huic qui nomen dramati dedi
Nomen meae virtutis est, hoc mihi pro tot laboribus
Quos patriae impendi, superest praemium, quos eripere invidi
Non potuerunt. Nam caetera . . . bona amisi.

He exhorts his hearers (whether the audience or his fellow-citizens of Rome, it is difficult to say; most probably the audience is supposed to be composed of Roman citizens):

Mecum ergo o viri
Virtute et meritis praestantes merito stomachabimini hodie
Et contra patriam ingratam arma mihi socia feretis . . .

and again at the end directly addressing his audience as did Ira in the prologue:

Vos interea quid agant Romae perfidi
Tribuni, scortatores, helluones ac adulteri et
Ut uno verbo insigniam, omnium bipedum nequissimi
Cognoscite, et causam meam contra improbos defendite.

The source of the opening words of this scene is Plutarch § 74: "I cannot deny for my surname of Coriolanus that I bear. For I

¹⁷ For the purposes of this study I have made use of the North translation of Plutarch's *Life of Caius Martius Coriolanus* as printed and divided into sections in the Arden-Shakespeare edition of *Coriolanus*, and *Dionysii Halicarnassensis Antiquitatum Romanorum quae supersunt Graece et Latine ex recensione A. Kiessling et Victoria Prou, Parisiis, MDCCCLXXXVI.*

never had other benefit or recompense of the true and painful service I have done and the extreme dangers I have been in. . . ." For the characterization of the tribunes with which Coriolanus closes his speech see the references to Dionysius as quoted at the end of the next scene.

Sc. ii. This scene has the very important purpose of displaying further the rascality of the tribunes, in their self congratulations. The slave, Dromo, comes to tell Sicinius of an invitation to a banquet at the house of a merchant with so long a name that he can not repeat it. Sicinius, by the description, repeats the name:

Hermautolycocleptolenometrotalentargyrostathmopalincapelus, and knows the reason for the invitation; the merchant is in trouble with the aediles and needs the help of the tribunes.

This scene is devoted almost entirely to the self-congratulation of the tribunes and a display of their general depravity and venality. The former of these elements is the pure invention of Kirchner, while the latter is hinted at in general terms only by Dionysius. Livy in his account mentions neither. When Plutarch characterizes the tribunes it is rather in a political and public than a personal way. He gives no account of their personal trickery or of their rejoicings on this occasion. The latter is also not to be found in Dionysius; but this historian, while, like Plutarch, referring to their pernicious public and political activities, gives at the same time more of a characterization, either speaking himself or in the mouths of the orators, whose speeches he reports, of the personal qualities of the tribunes, and leads us to assume the rascality from the names he applies, or causes to be applied, to them. In VII, 28, they are accused of sedition and falsehood:

Qua propter famis caussas non eas, quas plebis corruptores per calumniam afferunt (speech of Minutius).

In VII, 33, we get a summing up of the character and achievements of Sicinius:

Tantum enim aberat, ut honores et potestatem eandem se adhuc habiturum speraret, si respublica ab optimatibus gubernaretur, quod ipse esset homo ignobilis et in obscuritate educatus, et qui nullum egregium facinus, aut militiae, aut in pace edidisset. . . .

The personal attack of Sicinius on Coriolanus is related in VII, 35:

Illosque adjuvabant tribuni, praecipue vero Sicinius illorum consiliis habenas laxabat. Tandem autem, cum multis in hominem invectus esset animosque plebeiorum accendisset, . . .

Brutus is described, VII, 36, as

vir acer, cum aliis in rebus, tum in expediendis difficultatibus, solus cum solo agit.

The tribunes are named "*nequissimi illi tribuni plebis*" (words of Coriolanus) in VIII, 6; in VIII, 8 reference is made to their lack of knowledge of war; "*duces militiae imperitos habent*" (words of Coriolanus), and their evil influence on the lower classes is described in VIII, 49:

Morbo laborabat, magnaue tempestate iactabatur, neque totius tunc eadem fuit sententia, sed peioris partis, quae prava duces secuta erat (words of Veturia).

Taken all together, these references of Dionysius to the tribunes show much more contempt felt for them than is the case with Plutarch. It is undoubtedly from them that Kirchner gets the colors he gives to the rascals in the drama. There is in this scene also a hint of the deliberate plot of the tribunes against Marcius in bringing him to a place where he must either humble himself or further abuse the people. This plot is fully developed by Shakespeare from Plutarch § 53. Kirchner could have found full details of it in Dionysius VII, 34.

Sc. iii. Volumnia, the wife of Coriolanus,¹⁸ in a long soliloquy proclaims herself more miserable than Penelope, Hecuba, or Deianira:

*Me vero si intueor, cumque illis confero,
Quae sunt, et quae fuerunt, quaeque postea
Futurae sunt, ego sola facile miserrima
Mulierum cunctarum. . . .*

But she knows that Coriolanus will not allow the authors of his and her misfortunes to go unpunished. She hears the tribunes approach and hides in a corner to wait for them and to overhear their plans.

In Dionysius VIII, 41, 42, 46, 48-53, in the speeches of Veturia, there are some statements which are reproduced in substance by Volumnia's monologue. Nothing similar is found in Livy or Plutarch.

Sc. iv. Volumnia, who in hiding with her little son, has heard the regrets of the tribunes at not having destroyed Coriolanus rather than having sent him into exile, comes forth and by her bitter words puts the scoundrels to flight. None of the historians have anything that could serve as a source for this scene.

Sc. iv. Volumnia who, in hiding with her little son, has heard the tribunes, admit the injustice of the sentence of Coriolanus, but they add that all public men are subject to such change and chance and they attempt to comfort her and urge her to use her influence with

¹⁸ Kirchner takes the names Volumnia and Veturia, wife and mother of Coriolanus, and Attius, the leader of the Volscians, from Dionysius. Shakespeare, following Plutarch, has for these same persons, Volumnia (mother), Virgilia (wife), and Tullus Aufidius.

her husband to have him remain loyal. For this scene there are no sources in the historians.

Sc. vi. Veturia has been searching wearily for her daughter-in-law everywhere:

Defessa sum ambulando vix queo iam progredi
 Ulterius perreptavi omnes vicos oppidi
 Omnes domos familiarum, ad hortos et ad lacus
 Quo non? neque nurum invenio meam cum liberis. . . .

And she reasons with herself:

Quis enim exul est, illene quem, secludere a coetibus
 Suis homines scelerati, an potius quem sceleris reum
 Leges bonorum e societate exterminant, eo
 Modo nunquam exul erit meus natus, verum exules
 Erunt omnes iniusti, qui legi contrariam
 Vitam degunt, in exilio erunt, licet in urbibus
 Sint, in foro sint, quamvis etiam se in putealibus
 Et curiis iactent: nec nobis Gyari nec insulae
 Exilium faciunt, sed culpa facit, quae rapit infulas
 Et dignitates, nec in exilio est, qui patria caret:
 Patria nostra non urbs sola est, quae tenet cunabula
 Nostra, sed orbis longe lateque patens viri boni
 Patria est, ubicunque virtuti redduntur praemia.
 Roma est, ubicunque secundum leges recte vivitur.

There is nothing in the historians to correspond to the action of this scene. In sentiment there is a reminiscence of Dionysius VIII, 7, where Coriolanus says:

Patriam vero existimo non eam civitatem, quae me civem abnegavit; sed eam, a sua licet peregrinus, civis sum factus; et regionem amicam puto non eam, in qua affectus sum iniuria, sed in qua tuto manere possum.

With the sentiment expressed in Kirchner regarding exile and virtue we might compare the exceedingly pregnant words of Coriolanus, "I banish you!" and all their implied connotation, in Shakespeare III, iii, l. 123.

The opening lines of the scene, quoted above, are borrowed and adapted from the beginning of scene vi of act IV of the *Adelphi* of Terence.

Act II. Sc. i. Coriolanus and Attius make plans. Ambassadors are to demand back the land which the Romans have taken from the Volscians. Coriolanus knows what answer the Romans will give; so he gives orders for a general preparation for war.

Sc. ii. The first of the humorous scenes of the play. The Strategus is giving directions to his servants:

Curate ut splendor meis sit armis clarior
 Quam solis radii esse, olim dum sudum est, solent;
 Ut ubi usus veniat, contra conserta manu
 Oculorum praestringat aciem in acie hostibus. . . .

He tells of his deeds in the Trojan war and in the war with the Amazons. Two soldiers approach. They are scholars from the school of Plato, and have been in the army of Xenophon. They banter the Strategus and he them.

Nothing here is derived from the historians. Much of the scene is probably derived from the Latin Comedians. The opening lines are adapted from those of act I, sc. i, of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus.

Sc. iii. Soliloquy of the inn-keeper Philoxenus and the approach of the Volscian ambassadors. This scene has no relation to the action of the play.

Sc. iv. The Volscian legates, introduced into the Senate, make the demand for the restoration of their fields and towns. Pinarius, the consul, tells them he knows who is the instigator of the demand and asks them to withdraw while the Senate deliberates.

Except for the reference to Coriolanus as the instigator of the demand of the Volscians, which is found also in scene i of this act, this scene is a faithful reproduction of Dionysius, VIII, 39.

Sc. v. One of the scenes, probably, of Kirchner's pure invention and the first of the secondary plot or Cornelia episode, which is used for the purpose of motivating and explaining the intervention of the women after the men have failed to save Rome from the vengeance of Coriolanus. The scene describes Cornelia's worries about her son and conjectures about the pressing business before the Senate.

Sc. vi. Refusal of the Senate to accede to the demands of the Volscians. Gracchus, the orator, in his speech uses all the ideas and expressions of the answer of the Senate (the orator is not mentioned) of Dionysius VIII, 10, and many others, enlarging on some points, introducing proverbs and classical references, such as to the Golden Fleece and to the Capitoline geese.

Act III. Sc. i. Opens with the soliloquy of the consul Pinarius, the subject of which is the peril which threatens the ship of state from without (Caurus, the north-west wind = Corus = Coriolanus), and from within. He mourns the opposition, fanned by the tribunes, of the people to the consuls and the patricians, the decay of the Romans, the corruption of the youth, and the disgrace of the old. Then, with change of meter, a lively scene. The peasants are fleeing to town before the ravaging army of Coriolanus. They are especially bitter against the townspeople and the higher classes. They have with difficulty escaped with their lives before the conflagrations

and ravagings of Coriolanus. The consul gives orders to call the citizens to arms and to cause the senators to convene in the senate-house.

The dissensions between the nobility and the commons, due to the incursions of Coriolanus, are mentioned in Plutarch, § 88 and in Dionysius, VIII, 14.

Sc. ii. The important part of this scene is the meeting of the tribunes and the *Praefectus Vigilium*:

Praef. Centum mortibus pereatis vos duo scelerum Principes
Auctores huius mali. *Br.* Bona verba quæso, vir bone.
Insanis? Nescin qui simus? *Praef.* Non sciam quod noverint
Omnes? quod scio, aperte dico, Vos, vos esse harum omnium
Principium calamitatum. *Br.* Quarum, bone vir? *Praef.* Quid
quaeritis?

Gurgites vini, vos soli in urbis hoc incendio
Stertitis, quod ipsi suscitastis? *Br.* Absit, vir bone
Forsan somnias. *Praef.* Somniem quid? vix ego me reprimo
Quin somnum utrique excutiam hac sarissa, qui non cernitis
Hostem in moenibus esse Coriolanum: quem vos patria
Expulistis. *Br.* Dii meliora! Quid audio, vae cervicibus
Nostris, haec ita si sunt. *Praef.* Vae vestris gulis: an moenia
Nobiscum ascendite, ubi vobis erectas ostendero
Furcas, quibus uterque pendebitis?

None of the historians mention any such episode, or tell of any reproach cast on the tribunes personally by the nobility, except that Dionysius tells in VIII, 14, that the patricians reproached the people for having driven out such a good man and provoked him to lead the Volscians against Rome; to which the tribunes make reply that the patricians had arranged the whole matter in order to revenge themselves on the people; and also, VIII, 24, that Menenius told Coriolanus that the people, incited by the tribunes, had made a plot against him.

Sc. iii. The second scene of the Cornelia episode. Cornelia urges her son to tell her what is being done in the Senate. He refuses to tell and she promises him playthings and a beautiful purple tunic. Finally he tells her it is a question as to whether a man shall have several wives or a woman several husbands, and that the former possibility is to be made into a law. She promises silence.

Sc. iv. The consul, Julius, in a soliloquy paints a very dark picture of the state of affairs in Rome, where everything seems to be going to destruction. The people wish to rule and to get rid of the upper classes. He gives expression of the contempt of his class for the plebes. A Senator brings news of an uprising of the people against the Senate and the upper classes:

Fur. Plebem arma meditari adversus patres et patritium genus
 Suspicio est. Volitant hinc inde tribuni: cogunt tribus: coit
 In angulis concio: senatum prodicionis crimine
 Vulgo onerant: convitia aperta in viros coniciunt nobiles:
 Minas adversus consules spargunt. . . .

The suspicion of the commons and aristocrats toward each other is described in Plutarch, § 88 and in Dionysius, VIII, 14. The part which the tribunes play in the affair is only hinted at by Dionysius alone.

Sc. v. The women under the leadership of Cornelia approach the senate-house and await the consuls who are coming up.

Sc. vi. The consul, Pinarius, asks about the rumor on which the women are acting. When Cornelia refers him to the boys who are standing near her son, Papyrius confesses and Pinarius declares that the boy deserves the virile toga for such cleverness. He urges the women to go home and to strive by some good deed in the future to atone for the present foolish behavior.

The story of Papirius Praetextatus, practically as used here, is found in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, I, 23. Hans Sachs wrote a play entitled *Der Knab Lucius Papirius Cursor*, taking, by error, the name from the well-known Papirius in Livy. Even before Hans Sachs the story was made use of in Germany.¹⁹ Kirchner is thus seen to be using this well-known classical story in his secondary plot not only to give more life and comic action, but in order also to motivate the later successful intervention of the women and, like Shakespeare (who early in his play introduces Valeria, through whom such intervention takes its origin) though by a different means, to make more prominent than did the historians the part of the women who dominate the last act.

Act IV. Sc. i. The Roman, Minutius, comes to Coriolanus accompanied by Postumius, Cominius, and Sulpitius. Coriolanus refers this embassy to the Volscian Senate which is about to convene. The source is Dionysius, VIII, 22, as is shown by the names of the ambassadors. Plutarch (§ 96) states they were friends of Marcius but does not give the names.

Sc. ii. Minutius acknowledges to Coriolanus the wrong that has been done to him:

Conspiravit contra te plebecula commota tribunorum
 Impulsu, qui quod formidabilis illis esses, sine causa
 Audita damnare, aut indemnatum te occidere fuerunt
 Conati . . .

He reminds Coriolanus in conclusion how noble it is to forgive and

¹⁹ *Germania*, vol. XXXVII, p. 203.

forget. Coriolanus answers that their plea for Rome is in vain. Now nothing can bring him back to Rome except as a conqueror. Let them repeat this answer to the Romans.

This is the longest scene of the play (364 lines), occupying one-seventh of the printed pages of the book, and thereby showing the usual emphasis which the Latin School-dramatists in Germany laid on the rhetorical side of the performance, in the reproduction of the speeches. Dionysius (VIII, 23-35), here with his detailed oratory, is seen to be the authority most suited to our author's taste and purpose. Kirchner follows him closely, generally using the same arguments in the same order, with certain unimportant omissions, and certain important additions, mainly in the way of embellishments, figures of speech, metaphors, and classical allusions, with the usual number of free and easy anachronisms.

Sc. iii. A comic scene with no relation to the action of the play. The comments of Ripsaspis, a Volscian soldier, on the speeches of the former scene. He welcomes his cook whom he has sent out to forage.

Act V. Sc. i. This act is dominated by the women. In this first scene Cornelia is made to feel the bad consequences of her curiosity and gullibility in the affair with her son. When she tells Valeria that the legates sent to Coriolanus have come back unsuccessful, Valeria will not believe the story. When, however, Cornelia relates a strange dream of hers, in which the fowls are attacked and scattered by a vulture which no one was able to frighten away except an old woman, Valeria immediately perceives the ulterior significance of the dream and makes preparations to utilize the idea. Valeria's initiative in the final action of the women is mentioned in Plutarch § 105 and in Dionysius, VIII, 39.

Sc. ii. In the soliloquy of the consul Pinarius, which opens the scene, we hear again about the malicious and cowardly activities of the tribunes. He calls on Xiliarchus to draw up the army for review and urges all the soldiers to fight for country, homes, wives and children.

Sc. iii. The women go to Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, to ask her to intercede with her son. This embassy of the women is mentioned in Dionysius, VIII, 40.

Sc. iv. Veturia excuses the delay in admitting the women:

Moram feci, dum ex imis penteralibus .voco Volumniam
Nurum meam, cui tenebrae familiares factae sunt ita
Ut ad commercium lucis vix iterum pelli queat. . . .

She doubts the advisability of the proposed action and the chances of its success.

Sc. v. In the conversation of the Senators, Cneus and Dolabella, we hear of the oppressive calm and mysterious quiet which rests over the city and bodes no good. A surgeon returning from the front brings news of the defeat and flight of the army.

Sc. vi. The women succeed in their efforts to persuade Veturia to undertake the mission, and they go off to make preparations. Volumnia expresses her timidity and entire lack of confidence in the affair. When the women are seen coming back, accompanied by the consuls and senators, Volumnia's fears are renewed and she persuades Veturia to go in with her and lock the doors again.

No mention is made by any of the historians of the retiring and timid nature of the wife of Coriolanus. Kirchner and Shakespeare have invented this characteristic.

Sc. vii. The consuls give expression to their doubts about the undertaking and they still have no confidence in the reliability of Cornelia. The women go off with the blessings and promises of the consuls.

Sc. viii. At the camp of Coriolanus. He recognizes and greets his mother and wife and the Roman matrons, and renews protestations of love for his mother and of eternal loyalty to his wife. He invites them to come inside the tent, but his mother refuses to go in, saying she asks nothing unjust before men and heaven as witnesses.

Dionysius (VIII, 44-46) describes the affectionate greetings of Coriolanus for the women, his commending his wife for remaining with his mother, his mother's desire to speak in the open air before all the Volscians, and tells of Coriolanus summoning the leaders of the Volscians to hear what the women might have to say.

Sc. ix. Attius congratulates Coriolanus on his victory (*sc. v*), and greets the mother and wife of his general. Veturia begins her plea. She explains how the embassy of the women came about and why he must necessarily listen to his mother. Here the son interrupts his mother, refusing to hear more, for fear he will have to yield, and urging his mother, wife and sons to remain with him and share his fortune. Veturia resumes. She is asking nothing dishonorable but merely that her son should reconcile the Romans and Volscians by peaceful means. She urges him not to ruin his fatherland even though it has cast him off. She exhorts him to be human and to be moved by entreaty. She goes on to recite her personal interest. She threatens self-destruction and her curse and throws herself on her knees before him. He raises her up with the words:

Erige te, erige, mater, animum disrumpit, prae cordia
Frangit mihi haec oratio; vicisti filium.

Sed nec tibi nec mihi palma haec gratia fuerit: nam patriam
Servasti me tibi indulgentem nimium necasti. . . .

and with these words of premonition of a fate which is not fulfilled in the play he goes off into the tent to make arrangements for the withdrawal of his army.

In this scene Kirchner, with the usual omissions and more frequent embellishments and classical and pedantic references, has adhered pretty closely to the account as given in Dionysius, VIII, 47-53. The similarities between the versions of Kirchner and Shakespeare of this final speech, which Odinga pointed out, are found in the respective sources of the two poets.

Epilogue. This is spoken by Cornelia who can no longer contain her joy at the successful outcome of affairs and must go off to announce everywhere the victory, triumph, and glory of the women in being able, where the bravest and most prudent of men have failed, to save Rome and to overcome hostile rage (*Ira*). Then in direct address to the audience she urges them to go back to Rome in the chariots which are waiting.

In the preface the author tells us he wrote the play in comic style.²⁰ The title-page, however, calls it "Tragico-Comica," which is not uncommon in the Latin School-drama. The former part of the designation probably means to refer to the serious action in the fate and deeds of Coriolanus, though the tragic outcome of his death as related by Dionysius and Plutarch is not within the confines of the play; the latter part of it must refer to the several comic scenes or actions which run side by side with the more serious plot, or to the fact that, while the story of the doings and sufferings of Coriolanus is tragical in its course, the tragic outcome is avoided; for, from the standpoint of the Roman matrons whose importance here is much greater than in Shakespeare and his sources, in their attempts to save Rome when the efforts of the men have failed, the outcome is happy because successful.

Prologue and epilogue are in general in accordance with

²⁰ . . . Comico stilo Coriolani historiam depingere et exornare coepi.

the usage of the contemporary Latin and German drama, but more especially in accordance with Ayrer's usage. In the former we have the usual recital of the contents of the piece, the address to the public, and the admonition to silence. The only element of the traditional prologue of the times which is lacking is the mention of the source; but, as is often the case, mention has been made of it indirectly in the preface, and then too our author is so much in advance of the usual procedure that the fiction is maintained throughout that the spectators are at Rome, and that they are themselves witnesses of an action which is being unfolded before their eyes. Without any stage directions, they are supposed to be transported hither and thither between the cities of Rome and Antium, and the camp of Coriolanus, as a consideration of the epilogue shows.

In the Dedication, in which Kirchner gives in detail the circumstances of his conception of the idea and the execution of the plot, we find, as generally in the School-drama, the falsely modest depreciation of the value of the work followed immediately by the statements of the universal desire of his friends to have a copy to read, when the hopes of a performance were disappointed. Like its contemporaries also it imitated the meters of Plautus. "*Scriptaque Plautino comica pede facta*," says a friend in a poetic tribute to the author and his work. In the use of these meters he is, however, as careless as he mostly is in grammatical structure. Nearly all the scenes are labelled as regards their meter, but the poet allowed himself great liberties in variations; for very many of the lines cannot be fitted to the prescribed versification scheme. By far the most of the lines are iambic, in which measure the *Octonarii*, or iambic tetrameter acatalectic, preponder-

ates, almost always, as in Plautus, to indicate a stirring or exciting action. Then follow in frequency the Senarii, with which, as in the plays of Terence, the drama begins, and which are used in the scenes of mere dialogue. Also in dialogue scenes are used trochaic measures, Senarii and Septenarii.

The relations to Terence are unmistakable. The author compares himself twice to the ancient comedy-writer; once, in the introduction, when referring to the inspiration he has received, in writing the play, from his friend and teacher, the Rector Hermann Vulteius, "qui mihi in hac meditatione non alius quam Jureperitus ille Laelius Terentio fuit," and again in the dedication proper, which was addressed to ten of his students, when he wishes to give the reason for the honor he is conferring on them, "quod, quemadmodum Comicus Terentius sibi summo gloriae ac laudi duxerit, quod nobilitatem Romanum non solum suis studiis faventem verum etiam adjuvantem inscribendo sese habuerit. . . ." While the names of the historical characters are taken from Dionysius, those of the comic ones are drawn largely from the Latin Comedians. Thus we have Dromo, Thraso, Sostrata, Syra, Philoxenus, &c. The names of the women who are not historical are Polyphila, Philologa, and Xantippa, which look like the descriptive names of later comedy. The play abounds in Terentian and Plautinian phrases: as *lupus in fabula*, *in aurem utramvis*, *laterem lavare*, and others, besides a large number of puns and plays on words: *nec stando Statoris in Jovis aedem veniemus* (II, i); *libris, liberis* (II, ii); *patri-monium, matrimonium* (II, ii); *lagenam, legionem* (II, ii); *Julius, julus* (III, iv); *aurem, auram*, (IV, ii); etc. Direct borrowings or imitations from Plautus and Terence we have seen in Acts II, ii and I, vi. There are no doubt others.

Of unmistakable mediæval influence is the non-observance of the unities of time and place. The author gives no stage-directions and we have to infer the place of action of each scene from the contents. In Act III everything takes place in the immediate vicinity of the senate-house in Rome, and Act IV is played entirely in the camp of Coriolanus. In each one of the other acts, however, the scene changes several times; *in* Rome in various places, as the forum, neighboring streets and houses; and *from* Rome to Antium and to the camp of Coriolanus. However hazy are the ideas of the author about the place of the action, they are even more so in regard to the time of the various acts and scenes. Here there are real discrepancies. According to Dionysius VIII, 50, three years elapse between the banishment of Coriolanus and the end of the wars against Rome. In the first scene of this play we see Coriolanus on the point of going to Attius, therefore soon after his banishment. The action of scenes ii-vi of the first act occurs in one day, possibly the same day as that of scene viii. Act II gives us the plans of Coriolanus and Attius for war against Rome in scene i, the enlistment of an army for this purpose in scene ii, and the coming of the Volscian legates to Rome in scene iii. Scenes iv-vi of this Act all occur in one day, which *may* be the same day as that of the preceding scenes of this Act, or indeed of Act I. Scene i of Act III represents the same day as scenes iv-vi of Act II, and III, ii is played the day after II, v; so that it would seem that each of the three Acts has a separate day, whether successively or not, it is hard to say. The whole of Act IV is played on one day, and Act V on another day, probably the next. In scene iii of the last Act we hear that the door of the house of Coriolanus has not been opened since his banishment three years before. It might be pos-

sible to assume that the interval of three years elapses between Acts III and IV. The only difficulty with such an assumption is that the two consuls of the republic remain the same throughout the play. Most likely the author had no very definite ideas about the unities of time and place and proceeded as carelessly as most of his contemporaries.

Another element of the Renaissance is the free and easy use of anachronisms. Most of these are made from intention and not from ignorance, or so at least it would seem. Some of the most remarkable are the mention, in the mouths of people who are supposed to be living in 489 B. C., of Xenocrates (396-324) in I, ii; of Philip of Macedon (382-336) in I, ii; of Alexander the Great in India (326) in II, i; of Plato (347) in II, ii; of Xenophon (399) in II, ii; of the Capitoline geese (390) in II, vi; of the death of Pindar (443) in V, v; of Themistocles (460) in V, ix; of the German women in V, vii. That such anachronisms were intentional would seem to be proved from Kirchner's reputation for erudition, and from the fact that in 1606 in the *Disputatio theses philosoph. continens &c.*, a collection of theses defended by students under Kirchner's direction and published by him, there is one which reads:

'*Αναχρονισμός*, hoc est, temporis anticipatio, cum quae posterorum temporum sunt, ad priora scribentis ingenio reducuntur, poetis concessa. Ita Sophocles Orestum in certamine quadrigarum Pythico curru delapsum, cum tamen constet post Orestis aetatem in genus certamina primum instituta.

It is possible to draw here a parallel with Shakespeare. The latter's anachronisms have been ascribed to his lack of scholarly training, and this has been used as an argument against the Bacon hypothesis. It has, however, also been pointed out that the anachronistic treatment of antique material is a marked characteristic of Euphuism, by which

Shakespeare was certainly influenced. J. Churton Collins has led us to believe that Shakespeare knew more about classical antiquity than had hitherto been supposed; so he *may* have known that Alexander the Great lived after Coriolanus (v, iv, 29). The scholarly Kirchner *must* have known it when he twice (ii, i and v, vii) makes his characters mention Alexander.

It is a well established fact that in writing the tragedy of Coriolanus, Shakespeare used as his source the *Life of Coriolanus* in North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, most likely in the edition of 1579. It is well known that Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure* was familiar to Shakespeare. He may have seen the possibilities of a tragedy in the story as he found it there and then have gone to Plutarch for the facts in greater detail. Delius made the first thorough investigation (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1876) of Shakespeare's attitude toward North's *Coriolanus* in his adaptations and variations, and, disproving Rümelin's statement (1866) that the dramatist used little invention and built up the play scene by scene, he comes to the general conclusion that less was copied from Plutarch than had been supposed, and that the author was just as inventive here as in any of the plays. Following the method of Delius, Adler (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxi) comes to the same conclusion on investigating the relation of *Anthony and Cleopatra* to North's *Plutarch*. The story of the general relation of Shakespeare to his source has a correspondence in Kirchner's play only in so far that Kirchner adhered closely to his source—Dionysius almost exclusively, Plutarch occasionally, and Livy not at all—though whether he used the Greek originals or Latin translations can be neither affirmed or denied. In one particular, however, the attitude of both authors to their respective sources is

exactly the same; i. e., the greatest dependence on their sources comes in the long speeches. They took the rhetorical efforts of the biographer and historian and made them their own by transforming them in a more or less dramatically effective manner. Delius has emphasized this point in regard to the long speeches in Shakespeare. Kirchner naturally let slip no opportunity of using the speeches he found in his source, the long-winded and tiresome Dionysius.

There are some chance resemblances, however, in matters of smaller detail which are interesting to note, because they look like influence of one play on the other, which in this case would be that of Kirchner's on Shakespeare's. Probably these resemblances are fortuitous. Most of them occur in places where the poets do not follow their sources but use their own invention.

1. Both authors picture the tribunes as the underhanded and unfair instigators of the exile of Coriolanus, and tell of their rascality, their venality, and the reproaches they have to hear from the patricians when it looks as though things are going to turn out disastrously for Rome. These elements of the plays are not historical. Dionysius hinted at them somewhat, it is true.²¹ When Plutarch characterizes the tribunes of the people it is rather in a political than in a personal way. He names them, § 18, "causers and producers of this sedition" (the withdrawal of the plebes to Mons Sacer); § 32, "the flatterers of the people"; § 34, "two seditious tribunes"; § 35, "these flattering tribunes"; § 55, "Sicinius the cruellest and stoutest of the tribunes." While these are hard names, Plutarch on the whole is rather on their side in the struggle.²² Though

²¹ See p. 277.

²² M. W. MacCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their Background*, London, 1910, p. 501.

they are the "causers and producers" of the withdrawal of the people, he sympathizes with that withdrawal; to him they are the "seditious tribunes" when they oppose the colonization of Velitrae and the renewal of the war; yet he shows their good reasons for doing so; from their point of view their opposition to Coriolanus was justified, though they were violent and unscrupulous in their methods. Their public policy is more respectable than that of Shakespeare's tribunes and it is Shakespeare who has created for them their public characters. Adding qualities he never found in Plutarch, he shows the tribunes to us in Act II, sc. i, accused by Menenius of general worthlessness, when the latter calls attention to their pettifogging and contemptible methods of using their powers, their "ambition for poor knaves' caps and legs," and their ridiculous attempts at judgment; also in Act IV, sc. vi, it is shown by several hints and statements that they have enriched themselves at the public expense. Kirchner's similar treatment of these two officials is seen by a comparison of the characterization given them by Dionysius and by himself as we have presented them pp. 277 f.

It is quite natural that we should see them gloat over their work when it seems that success has crowned their efforts:

Bru. Quod si unquam res aliqua egregie est in hac republica
 Peracta haec certe est, modo quam tribuni confecimus
 Cum libertatis nostrae insidiatorem Martium
 Illum Coriolanum, revera Tarquinius alterum
 Urbe hac eiecimus. . . .
 . . . quo genere hominum nihil
 Iniquius, nihilque in civitate libera
 Esse potest pestilentius: verum illi hoc accidit
 Quod vulgo dicitur, qui plus quam debet, appetit,
 Simul quod petit et quod habet, amittit. . . . (I, ii)

And in Shakespeare Sicinius expresses his satisfaction:

We hear not of him, neither need we fear him;
 His remedies are tame i' the present peace
 And quietness of the people, which before
 Were in a wild hurry. Here do we make his friends
 Blush that the world goes well, who rather had,
 Though they themselves did suffer by 't, behold
 Dissentious members pestering streets, than see
 Our tradesmen singing in their shops and going
 About their functions friendly. (iv, vi, 1)

The tribunes must hear in both dramas the reproaches of the citizens of Rome, when, owing to the approach of the army of Coriolanus, it begins to look dark for the city. None of the sources mention these quite natural reproaches. Kirchner's centurion uses vigorous language in Act III, sc. ii. Corresponding in Shakespeare are the reproaches which Cominius and Menenius heap upon the tribunes when the news of the coming of Coriolanus reaches Rome:

Com. O, you've made good work!

.
 You've help to ravish your own daughters and
 To melt the city leads upon your pates,
 To see your wives dishonored to your noses,
 *Men.* You've made good work,
 You and your apron-men.

.
Bru. But is this true, sir?

Com. . . . Aye; and you'll look pale
 Before you find it other.

. You've brought
 A trembling upon Rome, such as was never
 So incapable of help. (iv, vi)

.
Men. Why, so; you've made good work!
 A pair of tribunes that have racked for Rome,
 To make coals cheap,—a noble memory! (v, i)

By a remarkable coincidence also the tribunes encounter the Volumnia of each play. In Kirchner it is the timid and retiring wife of Coriolanus who rushes out from her

hiding-place after she has overheard the plans of the tribunes and puts them to flight with her sharp words (Act i, sc. iv). This is the only place in the play where she shows any spirit. The similar interview in Shakespeare is also the only place where the equally timid and retiring Virgilia musters up courage enough to help her mother-in-law, the strong-minded Volumnia, in venting her rage and indignation against these enemies of her house until, just as in Kirchner's drama, they flee, no longer able to endure the scolding (Act iv, sc. ii).

2. Because history and legend have it that the mother of Coriolanus is the one who had the greatest influence on his life, she, naturally, among the women who surround him, stands out most prominently; and, while the wife is mentioned, the same history and legend tell little about her, except the mere name and the fact that she lived with Coriolanus in his mother's house. This was enough to make Kirchner paint her as exceedingly shy and timorous. In the scenes of the last act (vi and vii) this timidity is shown in her distrust of all who approach the house, whether it be the women who come to plead with Veturia to go on the mission, or the consuls who come to add their pleadings to those of the women. It was enough also to make Shakespeare paint her in the same colors. She is timid and shy, modest and afraid in Act i, sc. ii, and these qualities are carried in mind when her husband addresses her in Act ii, sc. i: "My gracious silence, hail!"

3. The part of Valeria in setting in motion the action of the women, who go to plead with the mother of Coriolanus, is mentioned in Plutarch § 105 and Dionysius viii, 39, in both of which narratives the idea that Valeria first conceives is ascribed to the inspiration of some god. Our dramatists both felt themselves under the necessity of ex-

plaining this divine inspiration by realistic means. Shakespeare, in place of the divine inspiration, which sends Valeria and the other women to the mother of Coriolanus, invented the friendship between Valeria and the women of the household of Marcius, placing it early in the first Act (sc. iii). He is then silent about the part Valeria played in inducing the women to go to Veturia, unless he assumes we understand that the friendship mentioned brought about the action. Otherwise it is hard to see just why Valeria is brought into the play at all. Kirchner has retained in his play Valeria as the inciting force in the action of the women, but he also, like Shakespeare, makes of Valeria's divine inspiration merely great human cleverness or feminine intuition, which sees (Act v, sc. i) in Cornelia's dream, when others doubt and ridicule, the double opportunity of the women—that is, to reestablish themselves in honor by atoning for their recent faults, and to save Rome from the fury of Coriolanus.

4. The remark of Kreyssig²³ that Shakespeare has ignored the unmotivated change of opinion of the Senate (Plutarch § 93), the conciliatory spirit of Coriolanus in offering conditions, hard and impossible as they were (Plutarch § 97),²⁴ and the later parade of the dignitaries of the city in deepest humility before the inappeasable conqueror, to beg for peace (Plutarch § 102), applies equally well, including the point covered by Kreyssig's error, to Kirchner. All these details are to be found in Dionysius.²⁵ Kirchner has, in Act iv, sc. ii, like Shake-

²³ *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare*, 1877, p. 476.

²⁴ An error of Kreyssig, for the conditions, while not mentioned by Shakespeare as such, are yet referred to indirectly (in v, i, 67-69; v, ii, 182; v, ii, 13) though the implication is that they are such that the Romans can not accept them.

²⁵ viii, 21; viii, 35; viii, 38.

speare, painted Coriolanus as simply the inexorable, inappeasable, and revengeful enemy of Rome, before whose feet the city, torn by factions and contrary opinions, lies helpless. While he thanks Minutius and his friends, who constitute the vain embassy to him, and tells them he would be glad to do anything for them if it were in his power, yet he tells them their plea for Rome is in vain. He recounts his services to Rome. All the reward he got was banishment. Now he imposes the same hard and impossible conditions as given by Dionysius and Plutarch, but no further reference is made to them in the play and they are assumed immediately by all to be impossible of fulfillment. Kirchner's Coriolanus is the same implacable enemy as Shakespeare's. Now nothing can bring him to Rome except as a conqueror.

5. In Shakespeare's variations from Plutarch, next to the question of the treatment of the tribunes, comes that of Shakespeare's attitude towards the commons. Here the resemblance of Kirchner's work is not so striking. In Shakespeare, the attitude of contempt which Coriolanus and other patricians take toward the commons is supposed to represent the author's own feelings toward the common people of England. Kreyssig believes that Shakespeare, not being able to conceive of, or understand, the historical and social importance of the popular revolt at the time of Coriolanus, injected into the story an account of the condition of things in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that Plutarch's description, in § 12, of the tribunes and the flatterers of the people and inciters to revolution furnished Shakespeare with the dark colors which he used to paint indiscriminately the popular party and their leaders. Some critics ²⁶ would show that,

²⁶ *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLII, p. 130.

as Shakespeare viewed history, Coriolanus had a right to despise the commons, and that the author was only reporting the true condition of affairs in Tudor England; others would show the people in a better light, by pointing out much that was good and generous in them, or would even see a virtue in their wavering, compared with the stubborn obstinacy of the Senate. In this variety of opinion one thing seems to be agreed upon: the dark colors with which the mob is painted may have been hinted at in Plutarch, but not much more than hinted at, and Shakespeare here was either consciously or unconsciously striking out on new paths in the painting of the commons. These dark colors for painting the mob are none the more to be found in Dionysius, but the scholarly dramatist of the court of Landgrave Maurice, as surely as the great English author, represented in his work the attitude of the aristocrat toward the demagogue in the persons of the tribunes and also, though to a lesser degree, toward their dupes, the crowd of commoners. None of these expressions of contempt come from the mouth of Coriolanus, as in Shakespeare. It is here the consuls Julius and Pinarius, who, pressed by cares of state, seem to despair of the outcome of the present troubled times, and to put most of the blame on the tribunes and on the lower classes. Thus Julius tells Volumnia (Act I, sc. v):

*Illi invidae plebis contigit iniuria, potest
Cuique nostrum etiam hodie priusquam vesper clausurit
Hunc diem evenire. . . .*

Pinarius shows the serious state of affairs in the city:

*Spectet aliquis
Faciem praesentem urbis, quae seditionibus
Intestinis plebis, et adversus consules,
Et consulares et patritiorum ordinem
Inflammata laborat, adeo extremam ut animam*

Agere videatur: cernat iniustitiam eam
 Furoremque tribunorum nil facientium
 Reliqui quod ad virorum tot praestantium
 Oppressiones aptum est. . . . (Act III, sc. i.)

His colleague in a later soliloquy is just as despondent:

Nam quomodo
 Domus poterit nedum vel civitas consistere, si ut est
 Proverbium, lectum fulmenta scandunt, quando scilicet
 Fex esse vult fax, et grex esse rex, ut fit in urbe hac; caput
 Omnes esse volunt, quibus aequae tot oculi, ut quaenam progredi
 Queant, videant, quot serpentis caudae sunt, quae ut in fabula
 est
 Capitis locum ambiebat: Romam nihil aliud pessundabit,
 Quam populi haec furia, et illa seditionis adversus patres.
 (Act III, sc. iv.)

Pinarius characterizes the tribunes:

Ubi nunc tribuni sunt, qui nobis hanc flammas primi suis
 Flatibus animarunt? e latebris veniant, videant quid egerint:
 Comedant quod ipsi intriverint: homines deperditi, malum
 Patriae crearunt, hunc ipsi caput abdunt: nos in fluctibus
 Relinquant; pessimum genus hominum, qui cum res in vado est,
 Ultro accersunt nubes, favillas, ubi non est incendium
 Serunt. . . . (Act V, sc. ii.)

6. Kirchner, like Shakespeare, makes Coriolanus depart alone from Rome. While this is not expressly stated, it is, as we have seen (p. 276), inferred from the prologue and from the monologue of Coriolanus in the opening scene of the play. Plutarch makes him depart (§ 70) "with three or four of his friends only." Dionysius leaves us to infer that he went alone. He tells us that after the judgment had been pronounced on him "Marcius autem, cum gemitu et lacrimis eorum, qui eius fortunam miserabantur, domum est deductus." There he takes leave of his mother, wife, and children, then "nec ullis aliis sermonum blanditiis usus, nec ulla alia re provisa, qua in exilio uti posset, domo egressus, properavit ad portas, et nemini, quoniam profisceretur, declaravit" (VII, 67). Later, when

resuming the story of the fortunes of Coriolanus, he tells us: "Itaque observata nocte, eaque obscura, venit antium, nobilissimam Volscorum urbem, quo tempore urbis incolae coenam sumebant" (VIII, 1).

7. In Plutarch, the final speech of Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus, is one unbroken whole, though Volumnia courted an answer or interruption on the part of her son. Shakespeare put in the words, which in Plutarch's account the mother expected and paused to hear:

Not of a woman's tenderness to be,
Requires nor child nor woman's face to see.
I've sat too long. (Act v, sc. iii.)

Dionysius records the interruption and answer of Coriolanus in VIII, 47. He tells his mother she is asking the impossible, and urges her, his wife and children to remain and share his lot with him. Kirchner follows the historian (and reports the gist of the answer of the son. She is speaking to deaf ears and he wishes to put an end to the interview:

Cor. Gelatis auribus et plane surdis offeres
Mater: non audio rem, quam positum venisti: nequit
Enim fieri, quod contra iura deorum ac hominum est. . . .

8. The presence of Aufidius in the great final scene between Coriolanus and his mother looks like an invention of Shakespeare's; for certainly Plutarch gives no hint of such being the case. In Kirchner's play we have in the eighth scene of the last act the meeting of Coriolanus with his wife, his mother, and the other Roman matrons. He invites them into his tent, but the mother refuses to go in, saying she seeks nothing unjust before heaven and men as witnesses, and Coriolanus makes preparations for the solemn interview:

Cor. Heus vos satellites tribunal nostrum sternite, Attium
Vocate principem, vocate Volscorum omnes ordines.

In the next scene after a greeting between the generals Attius asks, referring to the Roman women:

Sed quidnam, Marti te postulant?

And Coriolanus answers:

Hoc mecum iam audies in publico hoc quem cogo circulo:

.

ii iuxta assessum Acci cant

Huc consiliarii illuc nobiles viri. . . .

Kirchner's authority here is merely a hint in Dionysius VIII, 45:

Deinde, nobilissimis quibusque ducibus et centurionibus sibi assistere iussis et admissis, quotquot adesse voluerunt, matri copiam dicendi fecit.

9. All the sources for the life of Coriolanus make mention of a new temple to fortune. Livy (II, 40) says that a temple was built and dedicated to Female Fortune to serve as a monument. Dionysius (VIII, 55) tells us that after a night of rejoicing by the Romans the Senate offered the women the choice of a reward, and that the latter, after holding council, asked the Senate for a temple to Female Fortune, which was immediately granted; and the author goes on in that chapter and the next to relate circumstances connected with the building and consecration of the temple, before he returns to the fate of Coriolanus. Plutarch (§ 118) also relates the same story as Dionysius, and, like Dionysius, he goes on in a digression to relate similar circumstances before giving us the story of the end of Coriolanus. Shakespeare, wishing to incorporate the later event into his narrative, and relying on Plutarch's "And they only requested that they would build a temple of

Fortune for the women," makes Coriolanus say (Act v, sc. iii) in prophetic spirit, "Ladies, you deserve to have a temple built you!", but omits the reference to the goddess in whose honor the temple was to be built. Observe the similarity in Kirchner's work. His drama stops even before that of Shakespeare, with the triumphal return of the women to Rome, and he has likewise anticipated when (Act v, sc. vii), even before the women have left the city, he makes the consul, Pinarius, say to them:

Jacta est huius etiam fortunae alea, quae sit favet,
Templum novum habebit: nam virili fortunae nihil amplius
Debemus.

It does not seem as though Kirchner's *Coriolanus* was ever presented on the stage, though written for that purpose. In the dedicatory preface of 1599 the author states that an intended performance was prevented by the outbreak of a plague and the consequent breaking up of the University. It had not been played as late as 1604. In that year in Kirchner's *Consolatoria ad Herm. Vultejum de Joh. Vultejii filii primoque praematurō obitu*, we are told that this young man, the son of the man who inspired the play, was to have played the part of Papyrius in it, "si non huius interventu contagiosae dilabi coetus nostri coacti fuissent."

JACOB N. BEAM.

XI.—CHAUCER AND THE *OVIDE MORALISÉ*

The *Ovide moralisé* is a portentous performance of about seventy-two thousand lines, extant in some seventeen manuscripts.¹ Fragments of it were printed by Tarbé under the title of *Œuvres de Philippe de Vitry*,² and the first volume of a critical text of the entire poem, edited by Professor de Boer of Amsterdam, is now in print.³ The work, with its mixture of fairly close translation and amazing allegorization of the *Metamorphoses* is discussed at length by Gaston Paris in its relation to other mediaeval translations or imitations of Ovid.⁴ And in de Boer's Introductions⁵ and articles⁶ will be found all necessary bibliographical apparatus.

The most remarkable passage in the *Ovide moralisé* is the story of Philomela (Philomena). It is obviously an

¹ See C. de Boer, *Philomena, conte raconté d'après Ovide par Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, 1909, pp. 5 ff.; *ibid.*, *Pyrame et Thisbé*, in *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XII, No. 3, pp. 30 ff.

² *Collection des Poètes de Champagne*, Vol. VIII, Reims, 1850.

³ *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xv (April, 1915). This volume contains Books I-III of the *O. m.* Professor de Boer has also published critical texts of the stories (from the *O. m.*) of Philomena and of Pyramus and Thisbe (see above, n. 1). The latter tale is included in Barbazon and Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, iv, pp. 326 ff. There is also a very poor edition of the Phaeton fable from the *O. m.* by Dr. Heinrich Kehrli (Bern, 1877).

⁴ *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXIX, pp. 455-525. See also Léopold Sudre, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libros quomodo nostrates mediæ ævi poetæ imitati interpretatique sint*, Paris, 1893, pp. 93 ff.

⁵ See above, notes 1 and 3.

⁶ *Romania*, XLI, pp. 94 ff.; XLII, pp. 76 ff.; XLIII, pp. 238 ff., 325 ff.

insertion (although it is extant only as incorporated in the *O. m.*), and it was identified by Gaston Paris in 1884⁷ as the lost "Maunce de la hupe et de l'aronde et del rossi-guol" of Chrétien de Troyes—an attribution which seems to have gained general acceptance.⁸ It is the primary purpose of this article to show that Chaucer knew and used at least this portion of the *O. m.* I intend to follow the present paper as soon as possible with two or three other studies of Chaucer's use of French translations or adaptations of classical materials. Until the evidence is presented in full, however, I shall reserve certain generalizations which seem to be warranted by the facts. For the moment it is with the facts alone that we shall be concerned.

I

The *Legend of Philomela* is a composite. For Chaucer without question knew the Latin text of the eighth book of the *Metamorphoses*. That he also used the French translation I shall try to show. But inasmuch as his method of dealing with his materials is after all the point of first importance, I shall attempt to disengage the two interwoven strands, instead of merely pointing out what seems to be a hitherto unsuspected source.

The opening lines of the narrative are drawn from Ovid.

Of Trace was he lord, and *kin to Marte*,
The cruel god that stant with bloody darte;
And wedded had he, with a blisful chere,
King Pandiones faire doghter dere,
That highte *Progne*, flour of her contree.*

⁷ See *Romania*, XIII, p. 399.

⁸ For a full discussion of the problem see de Boer's introduction to *Philomena*, pp. v-cxx.

* *Leg.* 2244-48.

Threicius Tereus haec auxiliaribus armis
fuderat et clarum vincendo nomen habebat.
Quem sibi *Pandion* opibusque virisque potentem
et genus a magno ducentem forte *Gradivo*
conubio *Progne* iunxit.¹⁰

One detail, however, may have come from the *Ovide moralisé*.

And wedded had he, *with a blisful chere*.¹¹

Cele [Progne] fu a mari donee.
Uns rois de Trace la requist
Don Pandions *mout liez se fist*.
Mout liez s'an fist?—Voire.—Por quoi?
Por ce qu'il la dona a roi.¹²

The probability of this must be judged in the light of what follows. If the hint is taken from the *O. m.*, Chaucer has transferred the joy from Pandion to Tereus.

Thogh Juno list nat at the feste be,
Ne Ymeneus, *that god of wedding is*.¹³

. . . Non pronuba Iuno,	Males nocēs fist Tereus,
non Hymenaeus adest, non illi	Car n'i fu pas Himeneus,
Gratia lecto. ¹⁴	<i>Li deus qui as nocēs dut estre</i> . ¹⁵

But at the feste redy been, y-wis,
The furies three, *with alle hir mortal bond*.¹⁶

Eumenides tenuere <i>faces de fu-</i>	Car es chanbres et an la sale
<i>nere raptas</i> ,	Volerent tote nuit maufe,
Eumenides stravere torum. . . ¹⁷	Atropos et Tesiphone
	Et totes males destinees. ¹⁸

The owle *al night* aboute the balkes wond.¹⁹

¹⁰ *Met.*, vi, 424-28. I follow the critical text of Magnus.

¹¹ *Leg.*, 2246.

¹² *Phil.*, 6-10. I shall use the abbreviation *Phil.* for the *Philomena* excerpt, as printed by de Boer.

¹³ *Leg.*, 2249-50.

¹⁷ *Met.*, vi, 430-31.

¹⁴ *Met.*, vi, 428-29.

¹⁸ *Phil.*, 28-31.

¹⁵ *Phil.*, 15-17.

¹⁹ *Leg.*, 2253.

¹⁶ *Leg.*, 2251-52.

. . . tectoque profanus
incubuit bubo thalamique in cul-
mine sedit.²⁰

Mes tote nuit²¹ a sa voiz roie
Chanta sus la chanbre li dus
Et li huaz et li cucus
Et la fresaie et li corbiaus.²²

That prophet is of wo and of mischaunce.²³

Cil signes ne fu mie biaux,
Ains fu de duel et de pesance
Tote cele senefiance.²⁴

It seems probable, so far, that Chaucer is writing with both texts before him.

The next four lines, however, are apparently his own.

This revel, ful of songe and ful of daunce,
Lasteth a fourtenight, or litel lasse.
But, shortly of this story for to passe.
For I am wery of him for to telle.²⁵

But at once he comes back, this time quite clearly, to the *O. m.*:

Five yeer his wyf and he togeder dwelle.²⁶

. . . Iam tempora Titan
quinque per autumnos repetiti
duxerat anni.²⁷

Ja avoient, si con moi sanble,
Plus de cinc ans este ansanble
Antre Progne et son seignor.²⁸

Til on a day she gan so sore longe
To seen her suster, that she saw nat longe,
That for desyr she niste what to seye.²⁹

*De Philomena sa seror
Ot talant que veoir l'alast,
Mes qu'a son seignor ne pesast.
Un jor a parole l'an mist.³⁰*

But to her husband gan she for to preye,
For goddes love, that she moste ones goon

²⁰ *Met.*, vi, 431-32.

²¹ See l. 29 above.

²² *Phil.*, 20-23.

²³ *Leg.*, 2254.

²⁴ *Phil.*, 24-28.

²⁵ *Leg.*, 2255-58.

²⁶ *Leg.*, 2259.

²⁷ *Met.*, vi, 438-39.

²⁸ *Phil.*, 49-51.

²⁹ *Leg.*, 2260-62.

³⁰ *Phil.*, 52-55.

Her suster for to seen, and come anoon,
Or elles, but she moste to her wende,
*She preyde him, that he wolde after her sende.*²⁰

cum blandita viro	Progne 'si Un jor a parole l'an mist,
gratia' dixit	Si li jura mout et promist
'ulla mea est, vel me visendam	Que se il la leissoit aler
mitte sorori,	A sa seror outre la mer,
vel soror huc veniat! redituram	Que mout tost s'an retourneroit
tempore parvo	Ne gueires ne sejourneroit,
promittes socero: magni mihi	<i>Et si il li deffant la voie,</i>
muneris instar	<i>Tant qu'ele sa seror ne voie,</i>
germanam vidiase dabis.'	<i>Don li pris ele qu'il l'aut querre,</i>
	Si l'amaint an la soe terre. ²¹

The paragraph closes with what seem to be Chaucer's own words:

And this was, day by day, al her prayere
 With al humblesse of wyfhood, word, and chere.²²

If it were not for the *O. m.*, Chaucer's next line would be sufficiently accounted for by a reference to Ovid. With the *O. m.* before us, however, it looks rather as if "let make . . . yare" were suggested by the wording of the French:

*This Tereus let make his shippes yare*²³

Iubet ille carinas	Tot maintenant ses nes comande
in freta deduci. ²⁴	<i>Tereus garnir de viande,</i>
	<i>De maz, de voiles et de tres.</i>
	Ja est tot fet. ²⁵

The *O. m.* (76-85) gives a brief account of the voyage, and elaborates at considerable length (86-105) the reception accorded Tereus by Pandion. Chaucer, however, agrees with Ovid in the absence of these details, and condenses even Ovid's brief statement:

²⁰ *Leg.*, 2263-67.

²¹ *Met.*, VI, 440-44.

²² *Phil.*, 55-64.

²³ *Leg.*, 2268-69.

²⁴ *Leg.*, 2270.

²⁵ *Met.*, VI, 444-45.

²⁶ *Phil.*, 69-72.

And into Grece him-self is forth y-fare
Unto his fader in lawe. . . .²⁷

. . . veloque et remige portus
Cecropius intrat Piraeaque litora tangit.
Ut primum soceri data copia, dextera dextrae
iungitur, et fausto committitur omine sermo.²⁸

In the next lines Chaucer follows the fuller account of the *O. m.*:

. . . and gan him preye
To vouche-sauf that, for a month or tweye,
That *Philomene*, his wyves suster, mighte
On *Progne* his wyf but ones have a sighte—
'And she shal come to you again anon.
Myself with her wol bothe come and goon,
And as myn hertes lyf I wol her kepe.'²⁹

Coeperat adventus causam, man-
data referre
coniugis et celeres missae spon-
dere recursus.³⁰

Sire, fet il, a vos m'anvoies
Progne, qui mout grant desir a
De parler a *Philomena*.
Vostre fille par moi vos mande
Et se ma proriere i amande
Je vos pri que li anvoiez.
Tart vos iert que vous la raiiez,
Car s'ele ja la ne demore
Qu'un seul jor ne qu'un sole
ore,³¹

Si cuit je que mout vos iert tart
Que vos la raiiez ceste part,
Et por ce vos met an covant
Que des que je verrai le vant
Douz et pleisible a retourner
Ne la leira point sejourner
Que je tantost ne la ramaingne.³²

In addition to the verbal parallels, the significant fact

²⁷ *Leg.*, 2271-72.

²⁸ *Leg.*, 2272-78.

²⁹ *Met.*, VI, 445-48.

³⁰ *Met.*, VI, 449-50.

³¹ Tereus elsewhere limits the time to "tant solemant trois jourz ou quatre" (l. 515), or "quinzainne" (l. 535). Chaucer more carefully observes the demands of verisimilitude.

³² *Phil.*, 106-121.

should be observed that Tereus's prayer, in Chaucer, passes over into direct discourse.

At this point, both in Ovid's narrative and in the *O. m.*, Philomela enters.⁴¹ Ovid describes her in four lines (451-54). The *O. m.* devotes eighty lines (124-204) to an inventory of her charms and accomplishments. Chaucer omits both—except for an extremely significant employment, later in the story, of one detail from the catalogue in the *O. m.*⁴²

In what immediately follows, the three accounts show marked divergences. In the *Metamorphoses* the description of Philomela is immediately followed by the account of Tereus's *innamoramento* (455-66); then by his renewed pleadings (467-74), now seconded by Philomela herself (475-77) in a fashion which still further fans the flame of Tereus's passion (478-82); and then it is that Pandion yields to the prayers of both (483-85). Night comes, a feast is spread, and they retire to sleep (486-89). Tereus, however, spends the night in thought of Philomela (490-93). In the morning Pandion commits Philomela to Tereus's care with tears and forebodings (494-510).

Chaucer begins (2279-83) with Pandion's compliance, and then goes on to state its cause in Philomela's request (2284-87), passing to a brief account of her beauty and of Tereus's *innamoramento* (2288-93), and of his renewed prayers (2294), which result in Pandion's slow leave (2295-2301).

⁴¹ Chaucer, like the *O. m.*, consistently uses the form with *n* instead of *l* (*Incipit Legenda Philomene; Explicit Legenda Philomene*; ll. 2274, 2289, 2339). That, however, was the common spelling in medieval Latin manuscripts of Ovid, especially in the case of those copied in France. For references see de Boer, *Phil.*, p. 97, note on l. 4, and cf. pp. 123 ff. Boccaccio follows the same spelling in *De Geneal. Deorum*, ix, 8. No valid conclusion, accordingly, can be drawn from the form of the name.

⁴² See below, p. 313.

These details, to which Ovid gives fifty-five lines (455-510) and Chaucer twenty-two (2279-2301), the *O. m.* expands into a passage of five hundred and twenty-four lines (205-729). It begins with a defence (205-41) of Tereus's lawless love; proceeds to recount the conversation that ensued between Tereus and Philomena (242-319), in which Tereus attempts to win over the girl to plead their common cause; rehearses a second parley between Tereus and Pandion (320-80); passes, by an easy transition, into a Chrétienesque discourse upon love (381-494); details a third attempt on Tereus's part to win Pandion's consent (495-541)—an attempt which is this time successful (542-51); and Pandion and Tereus come to an agreement (552-79). A feast is served, but Tereus instead of eating regards Philomena (580-629). They retire to rest, but Tereus's passion prevents sleep (630-660). In the morning Pandion commits Philomena to Tereus's care, and permits them to depart without foreboding (661-729).

To summarize: Chaucer omits the dramatic entrance of Philomela, common to both Ovid and the *O. m.*, changes Ovid's order of narration, and again condenses greatly his account, especially in its analysis of Tereus's guilty passion. He omits, on the other hand, the whole of Chrétien's psychologizing of the situation, together with the dialogue between Tereus and Philomela. But despite these marked divergences from both, it is clear that he is still drawing on each for the details of his own narrative.

Pandion's tears (2279-80) are common to Ovid and the *O. m.*,⁴⁸ although in both they are shed at the final parting. Philomela's embracing of her father (2287) is in Chaucer and Ovid (475-76) only. In *O. m.* she takes

⁴⁸ *Met.*, vi, 505-10; *Phil.*, 710, 722-26; cf. 552-55. Philomela's tears (*Leg.*, 2284) are Chaucer's addition.

no part in the entreaties. Chaucer's brief account of her beauty and array (2288-90) is drawn from Ovid (451-52). The next line, however, is perhaps reminiscent of both the *Metamorphoses* and the *O. m.*:

And yit of bountee was she two so riche.⁴⁴

ecce venit magno dives Philo-
mela paratu,
divitior forma.⁴⁵

Avuec la grant biaute qu'ele ot
Sot quanque doit savoir pucele.
Ne fu pas mains sage que bele.⁴⁶

Leg., 2292-93 is a condensation of *Met.*, VI, 455-60, 466. And Pandion's words in *Leg.*, 2296-2301 are a paraphrase of *Met.*, 496-503, with additions of Chaucer's own. The feast (2302) is sufficiently accounted for in Ovid (488-89), although the expansion in ll. 2303-04 may possibly be due to the far fuller description (582-629) in *O. m.* In the account of the parting, however, Chaucer's return to the *O. m.* becomes unmistakable:

And him conveyeth through the maister-strete
Of Athenes, and to the see him broghte,
And turneth hoom. . . .⁴⁷

Au port l'an mainne Tereus
Et Pandions les i convoie.⁴⁸

There is nothing that corresponds in the *Metamorphoses*. And the last detail is conclusive:

. . . no malice he ne thoghte.⁴⁹

vix dixit timuitque suae prae-
sagia mentis⁵⁰

Car ja mes ne la reverra
N'an sa terre ne ranterra.
Mes de tot ce ne panse il.⁵¹

⁴⁴ *Leg.*, 2291. All the mss. except B and F read "beaute" instead of "bountee."

⁴⁵ *Met.*, VI, 451-52.

⁴⁶ *Phil.*, 170-72.

⁴⁷ *Leg.*, 2305-07.

⁴⁸ *Phil.*, 684-85.

⁴⁹ *Leg.*, 2307.

⁵⁰ *Met.*, VI, 510.

⁵¹ *Phil.*, 725-27.

De Boer comments as follows on this passage of the *O. m.*: " Dans ce passage [641-726] le traducteur suit d'assez près le texte d'Ovide et reproduit presque textuellement les paroles de Pandion à son gendre, puis à sa fille, mais il change la fin du morceau. ' Vix dixit timuitque suae praesagia mentis,' dit Ovide. Non, dit le traducteur, Pandion ne se doute de rien. Il embrasse de bonne foi le traître et s'il pleure, c'est à cause du départ de sa fille. Il a raison de pleurer, il est vrai, car jamais il ne la reverra, mais il ne le sait pas, il ne peut même s'en douter: ' mes de tot ce ne panse il.' " ⁵² And in this striking divergence from the *Metamorphoses*, Chaucer follows the *O. m.*

Chaucer's account of the rape of Philomela (2308-41) is drawn chiefly from Ovid (511-62), ⁵³ with certain modifications that seem to be his own. ⁵⁴ But the influence of the *O. m.* is still to be distinguished:

And up into a forest *he her ledde* . . .
 And, in this derke cave, yif her leste,
 Or leste noght, *he bad her for to reste*.⁵⁵

... cum rex Pandione natam	<i>Parlant, gabant andemantiers</i>
in stabula alta trahit. . . . ⁵⁶	<i>Or d'un or d'el, par traison</i>
	<i>L'an a menes an sa maison,</i>
	<i>Et quant il sont leanz andui, . . .</i>
	<i>L'atret a lui par la main destre.</i> ⁵⁷

⁵² *Phil.*, pp. xciii-xciv.

⁵³ *Leg.*, 2308 = *Met.*, vi, 511-12; 2309 = 519-20 (Chaucer omits the account of Tereus's gloating over his prey, 513-18); 2310 = 521 (cf. *Phil.*, 733); 2315-17 = 522-23 (cf. *Phil.*, 801-03); 2318-22 = 527-30 (the simile is used by Ovid after, by Chaucer before, the account of Philomela's violation; it is omitted in *O. m.*); 2328-29 = 525-26. The account of the rape of Philomena in *O. m.* (730-882) occupies 152 lines, as against Ovid's 51, and Chaucer's 33.

⁵⁴ The cave (2311-12), for instance, is neither Ovid's "stabula alta" (521), nor the *O. m.*'s "meison gaste" (731). *Leg.*, 2327, 2339-41, are Chaucer's additions.

⁵⁵ *Leg.*, 2310, 2312-13.

⁵⁶ *Met.*, vi, 520-521.

⁵⁷ *Phil.*, 738-41, 745.

Ovid, in other words, represents Tereus as using violence from the first; in the *O. m.* Tereus conducts the unsuspecting Philomena to the lonely house, and the act of violence is preceded by a studied attempt to win her consent (746-834); Chaucer, without following the *O. m.* in its characteristic elaboration of Tereus's treachery, tones down the abruptness of the attack (as Ovid gives it) under the influence, it would seem, of the *O. m.*

. . . and yet this false thief
Hath doon this lady yet a more mischeef,
For fere lest she sholde his shame crye,
And doon him openly a vilanye,
 And with his swerd her tong of kerveth he."²²

Talibus ira feri postquam com-
 mota tyranni
 nec minor hac metus est, causa
 stimulatus utraque
 quo fuit accinctus, vagina liberat
 ense, etc."²³

Tereus ancor ne recroît
Qu'apres ce mal ne face pia.
 Un canivet tranchant a pris,
Et por ce que cele ne puisse
Conter a home qu'ele truisse
Ceste honte ne cest reproche,
 Dist que la langue de la boche
 Li tranchera tot a un fes,
 Si n'an sera parle ja mes."²⁴

The correspondence between Chaucer and the *O. m.* as against Ovid needs no comment. Moreover, in Chaucer (2335-38) and the *O. m.* (858 ff.) the reference to Philomena's imprisonment immediately follows the account of the severing of her tongue; in Ovid no mention of it is made until after the account of Tereus's return to Progne (572 ff.).

Chaucer's brief account of Tereus's meeting with Progne (2342-47) is slightly condensed from Ovid (563-70). The *O. m.* (883-1061), on the other hand, expands the episode enormously, introducing a long dialogue in which Tereus

²² *Leg.*, 2330-34.

²³ *Met.*, VI, 549-51.

²⁴ *Phil.*, 844-52.

leads up subtly to the announcement of Philomena's death, and elaborating in true romance vein the account of her obsequies. All of this Chaucer passes over.

But in the next division of the narrative (2350-70) the *O. m.* becomes the dominant influence.

This woful lady lerned had in youthe
So that she werken and enbrouden couthe,
And weven in her stole the radevore
As hit of women hath be woned yore.⁶¹

There is absolutely nothing of this in the *Metamorphoses*. In the remarkable list in the *O. m.*, however, of Philomena's accomplishments, occur the following lines:

*Avueo d'iert si bone ouvriere
D'overer une porpre vermoille
Qu'an tot le mont n'ot sa paroille.
Un diaspre ou un baudequin
Nes la mannee Hellequin
Seüst ele an un drap portreire.*⁶²

The manuscripts of de Boer's group *y* ^{62a} read:

Et si estoit tres bonne ouvriere,
D'or de soye en toute maniere,
Et si savoit ou drap portraire.

Chaucer has recognized the pertinence of this detail to the motivation of the *dénouement* (an opportunity of which Chrétien has not explicitly availed himself),^{62b} and has taken it over, and it alone, from the long catalogue of

⁶¹ *Leg.*, 2350-53.

⁶² *Phil.*, 188-193. See above, p. 308.

^{62a} See *Phil.*, pp. 14-15, 37 n.

^{62b} On the other hand, Chrétien has skilfully motivated in quite different fashion the manner in which Philomena hit upon the device of the web. See ll. 1086 ff., and de Boer's note (p. 114) on ll. 1091-94.

Philomena's accomplishments.⁶² The next detail is also from Chrétien:

And, shortly for to seyn, she hath her fille
Of mete and drink, and clothing at her wille.⁶³

[Philomena] Fist noviaus signes et trova
Et certainnement esprova
Que sa mestre tot antandoit
Quanqu'ele onques li demandoit,
Ne ja ne li fust contredite
Nule chose granz ne petite
Fors l'issue de la meison.⁶⁴

There is no hint of this provision (which Chaucer has characteristically turned from the general to the specific) in Ovid.

The following lines represent a remarkable interweaving of the two accounts. *Leg.*, 2358 seems to be suggested by Ovid:

But lettres can she weven to and fro.
purpureasque notaa filis intexuit albis.⁶⁵

The next line is also Ovid's:

⁶² "Radevore" (*Leg.*, 2352) remains a mysterious word. Skeat's explanation (see *Oxford Chaucer*, III, pp. 342-43; *Notes Eng. Etym.*, pp. 239-40), following Urry, and followed, with a query, by the *NED.*, is difficult to accept. *Ras* does not appear in Godefroy, and seems to be a sixteenth-century word (see *NED.*, under *rash*, sb.²). *Vaur* is Lavour (I have not at present access to documents that would give its fourteenth-century form). The word, whatever its origin, obviously means either a stuff, or a pattern of some sort woven in a stuff. Either sense would fit the only other known occurrence of the word, in Tanner ms. 346. If it refers to a stuff, "radevore" corresponds to "baudequin," or "diaspre" (or "or de soye") in the *O. m.*; if it means a design, it is probably suggested by Philomena's portrayal of "la mesniee Hellequin" (see Godefroy, under *Hellequin*). I have not yet given up the riddle of its origin. Nor am I certain that "stole" in the same line has been correctly interpreted.

⁶³ *Leg.*, 2354-55.

⁶⁴ *Phil.*, 1147-53.

⁶⁵ *Met.*, VI, 577.

So that, by that the year was al a-go.
 Signa deus bis sex acto lustraverat anno.⁶⁶

And "stamen" of *Leg.*, 2360 is Ovid's "stamina" (574).^{66a} But the details that follow, wholly wanting in the *Metamorphoses*, are from the *O. m.*:

*How she was broght from Athenes in a barge,
 And in a cave how that she was broght;
 And al the thing that Tereus hath wroght,^{66b}
 She waf hit wel, and wroot the story above
 How she was served for her suster love.^{66c}*

*Car tissu ot a l'un des chies
 Que Philomena l'avoit feite;
 Apres i fu la nes portreite
 Ou Tereus la mer passa
 Quant querre a Athenes l'ala,
 Et puis comant il se contint
 An Athenes quant il i vint,
 Et comant il l'an amena,
 Et puis comant il l'esforça,
 Et comant il l'avoit leissiee
 Quant la langue li ot tranchiee.
 Tot ot escrit an la cortine,
 Et la meison et la gaudine
 Ou ele estoit anprisonnee.^{66d}*

The portrayal of the ship needs no remark; "al the thing that Tereus hath wroght" sums up *O. m.*, 1120-30; "She waf hit wel" is "tissu ot," while "wroot" is "ot escrit." And the two accounts agree in the curious combination of the ideas of a written narrative and a direct portrayal.^{66e} In the next line Chaucer has diverged from both

⁶⁶ *Met.*, vi, 571. Compare *Phil.*, 1144.

^{66a} Ovid (*Met.*, vi, 501) has also "vestes." In the *O. m.* it is a "cortine" (ll. 1131, 1185, 1195, 1225, 1230, 1235).

^{66b} Compare *Met.*, vi, 578: "indiciū scelēria."

^{66c} *Leg.*, 2361-65.

^{66d} *Phil.*, 1120-33.

^{66e} Ovid (*Met.*, vi, 577) has "notas," which seems to imply writing. Boccaccio (*De Geneal. Deorum*, ix, 8) has "omnia acū scripsit."

Ovid and the *O. m.* In Ovid the web is given to her attendant, who is a woman (578-80); in the *O. m.* the messenger is the old woman's daughter (1145, 1220 ff.; cf. 867-73); ⁶⁹ in Chaucer she gives it to "a knave" (2366). The ring, in the same line, seems to be Chaucer's addition. The conversation "by signes" in the next line (and also in l. 2369) is a detail common to Ovid and the *O. m.* (*Met.*, vi, 579; *Phil.*, 1147, 1189-93). But its immediate context points to the *O. m.*:

And prayed him, by signes, for to goon
Unto the quene . . ."

utque ferat dominæ gestu ro- gat." ⁷¹	Si le fet signe qu'ele anvoit A cele cite que la voit Par sa fille cele cortine Si la presant a la reine." ⁷²
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The next detail seems to be suggested by the immediately following lines in the *O. m.*:

And by signes swor him many an ooth,
*She sholde him yeve what she geten mighte.*⁷³

The guardian in Chrétien interposes no objection to the sending of the "cortine" (1197-1201),

Ainz cuide que por guerredon
Et por esperance d'avoir
Qu'on doie de tel uevre avoir
Vueille que li soit presantee."⁷⁴

There is no trace of the idea of remuneration in Ovid. Chaucer has apparently taken it over, with a turn of his own, from the *O. m.*

⁶⁹ Boccaccio (*De Geneal. Deorum*): "per ancillulam sorori misit."

⁷⁰ *Leg.*, 2361-62.

⁷¹ *Met.*, vi, 579.

⁷² *Phil.*, 1193-96. See also below.

⁷³ *Leg.*, 2369-70.

⁷⁴ *Phil.*, 1202-05.

The first line of the next paragraph is again closer to Chrétien than to the *Metamorphoses*.

This knave anon *unto the queene* him dighte."¹⁰

. . . ille rogata Jusqu'ele vint *a la reine*."¹¹
pertulit *ad Progenem*."¹²

The remainder of the paragraph is a summary condensation (in the manner of "now is hit tyme I make an ende soon") of Ovid's account of the meeting of the two sisters, and it need not be further analyzed.

Several points are now clear. In the first place, there can be no question of Chaucer's use of the *Ovide moralisé*. Nor is it open to doubt that he drew upon Ovid directly. "Two are better than one," might well have served as Chaucer's motto (with "a threefold cord is not quickly broken" as its pendent!), and he would not have been Chaucer if, knowing the *Ovide moralisé*, he had let it fust unused. He employs the narrative in the *Metamorphoses*, accordingly, as the basis of his own *rifaciamento*, and freely and skilfully supplements it from the French. And the *Legend of Philomela* becomes a fresh exemplification of his favorite *modus operandi*.

In the second place, he proceeds in characteristic fashion in his treatment of his materials. For one thing, his omissions are true to type. Psychologizing in Chrétien's vein was never particularly to his taste. When it fell in which his scheme of things, to be sure, as in the *Troilus*, he could out-Chrétien Chrétien in subtlety and keenness of analysis. But when he does so, it is in his own way, not Chrétien's. And so he passes over, in the *Philomena*, the whole elaborate paraphernalia of highly sophisticated

¹⁰ *Leg.*, 2371.

¹¹ *Met.*, VI, 579-80.

¹² *Phil.*, 1234; cf. 1196.

passion which has been superimposed upon the original story.⁷⁸ What instead he does take over from the *O. m.* are the details that enhance the vividness and clarify the motivation of the *narrative*. He omits (to be specific) the catalogue of Philomena's charms, the conventional disquisitions upon the power of love, the fine-spun artificiality of the colloquies between Tereus and Philomena, and the subtleties of Tereus's repeated attempts to prevail upon Pandion. He adopts the picture of the passage through the streets of Athens to the harbor, the motivating remark that Philomena had learned to embroider, the description of the actual embroidery on the web, and the suggestion that the web was supposed to be sold. And he frequently follows the phraseology of the *O. m.* rather than that of the *Metamorphoses*, especially where to do so makes for greater vividness. In a word, what interests him in the *Ovide moralisé* is not what chiefly engaged its author, but the new turns given to the narrative. Where Gower omits or slurs over even Ovid's most telling details,⁷⁹ Chaucer heightens Ovid's effectiveness by a dexterous interweaving of fresh narrative touches from the French recasting of the tale. And it is hard to resist the suspicion, in view of the skill with which the dovetailing is done, that Chaucer's protestation of weariness "of [Tereus] for to telle" is not to be taken with too great seriousness. It smacks strongly of the literary artifice.

With the fact established that Chaucer used the *Ovide*

⁷⁸ Ovid, of course, also develops with obvious relish and in considerable detail the subject of Tereus's guilty love; the writer of the *O. m.* was by no means without clear hints on which to speak. But Chaucer deals in cavalier fashion even with Ovid's somewhat heightened treatment of the theme, and omits the most of it.

⁷⁹ Gower's version of the story, fluent, but fluent "like running lead," is found in *Conf. Amantis*, v, 5561 ff. There is no indication of any use of the *Philomena*.

moralisé in the *Legend of Philomela*, the question at once arises: Did he use it elsewhere? In particular, is there any evidence that, especially in his earlier works, he employed the French version in such a way as to indicate that his original acquaintance with Ovid may have been made, at least in part, through the medium of the more familiar tongue? I have already quoted, in another article,⁸⁰ the remark of Jean de Meun in the dedication of his translation of Boethius: "envoie ore Boece de Consolation, que j'ai translaté de latin en françois, *ja soit ce que tu entendes bien latin, mais toutevois est (de) moult plus legiers a entendres le françois que le latin.*"⁸¹ A priori, it is by no means improbable that the classics may have been familiar to court circles, in England as in France, in translation rather than in the original, or at least that the originals were known through the aid of the translations.⁸² Is there evidence that this was so in Chaucer's case?

The question must be left for a final answer until Professor de Boer's edition of the *Ovide moralisé* is completed. I strongly suspect that the story of Ceyx and Alcyone, among others, will prove to be largely indebted to the *O. m.* For the present, however, that must remain conjecture. Meanwhile, there is evidence that points rather clearly in the direction of Chaucer's employment of the *O. m.* in others of his works.

⁸⁰ *Romania Review*, VIII, pp. 383-400.

⁸¹ Quoted in *Romania*, XLII, p. 336.

⁸² Compare the remark of Professor Lanson (*Revue universitaire*, XXII, p. 115), quoted by de Boer (*Romania*, XLIII, p. 352): "Il est difficile de départager l'influence des textes anciens et celle de leurs traductions. Mais il apparaît que les traductions sont la voie la plus ordinairement employée pour parvenir aux idées du texte."

II

Professor de Boer has recently shown ⁸³ that Machaut owed his knowledge of Ovid very largely to the *Ovide moralisé*: "Les connaissances que Guillaume de Machaut a eues de la littérature latine ont probablement été moins grandes qu'on n'avait été obligé de l'admettre jusqu'ici, puisqu'il emprunte le sujet (et quelquefois même la forme) de tous ses 'exemples' antiques à un ouvrage français contemporain, *l'Ovide moralisé*." ⁸⁴ And M. Antoine Thomas has pointed out a remarkable borrowing from the *O. m.* in Machaut's *Voir Dit*.⁸⁵ Machaut, therefore, is a striking exemplification of the literary influence of Ovid as exerted by way of the French version. Now it so happens that there are two passages in Chaucer in which (as has never been pointed out) he seems to be following Machaut. They are *Leg.*, 1924-47 (in the *Legend* of *Ariadne*), and *H. F.*, 409-24 (the account of Theseus and *Ariadne*).

Regarding the passage in the *Legend* Skeat remarks: "Chaucer here leaves Ovid; this part of the story is partly given in Plutarch and Hyginus, but Chaucer seems to have filled in details from some source unknown to me." ⁸⁶ What that source is, at least in part, we may now proceed to consider.

In *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre* Machaut, like Chaucer, tells the story of Theseus and *Ariadne*. I shall set side by side a few lines from the two accounts:

⁸³ *Romania*, XLIII, pp. 335-52: "Guillaume de Machaut et *l'Ovide moralisé*."

⁸⁴ *Romania*, XLIII, p. 352.

⁸⁵ *Romania*, XLI, pp. 382 ff.

⁸⁶ *Oxford Chaucer*, III, p. 334.

And this th' effect, that *Minos*
hath so driven
Hem of Athenes, that *they mote*
him given
Fro yere to yere her owne chil-
 dren dere
 For to be slayn, as ye shal after
 here. . . ."

And every thridde yeer, with-
 outen doute,
They casten lot, and, as hit com
aboute
 On riche, on pore, he moste his
sone take,
 And of his *child* he moste pres-
 ent make
Unto Minos, to save him or to
 spille,
Or lete his beste devoure him at
 his wille.

And this hath Minos don, right
 in despyt;
To wreke his sone was set all
 his delyt . . ."

" *Leg.*, 1924-27.

" Compare *Leg.*, 1928-31:

This Minos hath a *monstre*, a wicked beste,
 That was so cruel that, without areste,
 Whan that a man was broght in his presence,
 He wold him ete, ther helpeth no defence.

Servius, however, may come in here: "unde natus est Minotaurus, qui intra labyrinthum inclusus humanis carnibus vescebatur" (ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, 6). It should be observed that neither Machaut nor the *O. m.* (see below, n. 95) name the Minotaur, referring to it simply as "*un moustre*." It is worth noting that Chaucer does not name the Minotaur until l. 2104. Up to that point it is "*a monstre*" (l. 1928), "*this monstre*" (l. 1991), "*a wikked beste*" (l. 1928), "*his beste*" (l. 1939; cf. ll. 1998, 2005, 2008, 2019), "*this fend*" (l. 1996).

" *Leg.*, 1932-39.

Quant oïl d'*Athenes* eurent mort
 Androgeus, si grant remort
En ot Minos, li rois de Crete,
 Que par voie sage et discrete,
Par force d'armes et de guerre
Fist essillier toute leur terre;
 Et les mist tous pour cest out-
 rage
 Minos en si mortal servage,
Que tous les ans li envoioient
Un homme; mais il sortissoient.
Et oïls seur qui li sors chëoit,
 Trop mortellement li meschëoit;
Car li rois Minos devourer
Le faisoit la, sans demourer
Par un moustre " trop merveilleus,
 Trop felon et trop perilleus.

Mais nuls ne se doit mervillier,
 Si Minos vout ad se veillier,
 Ne s'il en fu fort esmeüs,
Car peres fu Androgeüs.
 Or avint que li sors chei

This wikked custom is so longe y-ronne Til that of Athenes king Egeus Mot sende his owne sone, The- seus, Sith that the lot is fallen him upon, To be devoured, for grace is ther non."⁸²	<i>Seur Theseüs, qui esbahi Pluseurs; car il fu fils le roy, Preuz, vaillans, et de bel arroy.</i>⁸³
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For all this, Ovid has merely the following:

Quo postquam geminam tauri iuvenisque figuram
clausit, et Actaeo bis pastum sanguine monstrum
tertia sors annis domuit repetita novenis. . . .⁸⁴

The passage, accordingly, seems to be derived from Machaut. But there is further evidence which suggests that its original is not Machaut, but Machaut's source.

It will be observed that Chaucer makes two conflicting statements regarding the frequency of the periodic human tribute, and also (it would seem) regarding the number of children sent. *Leg.*, 1926 reads: "*Fro yere to yere her owne children*"⁸² dere," and "*Fro yere to yere*" is repeated in l. 1941. *Leg.*, 1932, on the other hand, states that the lot is cast "*every thridde yere,*" and that the one on whom the lot fell must send "*his sone*" (l. 1934; "*his child,*" l. 1395). The usual statement is seven children yearly.⁸³ And that seems to be in Chaucer's mind in

⁸² *Leg.*, 1943-47.

⁸³ *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, in Hœpffner, *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut* (Société des anc. textes français), I, pp. 230 ff. For Chaucer's use of the *Jugement* elsewhere, see Kittredge, *Mod. Philol.*, VII, pp. 471-74, and esp. *PMLA.*, XXX, pp. 3-4, 14-15.

⁸⁴ *Met.*, VIII, 169-171.

⁸⁵ It is of course possible that "children" may refer, not to the number sent each year, but to the number taken collectively.

⁸⁶ Boccaccio, *De Geneal. Deorum*, X, 48: "ut . . . annis singulis septem nobiles iuvenes ad Minotaurum in cretam mitterentur"; Servius, I, 352 (*Aen.*, III, 74): "et quotannis ex nobilitate Athenien-

l. 1926. Where did he get the idea of the *three* year period, and where (especially) that of the *single victim*? The first might have come from a misunderstanding of either Boccaccio, Servius, or Ovid.⁹⁴ The second is the explicit statement of Machaut: "Que tous les ans li envoioient *Un homme*." But Machaut has no hint of the three year period. The tribute of the single victim and the possible suggestion for "every thridde year," however, occur together in the *Ovide moralisé*. In his demonstration that Machaut, in his account of Theseus and Ariadne, is drawing directly upon the *Ovide moralisé*, de Boer quotes a single passage from the *O. m.*⁹⁵ But that passage is significant.

G. de M.

Or avint que li sors chief
Seur Theseus. . . .

O. m.

Au tiers terme chel la sort
Dessus le fil au roi d'Athaines,
Theseus. . . .

Chaucer, in a word, at the one point where it is at present

sium septem pueri vel puellae ad vescendum Minotauro mitterentur"; Servius, II, 6 (*Aen.*, VI, 14): "ut singulis quibusque annis septem de filiis et filiabus suis edendos Minotauro mitterent"; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 41 (= *Mythogr.*, 2.122): "ut anno unoquoque septenos liberos suos Minotauro ad epulandum mitterent"; Hyginus, *Poeticon astronomicon*, cap. v: "Theseus . . . cum septem virginibus et sex pueris"; *Mythogr.*, 3.11.7: "Filios vero Atheniensium, qui ad Minotaurum devorandi mittebantur"; Lactantius, *Narrationes Fabularum*, VII, 2: "nobilium liberi quotannis," etc.; cf. Gower, *Conf. Amantis*, v, 5261-65: "fro yer to yeere . . . Of men that were of myhti Age Persones nyne."

"*De Geneal. Deorum*, x, 48: "qui *tribus annis* sorte missi sunt. quarta autem sors cecidit in Theseum"; Servius, II, 6: "sed *tertio anno* Aegeli filius Theseus missus est"; Ovid., *Met.*, VIII, 171: "et Actaeo bis pastum sanguine monstrum *tertia* sors annis domuit repetita novenis." Gower's misunderstanding of this last (not very clear) passage is evidently responsible for his "persones nyne." For *three*, cf. also Lactantius, *Narrationes Fabularum*, VIII, 2: "*tertio stipendio*."

⁹⁴ *Romania*, XLIII, p. 343.

possible to test the matter, seems to be closer to Machaut's source, the *O. m.*, than to Machaut himself.⁹⁶

But this same account of Theseus and Ariadne in Machaut, or in Machaut's source, appears in the *House of Fame*. And here Chaucer follows even more closely than in the *Legend* the French narrative. The two passages are as follows:

How fals eek was he, Theseus,
That, as the story telleth us,
How he betrayed Ariadne;
The devel be his soules bane!
For had he laughed, had he
loured,
He moste have be al devoured,
If Ariadne ne had y-be!

And, for she had of him pitee,
She made him from the dethe
escape,

Mais riens n'i vausist fer ne fust,
Se belle Ariadne ne fust,
Qui oubliä Minos, son pere,
Et Androgetis, son chier frere,
Sa terre et ses charnels amis,
Pour Theseus, ou elle a mie
Son cuer, si qu'elle li moustra
Comment occis le fier moustre a,
Pour lui delivrer dou servage.
...^{97a}

⁹⁶ Compare further:

G. de M.

Or avint que li sors chief
Seur Theseus. . . .
. . . car il fu fils le roy.

O. m.

Au tiers terme chei la sort
Dessus le fil au roi d'Athaines,
Theseus. . . .

Til that of *Athenes king* Egeus
Mit sende his owne sone, Theseus,
Sith that the lot is fallen him upon (*Leg.*, 1944-46.)

Servius (see above, n. 94) has "*Aegi filius* Theseus," in connection with the phrase "tertio anno."

Chaucer, Machaut, and the *O. m.* agree in the assertion that Theseus was chosen by lot, as against the common account that he went voluntarily to Crete. Compare Hyginus, *Fab.*, xli: "Theseus . . . voluntarie se ad Minotaurum pollicitus est ire." See Hæpffner, I, lxxvi; de Boer, p. 343. But Boccaccio represents the lot as falling upon Theseus: "septem nobiles iuvenes . . . qui tribus annis sorte missi sunt, quarta autem sors cecidit in Theseum" (*De Geneal. Deorum*, x, 48).

^{97a} *Jugement*, etc., 2741-49.

*And he made her a ful false jape;
For after this, within a whyle
He lefte hir slepinge in an yle,
Deserte alone, right in the see,
And stal away, and leet hir be;
And took hir suster Phedra tho
With him, and gan to shippe go.*

*And yet he had y-sworn to here,
On al that ever he mighte swore,
That, so she saved him his lyf,
He wolde have take hir to his
wyf.*

*Mais vers li mesprist si forment
Qu'Adriane laisse dormant
Seulette en estrange contrée,
Lasse, dolente et esgarée,
Et en mena la jeune touse
Phedra sa suer, s'en fist s'espouse.
Ci a trop mortel traison. . . ."*

*Theseüs qui se parjura
Ses dieus et sa loy li jura
Que jamais ne li fausseroit
Et qu'envers li loiaus seroit. . . ."
Et li donna son pucelage
Par si qu'a femme la penroit."*

It is impossible, at the moment, to tell whether the correspondences that appear above are due to the fact that Chaucer is following Machaut, or to his use of Machaut's source. If, as we have seen some reason to believe, he is drawing on the *O. m.* in the *Legend of Ariadne*, it is probable that he has done so here. In either case his original is not Latin, but French.

There are several other passages in Chaucer which show more or less definite traces of the influence of the *Ovide moralisé*. It was my intention to discuss them here. But this article has been interrupted by duties which in these days have a paramount claim, and its conclusion will have to be postponed.

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

" *Jugement*, 2763-69.

" *Jugement*, 2755-58.

" *Ibid.*, 2750-51.

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XII.—BOCCACCIO, HANS SACHS, AND
THE BRAMBLE BRIAR

Of the British ballads not included in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* one of the most interesting is that which, following the example of Professor Tolman's correspondent,¹ I shall call *The Bramble Briar*. Altho in poetic quality it is inferior even to that broadside version of *Chevy Chase* the serious discussion of which in the *Spectator* provoked the raillery of Wagstaffe, yet I have ventured to deal with it here at some length; for it is interesting not only because of its possible relation to Boccaccio, Hans Sachs, and Keats, but in itself. It is a fairly clear instance of what to some expounders of ballad doctrine is a contradiction in terms: it is a traditional vulgar ballad.

I

The traditional character of *The Bramble Briar* is evidenced by what we know of its distribution and by

¹ A. H. Tolman, *Some Songs Traditional in the United States*, *Journal of Amer. Folk-Lore*, XXIX, p. 168.

the nature of the copies that have come to record. Six of these are American and four British. The first to be published was *Bruton Town*, which appeared as No. 12 in Mr. Cecil Sharp's *Folk Songs from Somerset* in 1904.² The next was Miss Katherine Pettit's Kentucky version, *The Lonesome Valley*, in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1907.³ I printed a version from Missouri, *The Merchant's Daughter*, in the *Sewanee Review* in April, 1911.⁴ Later in the same year Professor H. G. Shearin published in the same journal a copy from Kentucky, *The Apprentice Boy*,⁵ differing considerably from Miss Pettit's. In 1911 appeared also a second British version, *The Brake o' Briars*, reported by Miss Alice E. Gillington from the singing of New Forest gypsies.⁶ In 1915 Miss Lucy Broadwood published a Hertfordshire version, *Lord Burling's Sister*, in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*,⁷ and with it⁸ Mr. Sharp printed a second Somerset version, *In Strawberry Town*. In 1916 Professor Tolman printed one stanza of a version in his possession from Ohio, *The Bramble Briar*.⁹ Finally, Mr. Sharp has kindly sent me

² I have used the more exact record of the text, as he took it down from the singing of a Mrs. Overd at Longport in Somerset in August, 1904, given in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, II, p. 42.

³ *Ballads and Rhymes from Kentucky*, ed. by G. L. Kittredge, *J. A. F.-L.*, XX, pp. 259 f.

⁴ *The Vulgar Ballad*, *Sew. Rev.*, XIX, pp. 222 f.

⁵ *British Ballads in the Cumberland Mountains*, *ibid.*, pp. 321 f.

⁶ *Songs of the Open Road*, pp. 10 f. Only the last seven of the twelve stanzas belong to *The Bramble Briar*; the first five are a form of *A Brisk Young Country Lady*.

⁷ *J. F. S. S.*, v, pp. 123 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 126 f.

⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, XXIX, p. 169. Secured for him by Miss Mary O. Eddy from Miss Jane Goon of Perryville, Ohio. Professor Tolman has kindly sent me a complete copy of this version for use in the present article.

two versions out of several that he has noted recently in the Southern mountains,¹⁰ which he calls *In Seaport Town*.

A glance at the texts will show that these are all one ballad.¹¹ Some of the versions are more complete than others, and three of the English and one of the American copies have changed the denouement, which I take to have been originally as in A I-V (and B I?); but all agree in the plot of the brothers to entice their sister's lover, the "servant man," into the forest under the pretext of a hunting party, his murder there in a lonely spot, the girl's anxious inquiry when they return without him, the revelation of the deed by the ghost of the murdered man appearing to her in a dream,¹² her journey next day to the place indicated, and her passion of love and grief over the corpse. Nor is it only in the story that the essential

¹⁰ Since this paper was written Mr. Sharp has published his admirable collection, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (Putnam, N. Y., 1917). *In Seaport Town* (No. 38) is represented by one text fuller than A V and the beginnings of three others—all from North Carolina.

¹¹ Pp. 376 ff. For convenience of reference I have numbered the several versions as follows:

American versions—

- A I: *The Apprentice Boy* (Shearin).
- A II: *The Bramble Briar* (Tolman).
- A III: *The Lonesome Valley* (Pettit).
- A IV: *The Merchant's Daughter* (Belden).
- A V: *In Seaport Town 1* (Sharp).
- A VI: *In Seaport Town 2* (Sharp).

British versions—

- B I: *Lord Burling's Sister* (Broadwood).
- B II: *In Strawberry Town* (Sharp).
- B III: *Bruton Town* (Sharp).
- B IV: *The Brake o' Briars* (Gillington).

¹² The lack of this item in A VI is doubtless a mere failure of memory on the part of the singer.

identity of the various copies appears. The meter is the same in all; and tho there are comparatively few lines that are identical in all ten of the copies, there is scarcely a line or phrase that is not found in two, three, or more of the versions. Thus "briars" mark the scene of the murder in A I, II, VI, B I-IV; the corpse is disfigured by "gores of blood" ("a score of blood," "a gore of bled," "great drops of blood") in all except the defective A VI and B I (the latter has instead "dressed all in his bloody coat"); the dead lover is the "dearest bosom friend of mine" in A I, III, "dear beloved friend of mine" in A IV, "darling bosom friend of mine" in A V, "boldest friend of mine" in B I, "some true lover a friend of mine" in B II, "a dear bosom friend of mine" in B IV, "the daughter's dearest dear" in A VI; the brothers arouse their sister's suspicion on their return from the murder by whispering together in A I-III and B I; they resent her inquiries in A I(?), II, B I, II; she tells them, upon her return home, that they both "shall swing" or "be hung," A I-V, B I; etc. Indeed a single reading of the texts puts their unity beyond the need of argument. The American versions are on the whole fuller, and nearer to one another than to the British versions, all but one of them having retained, for one thing, the death of the brothers by shipwreck, which is lost in the British versions; yet a comparison of the texts forbids the assumption of a distinct American form of the ballad. The girl's determination to die at her lover's grave, with which B II and III conclude, appears also as the conclusion of A VI; her return and denunciation of her brothers, which is a feature of A I-V, appears also in B I. Lines and phrases lacking in some of the American copies appear in one or more of the British versions. Thus "his lips were salty as any brine," lacking in A II, is

found in B I; "we'll send him hither (headlong in) to his grave" of A II, IV, V, wanting in A I, III, VI, appears in B II, III; the description of the place where the slain man is buried as a "ditch," which is found in only one of the British versions, is likewise found in one of the American versions. These instances are sufficient to show that the several copies stand, in general, independently related to some common original, and cannot be grouped genealogically. It should be noted, however, that the parents' worry over the violent character of their two sons (B II and III), and the girl's use of a handkerchief to wipe the eyes of her dead lover (B II-IV), are not found in any of the American versions; and that the death of the brothers by shipwreck, found in all the American versions but one, is unknown to the British versions.¹³

If it is clear that all ten of the versions point back to a common original, it is no less clear, from the many and wide differences in the texts, that they have come down by oral tradition thru a considerable number of mouths, if not thru a considerable period of time. No printed copy of the ballad has been found. If it had been issued by the ballad press, as was *The Constant Farmer's Son* (another ballad on the same theme of which more will be said later), we may assume that its text would have continued little changed. *The Constant Farmer's Son* was still sung in Sussex a few years ago,¹⁴ and probably is sung there yet,

¹³ B I, however, in which the girl, instead of dying on her lover's grave, returns to denounce her brothers, probably lacks this feature only by lapse of memory. B IV has a conclusion of its own: the girl poisons herself and her brothers, and "All four of them in one grave do lie"—a dénouement which may plausibly be credited to the gypsies from whom this version was recorded. The word "brake," also (B II-IV), is not found in the American versions.

¹⁴ *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, I, p. 160.

in much the same form in which it issued from the presses of Catnach, Such, Taylor, and others in the first half of the last century. If *The Bramble Briar* had circulated as a stall ballad or in popular song books like *The Forget-Me-Not Songster* it would not be altogether surprising to find it alive in the mouths of the people in places as wide apart as the Cumberland mountains and the New Forest,—tho we should expect it to hold rather closely to the printed form. In the apparent absence of such means of communication, and in view of the wide variations in the text, one is inclined to account for its existence among the mountaineers of Kentucky and the Ozarks by supposing it to be a part of their English inheritance, brought by their ancestors when they came to this country in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

The Bramble Briar is, however, of a very different quality from the ballads in Child's collection. For one thing, the text in nearly all copies is extremely corrupt. Some of the texts of our recognized poetic ballads have of course suffered in tradition; but in general a ballad that has flourished long and widely in the hearts of the people, tho it may retain archaic expressions, embody misapprehensions, and resort to folk etymologies, is not likely to show the kind of crudeness—the bad grammar and false diction, amounting frequently to unintelligibility—that marks most of the versions of *The Bramble Briar*. *Lord Thomas, The Yellow Golden Tree*, and *The Old Man in the North Countree*¹⁵ are ballads that have come down by oral tradition for some generations in this country, and they do not commonly show such corruptions as “an apprentice bound boy from all danger,” “a pren-

¹⁵ I. e., *Lord Thomas and Fair Annet, The Golden Vanity*, and *The Two Sisters*, Nos. 73, 286, and 10 in Child.

tice fond from a far intender," "all of this was to the same,"

A day of hunting whilst prepared,
Thorny woods and valleys where briars grow;
And there they did this young man a-murder,
And into a brake his fair body thrown.

The Bramble Briar has come to us not simply by tradition but by distinctly illiterate tradition. In short, to use terms which, unsatisfactory as they are, have come to have a fairly definite denotation, it is a 'vulgar' rather than a 'popular' ballad.

Structurally and stylistically it conforms to the vulgar ballad type. The verse—quatrains of four-beat lines, the first and third lines with feminine endings—is common in vulgar balladry but rarely if ever found in Child's volumes.¹⁶ *The Bramble Briar* shows, further, no trace of a refrain; it makes no use of formulas of question and answer, has no series, no incremental repetition,¹⁷ and none of the familiar ballad commonplaces. There are no gaps in the action, any more than in Boccaccio's story; each step is related in chronological order and the sequence of events is duly explained. The following is the very reverse of what Professor Gummere has taught us to recognize as the ballad way of telling a story:

* It is the verse form of *The Drowsy Sleeper*, *The Silver Dagger*, *Little Sparrow*, *Lord Bateman*, *William Taylor*, and many ballads on the theme of the returned lover, such as *The Sweetheart in the Army*, *John Reilly*, and *William Hall*. A hasty glance at the one-volume edition of Child showed no ballad in which this verse form was carried thru consistently. *Bonnie Annie* (No. 24) is in four-beat couplets with feminine endings.

¹⁷ Such repetition as it has, e. g. the stanza about the high hills and valleys (or mountains) that occurs twice in A I-IV, the corresponding matter in B I and IV, the "gores of blood" in B II and III, seems due merely to inertia; it has little in common with the repetition in *Babylon* or in *Lord Randal*.

One night while they were sitting courting
 He[r] two brother[s] chanced to overhear;
 They said this courtship should soon be ended,
 We will send him headlong into his grave.

And for to conclude this bloody murder,
 These two villains hunting did go;
 And upon the salome they loaved and flattered
 Along with them hunting to go.

They traveled over high hills and mountains,
 Through lonely valleys that were unknown,
 Until they came to the bramble briar,
 And there they did him kill and thrown.

A II, stzs. 3-5.

Such narrative merit as the ballad has is due not to the method of 'leaping and lingering' but to rapidity and directness and the proper emphases—qualities which it shares with Boccaccio's prose.

The Bramble Briar, then, may fairly be called a traditional vulgar ballad: vulgar in structure, diction, narrative method; traditional on the ground of its appearance in widely separated regions and with wide and various differences in text with apparently no help from print. Before attempting to account for its somewhat anomalous status it will be well to consider the question of its relation to certain literary treatments of the same theme. Its relation to the stall ballad of *The Constant Farmer's Son* can most conveniently be treated last.

II

The general likeness in plot between *The Bramble Briar* and Boccaccio's story of the pot of basil, *Decameron*, iv, 5, is, of course, apparent. But it does not follow that the English ballad must be derived from the *Decameron*. As

Professor Kittredge has pointed out,¹⁸ the ballad lacks what was for Boccaccio and Keats and is for us the distinctive element of that story, the romantic pathos of the girl's planting her dead lover's head in a flower-pot and watering it with her tears. The general resemblance in plot might plausibly be accounted for on the supposition that Boccaccio and the balladist alike had used some popular story current in both countries. And even if that explanation is rejected as unlikely, there remains the question, suggested by Miss Broadwood,¹⁹ whether the ballad may not be derived from the *Decameron* at second hand thru Hans Sachs, who turned Boccaccio's story into German verse of a popular character in the sixteenth century. There is even the possibility of derivation thru Keats's *Isabella*, tho the character of Keats's poem and the presumptive age of the ballad conspire to rule this suggestion out of the probabilities. Let us consider first the argument for direct derivation (thru the medium, of course, of an English translation) from the *Decameron*.

Deferring, for the present, consideration of the main difference between Boccaccio's narrative and the English ballad, I believe that a careful examination of the two will reveal resemblances of such a character as to make the theory of independent origin difficult to maintain. The killing of a girl's lover by her brothers is familiar enough in traditional balladry;²⁰ apprentices and merchants'

¹⁸ In his notes to Professor Tolman's article, *J. A. F.-L.*, XXIX, p. 168.

¹⁹ In a note on this ballad in *Folk Songs from Somerset*.

²⁰ E. g., *The Cruel Brother*, *Clerk Saunders*, *The Bent Sae Brown*, *The Braes o Yarrow*. When I printed A IV and *The Constant Farmer's Son* in the *Sevanee Review* in 1911, Mr. Wm. MacMath of Edinburgh wrote to me: "It would not greatly surprise me if *The Constant Farmer's Son* and *The Merchant's Daughter* should be found to

daughters are favorite subjects for street ballads; and ghosts are not unknown. But the combination of these elements in *The Bramble Briar* is unusual. Where else in English balladry are a merchant's sons the exponents of cruel and treacherous family pride? In the multitudinous stall ballads about the love of a merchant's daughter for sailor, soldier, or apprentice it is the father, not a brother, that stands in the way of the lovers; and he does not resort to assassination by his own hands, but contents himself, in true business man's fashion, with giving a hint to the press gang (in countless rehashings of the female sailor theme), or at most kills the lover—or the girl herself ²¹—in a sudden burst of passion. There is a cool, calculating malignity about the procedure of these brothers that is rather Latin than English.

have an affinity with *The Braes o Yarrow*"; and he pointed out particularly that in versions J, K, L of that ballad the lover is a "servant lad in Gala." *The Braes o Yarrow* does indeed show what the popular ballad makes of such a theme. There is social inequality between the lovers in most of the versions; those in which the man is a "servant lad" have not a little of the vulgar ballad quality; but he is nowhere presented as in the service of the girl's brothers. And despite his social status the lover is heroic; he fights against heavy odds, disposing in proper ballad fashion of all his assailants (nine in most versions) save one, who gets in behind him or overcomes him when exhausted by the length of the contest. Either the fight is agreed upon beforehand between the combatants (A, B, C, D, E, F, H, I) or the girl's father sends the lover forth to fight for her hand (J, K, L), or the girl herself (whether intentionally or not is not clear) betrays him into an ambush (M, N). In *The Bramble Briar*, on the other hand, as in the *Decameron*, there is no fighting; the lover is simply and suddenly murdered, and the telling of it is as brief as the doing. There is in several of the versions of *The Braes o Yarrow* a foreboding dream, but no revelation by a ghost. For the girl's behavior afterwards see below, Note 63.

²¹ E. g. in *The London Merchant* (Pitts). Most commonly, however, these street ballads of the merchant's daughter end with the father blessing the wilful pair.

Enumerated, the points of likeness between the ballad and Boccaccio's story are:

1. A merchant's²² daughter in love with and loved by a dependant of the family—an "apprentice boy," a "servant man." Whether "salome" in A II in a corruption of "sailor" or of "salesman" or of neither,²³ I do not know; but in any case the fact that this "prentice boy" or "servant man"²⁴ "plowed the victories all over the main," "plowed the ocean" (A II), "crossed the ocean" (A I),²⁵ points to a merchant's factor or supercargo, which is close to what Lorenzo appears to have been. "Avevano . . . questi tre fratelli in uno lor fondaco un giovinetto pisano chiamato Lorenzo, che tutti i lor fatti guidava e faceva." He is called a "factor" in the English translation of 1820.

2. The lovers are overheard²⁶ by one of her brothers.²⁷

3. Instead of taking vengeance on the spot he reports to his brother,²⁸ and they plan together to murder the young man.

²² The opening is lacking in A V and B I and IV. In B II and III the father has become a farmer under the influence of countless stall ballads glorifying the farmer's life. In B I the brother is a lord.

²³ Miss Goon, being questioned upon this point by Miss Eddy, averred that "it is the name of the man that these two brothers killed," but darkened counsel by adding that it is a "a feminine name from the Hebrew Solomon."

²⁴ He is a "servant man" in all the versions and a "prentice" in A I, II, IV.

²⁵ "A raging sea there for to sail" (A III), unintelligible as it stands, is probably a vague reminiscence of the same idea.

²⁶ "One day" (A I), "one night" (A II), "one evening" (A IV-VI).

²⁷ "The oldest brother" (A I), "he[r] two brother[s]" (A II), "her brothers" (A IV, V), "her oldest brother" (A VI), a brother in B I, II, III. This part of the story has been elided in B IV; see note 6, above. Boccaccio has: "il maggior de' fratelli."

²⁸ Only one version of the ballad, A VI, agrees with Boccaccio in

4. Their plan is to beguile him, on pretence of a pleasure excursion,²⁹ to a lonely spot³⁰ and there murder him and hide the body. The execution of the plan is related with the utmost brevity both in the *Decameron* and in the ballad.

5. The brothers' behavior toward Lorenzo while they plot his destruction is also noted in the ballad.³¹

6. The girl questions her brothers when they return without her lover, and they answer her harshly (see below).

7. While she weeps alone upon her bed,³² her lover's

giving the girl three brothers; in the others she has two. But the three brothers have no distinct functions in the plot; all that the action demands is that there shall be more than one, so that they may be seen plotting together. Two brothers will do as well here as three; and Keats, who professedly drew his story from Boccaccio, gives Isabella two brothers, not three.

²⁹ In the ballad, a hunting party; Boccaccio says simply: "sembianti faccendo d'andare fuori della città a diletto."

³⁰ "Un luogo molto solitario e rimoto"; "a lonesome valley" (A I, III), "the bramble briar" (A II), "a lonesome desert" (A IV), "that lonesome valley" (A V), "a ditch . . . where only bush and briars grew" (B I), "a brake . . . where briars grow" (B II, III), "down in those woods where briars grow, . . . in the brake of briars" (B IV). The place is also described as "a patch of briars" in a variant line of A I.

³¹ "Cianciando e ridendo con Lorenzo come usati erano": "and with this young man they both would flatter" (A I), "and upon the salome they loaved and flattered" (A II), "and this young man they both did flatter" (A III). A V has simply "they both insisted"; A VI, "but little did he think of the bloody murder, a-hunting he did agree to go"; B I, "they asked him to go a-hunting." "These serpents' whine" is Keats's expression for it.

³² "Avenue una notte, che avendo costei molto pianto Lorenzo che non tornava, et essendosi alla fine piangendo addormentata, Lorenzo l'apparve nel sonno": "all on that night, while she lay sleeping" (A I), "one night, while she was lying sleeping" (A II), "all on that night as she lay mourning" (A III), "next morning she was silent, weeping" (A IV), "while she lie on her bedside slumbering" (A V), "as she lay dreaming on her pillow" (B I), "then to bed this fair maid went, lamenting for her own true love; she dreamt" (B II), "she went to bed crying and lamenting, lamenting for her

ghost appears to her, bloody and disheveled,³³ bids her cease weeping for him,³⁴ tells her he has been murdered by her brothers,³⁵ and gives her directions for finding the corpse.³⁶

8. She sets out,³⁷ finds the body, and goes into a passion of grief over it.³⁸

heart's delight; she slept, she dreamed" (B III), "she went to bed the same night after, she went to bed immediately, she dreamt" (B IV). A VI has lost this step in the story.

"Pallido e tutto rabuffato, e con panni tutti stracciati e fraci di": "all wallowed o'er in gores of blood" (A I); practically the same language in A II, III, IV, V, B II, III; "covered all over in great drops of blood" (B IV); "dressed all in his bloody coat" (B I); lost in A VI.

"O Lisabetta, tu non mi fai altro che chiamare, e della mia lunga dimora t'attristi, e me con le tue lagrime fieramente accusi; . . . e . . . le disse che più nol chiamasse nè l'aspettassi": "Why do you weep, my pretty fair one? It is a folly you may pawn" (A IV): "My dear, leave off this crying, it is a folly for you to know" (A II); "My love, it's but a folly, for this is me that you may see" (A I); "Don't weep for me, my dearest jewel, don't weep for me, nor care nor pine" (B I); omitted in the other copies.

"E per ciò sappi che io non posso più ritornarci, per ciò che l'ultimo dì che tu mi vedesti i tuoi fratelli m'uccisero": "For your two brothers killed me, rough and cruel" (A V), "For your two brothers killed me so cruel" (B I), "Your brothers both being rash and cruel—" (A I); lost in the other copies.

"E disegnato le il luogo dove sotterrato l'aveano, . . . disparve": "In such a valley you may find" (A I), "In such a place, love, you may me find" (A II), "Go over hills and lofty mountains, this lonesome place you may me find" (A IV), "In such a place you may me find" (B I), "You rise up early tomorrow morning, and straightway early to brake you know and there you find my body lying covered over in a gore of blood" (B II); lacking in the other copies.

Alone, in the ballad; in Boccaccio, attended by a servant who has been her confidante. Keats makes this servant an old nurse, a figure for which he has a romantic predilection (cf. *The Eve of St. Agnes*); and Sachs, in his "tragedy," elaborates her into a veritable *Kupplerin*.

Since the ballad does not use the pot of basil motive, the plots diverge from this point. In the *Decameron* the action at the grave

9. Finally, five of the six American versions have what looks like a reminiscence from Boccaccio at the conclusion. In the *Decameron* we are told that the brothers, after the detection of their crime, "senza altro dire, cautamente di Messina uscitisì e ordinato come di quindi si ritraessono, se n'andarono a Neapoli." This may very well have given the hint for the death of the brothers by shipwreck in A I-V.

The argument from these resemblances is cumulative, and depends largely upon the likeness of emphasis upon certain points—the discovery of the lovers, the consultation between the brothers, the girl's anxious questioning, her passion of love and grief over the dead body. No one of them is decisive, of course, but taken together they make it, I think, highly probable that *The Bramble Briar* is derived from the story as Boccaccio told it. The most striking single point of resemblance is in the sister's inquiry for her lover when her brothers return without

is brief and reserved. Finding that she cannot take with her the whole body, she quickly cuts off the head, wraps it in a napkin, reinters the trunk, and returns to her chamber, where "sopra essa (the head) lungamente e amaramente pianse, tanto che tutta con le sue lagrime la lavò, mille basci dandole in ogni parte." In the ballad the passion is acted over the body in the "lonesome valley," the "brake," the "bramble briar." Yet the action is much the same. "His pretty cheeks with blood were dyed, His lips were salt as any brine; She kissed them over and over, a-crying, 'You dearest bosom friend of mine,'" (A I), and practically the same language in A III-V; "Kissing on her bended knees" (A II); "She kissed his cold, cold chin a-crying: 'You are the daughter's dearest dear'" (A VI); "She took her handkerchief out of her pocket For to wipe his eyes for he could not see" (B III); "She took her handkerchief from her pocket And wiped his eyes though he was blind, Because he was some true lover, Some true lover a friend of mine" (B II), and similarly in B IV. The "handkerchief" suggests the *asciugatojo* in which Lisabetta carried home the head and the *bel drapo* in which she afterwards wrapt it for burial.

him, and their answers. These, it is true, are nowhere in the ballad just what they are in the *Decameron*. There we read that after the murder the brothers, "in Messina tornati, dieder voce d'averlo per lor bisogne mandato in alcun luogo. Il che leggiermente creduto fu, per ciò che spesse volte eran di mandarlo attorno usati." But this did not satisfy Lisabetta, who continued "molto spesso e sollicitamente i fratei domandandone" until at last "l'uno de' fratelli le disse: 'Che vuol dir questo? Che hai tu a fare di Lorenzo, che tu ne domandi così spesso? Se tu ne domanderai più, noi ti faremo quella risposta che ti si conviene';" and after this brutal retort she questions them no more, but watches and weeps for his return. In *The Bramble Briar*, in most of the versions, they tell her that they have "left" or "lost" him "in the woods a-hunting."³⁹ But in five of the versions there is evidence at this point—where most of the copies are more than usually confused and corrupt, as tho there were something here that the singers did not clearly understand—of recrimination between the brothers and the sister. In A I, II, III, B I she accuses them of whispering together.⁴⁰ In B I the answer is prefaced with an expression of resentment:

O sister, you offend me so
Because you do examine me;

³⁹ A I, II, IV, V, VI, B I, III, IV; adding "And we no more of him could find" A II, "And never more we could him find" A IV, "No more of him it's could we find" A V, "No more of him we could not see" B I, "And what became of him we do not know" B IV, or ominously, "His face you never more shall see" A I, "And his fair face you shall see no more" A VI, "We've a-left him behind where no man can find" B III.

⁴⁰ "She seems" in A I must be a corruption, due to misunderstanding, of "you seem."

and in B II (as preserved) this expression of resentment is all the answer she gets. A II, also, has what looks like a sneer at the girl's anxiety:

O sister dear, what makes you inquire
All so for this young man's sake?

Finally, in A I, which is here peculiarly confused, we have:

All on that evening when they returned,
She asked them where's her servant man.
"What makes me ask you?" she seems to whisper,
"Dear brothers, tell me if you can."

"He is lost in the wild woods a-hunting;
His face you never more shall see."
"I'll tell you in plain, you're much affronted;
Oh, now will you explain to me?"

A plausible explanation of the corruption and diversity of the several versions at this point would be that the singers were trying to render something that in the original ballad was a perhaps clumsy and perhaps unintelligent attempt to reproduce the insolent brutality of the brothers' retort in the *Decameron*. It is Lisabetta, not her brothers, that is affronted in the Italian; but the ballad singer seems not to understand that. He knows that somebody was affronted. It should be noted that in the *Decameron* this is one of the few passages emphasized by being put into direct discourse.

Apart from the divergence in the conclusion involved in the rejection of the pot of basil motive, the differences between the ballad and Boccaccio's story are few and such as can easily be accounted for.⁴¹ Boccaccio lays the scene of his story in Messina; the ballad, with characteristic indifference to geography, has a different localization—or

⁴¹ One has already been considered, Note 28.

rather a different word, for no real localization is intended—in almost every version: “in yonder town,” “in yon post-town,” “in Bruton Town,” “in Strawberry Town.” “In portly town,” “in a sea-port town,” “in Seaport Town” are possibly reminiscences of the fact that Messina is a port. That when “the brothers and the servant man” go out into the country “a diletto” they go a-hunting is a natural inference; at least Hans Sachs so understood the matter,⁴² and Keats seems to have had the same idea.⁴³ The father is a merchant in all the American copies except A V, which has lost the opening stanzas; in B II and III, under the influence of innumerable ballads glorifying the farmer’s life, he has become a farmer; in B I (which, like A V and B IV, has lost the opening stanzas) the brother is a lord. In the American versions and in B I the balladist leaves us to assume that the parents are dead; since they have nothing to do with the story he ignores them. But in B II and III the parents are evidently thought of as still alive, and are used to give a vivid suggestion of the truculence and treachery of the brothers: “By day and night they were a-contriving to fill their parents’ hearts with fear.” This homely and highly effective touch is apparently to be credited to the balladist. And, finally, the balladist has, in most versions, more definitely visualized the scene of the murder than Boccaccio has done.

The same is true of Hans Sachs’s treatment of the theme. Since, further, Sachs proclaims Boccaccio as his authority and follows him pretty closely, retaining the pot of basil in all his versions, it will be convenient here,

⁴² “Sie riten ausz zu dem stat thor, In masz, zu suchen wildes spor,” H. S. II (see below).

⁴³ “With belt, and spur, and bracing huntsman’s dress,” stz. XXIV.

before considering the bearing of this detail and before we attempt to account for the absence of the pot of basil from the ballad, to examine Sachs's handlings of the story and determine, if possible, whether any of them has served as intermediary between Boccaccio's prose and the English ballad.

III

It was Miss Lucy Broadwood who first suggested that the ballad might owe something to Hans Sachs.⁴⁴ She pointed out that there is a song upon this subject by the German poet "with a versification very similar to that of *Bruton Town*."

As a matter of fact Sachs used this story four times,⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See above, Note 19.

⁴⁵ I number the versions for convenience of reference:

H. S. I. *Historia. Ein kleglich geschichte von zweyen liebhabenden. Der ermört Lorenz* (Hans Sachs herausg. von A. von Keller, II, pp. 216 ff.). 256 lines, in four-beat couplets. "Der spruch der ist mein erst gedicht, Des ich spruchweiss hab zu gericht. Anno salutis 1515, am 7 tag Aprilis."

H. S. II. *Die Lisabeta mit irem Lorenzo. In der silberweiss Hans Sachsen* (Samtl. Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs herausg. von E. Goetze und Carl Drescher, III, pp. 9 ff.). Fifteen 18-line stanzas of rather elaborate versification. "Anno salutis 1519."

H. S. III. *Ein trawrige tragedi mit sieben personen zu spielen, von der Lisabetha, eines kauffherrn tochter, und hat fünfß actus* (Keller, VIII, pp. 356 ff.). "Anno salutis 1546 (read 1545) jar, am letzten tag December."

H. S. IV. *Der ermört Lorenz. In dem schwarzen tone H. Vogel* (Goetze u. Drescher, IV, pp. 400 ff.). Three stanzas of 20 lines each. "Anno salutis 1548, am 23 tag Julii."

A fifth rendering, anonymous, "im rosenton H. Sachsen," found in a Weimar ms. and dated 1549, was ascribed to Hans Sachs by J. Bolte in his edition of Montanus' *Schwankbücher* in 1899 (p. 577).

crediting it each time to Boccaccio.⁴⁶ Evidently the story had a great attraction for him, sticking in his mind from 1515, when he made it the subject of his first narrative poem, till 1548, when he condensed it "in dem schwarzen tone H. Vogel"—a period of more than thirty years. II and IV are specimens of *Meistergesang*, I is a simple apolog, III is a play. This last had an extraordinary hold on German taste, keeping the stage down thru the Thirty Years' War into an age when the mastersingers were quite out of fashion. It was acted at court in Dresden in 1646 and again in 1676.⁴⁷ It may therefore easily have come under the notice of English actors touring Germany in the early seventeenth century.

Altho Sachs holds pretty faithfully to his original, which was the fifteenth-century German translation of the *Decameron* attributed to Heinrich Steinhöwel⁴⁸—a rather close rendering of Boccaccio's Italian—yet in ranging from a sixty-line song to a five-act play he has of course contracted and expanded. His changes, however, seldom if ever throw any light upon the differences between the Italian story and the English ballad.

Sachs has put his own German interpretation upon the discovery of the lovers. Boccaccio says simply that the

This has not been accessible to me; but as it has not been included in the Goetze u. Drescher edition, of which the latest instalment (1913) gives the mastersongs down to a date considerably later than 1549, and in which Bolte is a collaborator, I presume the ascription has been given up.

* "In Cento Novella ich las" (I, 1); "ich lase In cento novella" (II, 3 f.); "Wie die Bocatius beschrieb" (III, 5); "Peschreibt Pocatius mit Peschaide" (IV, 58). The "Cento Novella" is Steinhöwel's translation of the *Decameron*.

* *Hans Sachs* herausg. von Keller u. Goetze, xxv, p. 206.

* Printed at Ulm before 1500. Available in A. von Keller's reprint, Stuttgart, 1880.

two young people "non seppero si segretamente fare, che una notte, andando l'Isabetta la dove Lorenzo dormiva, che il maggior de' fratelli, senza s'accorgesene ella, non se ne accorgesse," and that this brother, being a prudent youth, pondered the matter, "senza far motto o dir cosa alcuna," until morning, when he went and reported to the other brothers. In all of Sachs's versions except the play one of the brothers seeks confirmation of his suspicions by creeping under his sister's bed, where he spends the night (having come without his sword ⁴⁹) while the lovers are in amorous dalliance just over his head.

Sachs has formed a very definite notion, also, of the thrifty business and domestic arrangements of the three brothers and their sister. In the longer mastersong we are told that after the father's death

Wurden die drey brueder zu rat,
Bei einander zu pleiben
Und iren handel dreiben,
Sich kainer zuuerweiben;
Disz wurt pestet alsa.

Similarly in the *Historia*; while in the play this arrangement occupies most of the first act, Lisabetta promising, like any "tugendhaftes Mädchen,"

Ich . . . wil euch mittler zeit verwalten
Die küchen und das gantz hauszhalten
Mit meinem aller-höchsten fleisz.

Boccaccio merely says that the brothers "assai ricchi uomini rimasi dopo la morte del padre loro, . . . e avevano una lor sorella chiamata l'Isabetta, giovane assai

• Doch vergasz er seins schwertz.
• • • • •
Nun umb den ersten schlafe
Lorentzo die zeit drafte,
Kham stil und pracht sein wafe,
Dadurch er wurt befrit. H. S., II.

bella e costumata, la quale, *che che se ne fosse cagione*, ancora maritata non aveano."

Sachs also varies from his original in the matter of the sister's questioning and the brothers' answer after the murder. In the *Historia*, when she asks,

"Ist Lorentz bliben dausz?"
 Der ein sprach: "Nach im darffst nit fragen.
 Er hat uns gar viel guts abgetragen,
 Ist darmit haimlich weg gezogen."⁵⁰
 Sie sprach: "Ich hoff, das sey erlogen."
 Der bruder sprach: "Ey lasz darvon,
 Eh dir auch wirt darumb dein lon!"

In the longer mastersong they answer:

O schweig des knechtes stille!
 Das selb ist unser ville.

In III and IV he seems not to have found room for this scene.

The most notable difference between Sachs and Boccaccio is the former's visualization of the scene of the murder. Boccaccio, as has already been noted, says merely that it was a "very remote and solitary spot." The ghost gives no description of the place.⁵¹ Later, when Lisabetta finds the body, we have a hint that it was in a forest: "*tolte via foglie secche che nel luogo erano, dove men dura le parve la terra quivi cavò.*"⁵² But there is no definite suggestion of the landscape.

⁵⁰ This answer, natural as it is, is found nowhere else. Keats here follows Boccaccio. In *The Constant Farmer's Son* the brothers tell her that her lover has fallen in love with another girl—a similarly obvious answer, which however is found only in the stall ballad.

⁵¹ Simply "*disegnato le il luogo dove sotterrato l'aveano.*"

⁵² Keats, with the romantic artist's love of landscape, has enlarged and particularized:

So these two brothers and their murdered man
 Rode past fair Florence, to where Arno's stream

The place of the hunting expedition and of the murder is variously described in the English ballad. In A I, III, V it is a "lonesome valley," which is reached by travelling "over high hills and mountains and through strange places where it were unknown" (A I), "over high hills and valleys, and through strange places that were unknown" (A III), "over hills and mountains and through many of a place unknown" (A V). In A IV it is "a lonesome desert" the way to which is "over hills and lofty mountains and through some lonesome valleys too." In a variant line of A I it is "a patch of briars." In A II it is "the bramble briar," whither they "traveled over high hills and mountains, through lonely valleys that were unknown." In A VI, the most meager of all the versions, it is a "ditch of briars." In B I it is a "ditch" where "there was no water, where only bush and briars grew." In B II it is a

Gurges through straiten'd banks, and still doth fan
Itself with dancing bulrush, and the bream
Keeps head against the freshets. Sick and wan
The brothers' faces in the ford did seem,
Lorenzo's flush with love.—They passed the water,
Into a forest quiet for the slaughter.

There was Lorenzo slain and buried in,
There in that forest did his great love cease.

Later the ghost describes his burial place—not without reminiscences from Coleridge's *Osorio*:

Red whortleberries droop above my head,
And a large flint-stone weighs upon my feet;
Around me beeches and high chestnuts shed
Their leaves and prickly nuts; a sheep-fold bleat
Comes from beyond the river to my bed.

Next morning Isabella and the old nurse "creep along the river side" and into the forest until

The evening came,
And they had found Lorenzo's earthy bed;
The flint was there, the berries at his head.

"brake" which one approaches "through woods and valleys where briars grow," similarly in B III, "a brake" in "thorny woods and valley where briars grow." In B IV it is "the Brake of Briars" "down in those woods where briars grew." In seven of the ten versions the description is given twice, once in telling of the crime and again in the account of the girl's journey to find the body. Evidently the setting of the crime had a strong emotional interest for the balladist. It is clear too, I think, notwithstanding the absence of the word in three of the American copies, that "briars" marked the place in the original ballad. They have given the title to two versions, one in England and one in America—versions in other respects rather widely separated.⁵³

In Hans Sachs, too, the scene of the crime is concretely marked; but it is a different mark.⁵⁴ In the *Historia* the ghost says:

Mein leib leyd in dem walt verborgen
Begraben under einer linden.
Mit meinem blut ist besprenget die rinden.

And the following day Lisabeta and her maid

giengen hin in schneller eyl
Inn den walt auff ein welsche meyl,
Suchten, bisz das sie wurden finden
Ein grosse auszgebreytte linden,
Die war besprenget mit seim blut.

⁵³ It may be pointed out, merely as a curious coincidence, that Keats (stz. xxxvi) describes the ghost's voice as sounding "like hoarse night winds sepulchral briars among."

⁵⁴ Drawn probably from German popular poetry. Mr. Phillips Barry reminds me of the slaying of Siegfried by Hagen as he stoops to drink from a spring under a linden tree:

Do viel in die bluomen der Kriemhilde man:
Das blut von sinen wunden sach man vaste gan.

.

Die bluomen allenthalben von bluote waren naz.

Nibelungenlied, xvi, 74, 86 (ed. Zarncke).

Similarly in the longer mastersong and in the play the scene of the murder is marked by a blood-spattered linden tree. Only in the shorter mastersong is this mark omitted.

But there are no "high hills and lofty mountains," no "lonesome valley," no "brook" or "ditch," and no "briars" in any of Hans Sachs's four versions of the story.

Despite, then, some interesting similarities in the treatment of Boccaccio's condensed narrative by the German poet and the English balladist, it does not appear that *The Bramble Briar* owes anything to Hans Sachs. The ballad has nothing⁵⁵ in common with the German versions of the story that it might not have derived directly from the *Decameron*. The metrical resemblance mentioned by Miss Broadwood is hardly significant. The shorter mastersong, to which presumably she refers, is in stanzas of twenty lines, of which lines 1-4, 7-10, and 15-18 constitute quatrains of four-beat lines, rimed alternately, the even-numbered lines with feminine endings. *The Bramble Briar* in all its versions is in quatrains of four-beat lines, of which the even-numbered lines rime (in intention at least) and the odd-numbered lines have feminine endings. As has been pointed out above, this is a rather frequent verse form in English vulgar balladry.

IV

The strongest argument against deriving the ballad directly from Boccaccio's story appears to be the quite different dénouement in the two. Hans Sachs and Keats, professedly telling the story after Boccaccio, retain with varying emphasis the tender and pitiful, tho macabre, vision of the bereaved girl weeping her life away over the

⁵⁵ Except the hunting party (see Note 42), which is an interpretation of "a diletto" too natural to need accounting for.

great basil plant beneath which she has buried the head of her beloved. I shall try to show that the ballad has rejected this element by instinct, because it is not consonant with ballad feeling; and, further, that the union of the pot of basil story with the murder story is probably a piece of literary artistry, a conscious invention of Boccaccio's.

It cannot be denied that the preservation of a magic head or the head of an enemy, possibly also the head of a loved one, is a feature of primitive custom and has a place in folk-belief. We need only recall the American Indian's beltful of scalps, the Dyak head-hunters, Judith carrying the head of Holofernes, and the unforgettable vision of Herodias's daughter kissing the Baptist's gory head in *Atta Troll*.⁵⁶ Arthurian romance has several cases of a head preserved: Balin strikes off the head of the Lady of the Lake and sends it by his squire to his kinsfolk in Northumberland because she had procured the death of his mother, the Green Knight picks up his own head (which still speaks) and goes off with it, and in *Perlesvaus*⁵⁷ two damsels appear carrying the heads respectively of a king and a queen, the former on a cushion, "sealed in silver and crowned with gold," the latter trussed up in a pack.⁵⁸ But these romances, full of folk-lore as they are, come to us

⁵⁶ The head of a man at once loved and hated. But wild and folk-like as this vision is, and whencesoever Heine may have got it, we should remember that as we have it it is the work of a modern romantic poet, with all the bitter-sweet imagination of his kind.

⁵⁷ *The High History of the Holy Graal*, transl. by Sebastian Evans (Temple Classics), I, pp. 40 ff.

⁵⁸ The Green Knight's head is, of course, a magic head, like that of the elf-knight in certain Continental forms of the story of Isabel and the Elf-Knight (see below, Note 60). The two heads in *Perlesvaus* turn out (*High History* etc., I, p. 127) to be merely symbols of Adam and Eve, the "old law" or dispensation.

thru the hands of literary persons; the romance writers were the fashionable *littérateurs* of their time. Ballads—which, as Professor Ker has said,⁵⁹ “reject some of the most delightful fairytales as unfit for their poetical scope”—nowhere else, at least in English,⁶⁰ make any use of this motive,⁶¹ even in its magical aspect. They would be still less ready to use it, as Boccaccio does, without any supernatural connotation. There is a delicacy, a something at once somber, poignant, and fanciful about this part of Boccaccio’s story that is alien to the temper of the ballad, especially of the English vulgar ballad. Its appeal is to artistically cultivated sensibilities, not to the coarser nerves for which vulgar ballads are made. It is remarkable that *The Bramble Briar* should have preserved thru a considerable course of traditional transmission so much as it has of a foreign, Latin temper.⁶² If this element of alien artistry had been added the result could hardly have sur-

⁵⁹ W. P. Ker, *On the History of the Ballads*, 1910, p. 25.

⁶⁰ In certain Dutch, Flemish, and German forms of *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* (see the preface and notes to this ballad in Child’s collection) the elf-knight’s head is cut off and speaks thereafter, asking to be rubbed with “salve” or “maidens-grease” as a means of restoring it to life; and in the Dutch and Flemish versions the girl carries it in her lap and shows it to the elf-knight’s mother. It is of course a magic head. The only mention I find in English ballads of heads preserved is when Sir Andrew Barton, after a fight with the Portuguese, “salted thirty of their heads, And sent them home to eate with breade” (Child, iv, p. 504)—a far cry indeed from poor Lisabetta and her pot of basil!

⁶¹ It is remarkable how little English ballads owe to the romances of the Arthurian cycle. Of the 305 ballads in Child only two, Nos. 29 and 31, are drawn from Arthurian romance. Beyond these the ballads show only a name now and then drawn from the “matter of Britain.” No. 30, *King Arthur and King Cornwall*, represents one of the stories of the Charlemagne cycle.

⁶² See above, page 336.

vived, could indeed hardly have ever been accepted, as a living vulgar ballad.⁶³

*There is one ballad in Child's collection, *Lady Diamond* (No. 269), which is certainly drawn from Boccaccio and which may seem to contradict my generalizations about the ballad temper. But I do not think it does. It is the story of Guiscardo and Ghismonda (*Decameron*, iv, 1), perhaps the most famous and most often repeated, in both literary and popular form, of all Boccaccio's tales. Tancred, Ghismonda's father, has Guiscardo killed and his heart served up to Ghismonda in a golden cup. Ghismonda washes it with her tears, pours over it a decoction of poisonous herbs which she has prepared for the purpose, drains the cup (these last two items are omitted in the ballad), and dies. The notion of making a woman eat the heart of her lover (the heart is actually eaten in another form of the same story, *Decameron*, iv, ix), which has its roots very far back in primitive magic, belongs in just that category of violent horror which appeals to vulgar (or shall I say popular?) sentiment. Clouston. *Popular Tales*, II, p. 191, cites an eighteenth-century chapbook in which the theme is curiously modernized, the heroine being "one Madam Butler, a young Gentlewoman and a great Heiress, at Hackney Boarding School." Boccaccio himself seems to have felt the difference in quality between the two motives; his Ghismonda is a regal nature, a philosophical Cleopatra who plans her acts and in a long speech before her death justifies them, and convinces her father that his behavior is illogical, while Lisabetta weeps her life away in tender and silent seclusion over her beloved *grasta*.

How the popular ballad handles such a situation as that of Lisabetta when she finds her lover's body is shown in *The Braes o Yarrow*, which, as we have already seen, bears in some respects a decided analogy to Boccaccio's story, tho there is no reason to suppose it derived therefrom. When the lady finds her true love lying slain upon the Braes of Yarrow, she swoons thrice upon his breast (A), kisses his mouth (A, G, M), cheek (E), lips (F, H, I, L), takes him in her two arms and kisses him "thorough" (I), combs his hair (A, E, F, G, H, I, L, M), drinks the blood that runs from his wounds (E, F, G, M), bathes his wounds with tears (I), washes him in the well-strand and dries him with the holland (J, L), and then, tying her long hair around his neck (?A), waist (B, D, Q, R), or hand (C), or his long hair around her waist (J) or to her horse's mane (K), drags the body home, where, refusing her father's consolation (B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, L, M), she dies. Some of these manifestations of the girl's love and grief are much the same as in *The Bramble*

It would indeed accord well enough with the history of ballads in recent times if we supposed *The Bramble Briar* to have lost or rejected this element in the process of tradition. Elements no longer acceptable to the ballad public have disappeared in recent tradition from many traditional ballads. Versions of *The Twa Sisters* recovered from oral tradition in our time have scarcely a trace left of the detection of the crime by means of a harp strung with the drowned girl's hair; ⁶⁴ *The Demon Lover* has become *The House Carpenter*, a merely human story of a runaway wife; and in American versions of *The Cruel Ship's Carpenter* the old folk-lore of the ghost's holding the ship until it catches the evildoer and rends him in pieces has very commonly fallen away, leaving a murder story of the *Florella* type. ⁶⁵ It is conceivable that *The Bramble Briar* similarly has lost the pot of basil story. The divergent conclusions—A I-V and B I representing the girl as being forced by hunger, after a vigil at the grave, to return home and there denouncing her brothers (who in the American versions seek escape by sea and are drowned) while in A VI and B II and III she dies by her lover's side and in B IV she poisons her brothers and herself—might be explained as tradition's uncertain effort to find a substitute

Briar, which however does not descend to the *grotesquerie* of towing the body home by the hair. The difference in emotional quality between this *grotesquerie* and the pathos of Lisabetta's behavior needs no comment.

⁶⁴ An Irish version reported in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, II, p. 285, has retained this feature but has lost pretty much everything else of the original ballad. One of the versions in Campbell and Sharp's *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* has a trace of the old ending.

⁶⁵ E. g., 'Pretty Polly' B, *Journal of Amer. Folk-Lore*, XX, p. 263; 'Pretty Polly' in Miss Wyman's *Lonesome Tunes*. The text of this ballad in *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* retains the old ending.

for a conclusion it did not like. But I incline rather, for reasons already given, to the opinion that the ballad never had this element; that the maker of *The Bramble Briar*, when he read (or heard) Boccaccio's tale, recognized that for his purposes the pot of basil was no part of the story, and devised his own conclusion, which we have substantially preserved in the fuller American copies of the ballad. For, as I have said, there is reason to believe that the combination of the murder story with the story of the buried head is a piece of literary joinery on Boccaccio's part, or perhaps that the latter is pure artistic invention. The result in either case is one of the world's gems of narrative art; and for that very reason it may be worth while to take a peep into the artist's workshop. He has given us the key.

V

At the close of her story in the *Decameron* Filomena tell us that "poi a certo tempo divenuta questa cosa manifesta a molti, fu alcuno che compuose quella canzone la quale ancora oggi si canta: ciòè,

Quale esso fu lo mal Cristiano
Che mi furo la grasta ecc."²²

At the beginning of the next story we are told that Filomena's narrative "fu alle donne carissima, per ciò che assai volte avevano quella canzone udita cantare, ne mai avevan potuto, per domadarne, sapere qual si fosse la cagione per che fosse stata fatta." These Florentine ladies

²² So far as I have been able to learn no source for this story has been alleged beyond the song from which Boccaccio here quotes. T. Cannizzaro's book, *Il Lamento di Lisabetta da Messina e la Leggenda del Vaso di Basilico*, Messina, 1902, I have not been able to consult.

had heard the song, but persistent questioning had failed to elicit any explanation of it.⁶⁷

The whole song was found by Fanfani in a fourteenth-century ms. in the Laurentian library and printed by him in the Le Monnier edition of the *Decameron* (Firenze, 1857). It had also been printed in an imperfect form in the sixteenth century as one of the *Canzoni a Ballo* popularly attributed to Lorenzo de' Medici and Politian. In 1871 Carducci⁶⁸ published the song in what he believed was its original form, basing his text on a comparison of the Laurentian ms. and the sixteenth-century prints; and in this form it may conveniently be found in Scherillo's edition of the *Decameron* (1914), pp. 212 ff. But as the meaning of the whole song and especially of certain

"It is somewhat surprising, in the light of this remark of Boccaccio's, that the notion of a "lost romance" from which he quoted the two lines should have been so widely accepted. It was first put forth, apparently, by Du Ménil in his article on the sources of the *Decameron* (*Histoire de la Poesie Scandinave*, Paris, 1839, p. 349); and as late as 1886 Child wrote, in a note to the preface to *Clerk Saunders* (*Engl. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, II, p. 156), that "there was a ballad in Boccaccio's time (of which he cites the first two lines), on the story of G. IV, N. 5, of the *Decamerone*; a tale in which three brothers kill their sister's lover, and bury the body in a solitary place, and his ghost appears and informs the sister of what had happened." Du Ménil knew or knew of the song as it was printed in the *Canzoni a Ballo* of 1568, which he conceived to be a making over of the original ballad. Fanfani printed the song as he found it in the Laurentian ms. (14th cent.) in his 1857 edition of the *Decameron*. But quite apart from this evidence that the song Boccaccio refers to was essentially the same as that printed in the *Canzoni a Ballo*, it is quite apparent from Boccaccio's own words that the *canzone* did not tell the story. If it had done so, why should the ladies, who had heard it sung "assai volte," still have been unable, in spite of their questionings, to learn "qual si fosse la cagione per che fosse stata fatta?"

"*Cantilene e Ballate, Strambotti e Madrigali, nei Secoli XIII e XIV*, Pisa, 1871, pp. 48 ff.

passages in it must here be discussed, I shall reproduce Carducci's text.⁶⁹

Qual esso fu lo malo cristiano
 Lo qual mi furò la grasta
 Del basilico mio selemontano? ⁷⁰
 Cresciut' era in gran podesta:
 Ed io lo mi chiantai colla mia mano:
 Fu lo giorno della festa.
 Chi guasta l'altrui cose, è villania.

Chi guasta l'altrui cose, è villania
 E grandissimo il peccato.
 Ed io la meschinella ch' i' m'avìa.
 Una grasta seminata!
 Tant' era bella, all' ombra mi dormia.
 Della gente invidiata,
 Fummi furata, e davanti alla porta.

Fummi furata, e davanti alla porta.
 Dolorosa ne fu' assai
 Ed io la meschinella or fosse io morta,
 Che si cara l'accattai!
 È pur l'altr'ier ch' i' n'ebbi mala scorta
 Dal messer cui tanto amai.
 Tutto lo 'ntorniai di maggiorana.

Tutto lo 'ntorniai di maggiorana.
 Fu di maggio lo bel mese.
 Tre volte lo 'nnaffiai la settimana,
 Che son dozi volte el mese,
 D'un acqua chiara di viva fontana.
 Signor mio, com' ben s'apprese!
 Or è in palese che mi fu raputo.

Or è in palese che mi fu raputo.
 Non lo posso più celare.
 Sed io davanti l'avessi saputo

⁶⁹ There is an English translation—not quite clear in one important point, I think—by John Payne in H. Buxton Forman's *Poetical Works of John Keats*, Appendix X.

⁷⁰ So Carducci's text; but in a note he prefers the reading *salernitano*, and Scherillo prints *salernetano*.

Che mi dovesse incontrare,
 Davanti all' uscio mi sare' iaciuto
 Per la mia grasta guardare.
 Potrebbebene atare sol l'alto Iddio.

Potrebbebene atar sol l'alto Iddio,
 Se fusse suo piacimento,
 Dell' uomo che m'e stato tanto rio,
 Messo m'ha in pene e 'n tormento,
 Che m'ha furato il basilico mio
 Pieno di tanto ulimento.
 Suo ulimento tutta mi sanava.

Suo ulimento tutta mi sanava,
 Tant' avea freschi gli oleri.
 E la mattina quando lo 'nnaffiava
 Alla levata del sole,
 Tutta la gente si maravigliava:
 Onde vien cotanto aulore?
 Ed io per lo suo amore morrò di doglia.

Ed io per lo suo amor morrò di doglia,
 Pr' amor della grasta mia.
 Fosse chi la mi rinsegnare voglia,
 Volentier la raccattria:
 Cen'once d'oro ch' i' ho nella fonda
 Volentier gli le donria;
 E donerlagli un bascio in disianza.

The song is a girl's lament for the loss of her *grasta* (or *resta*; Neapolitan for flower-pot) of Salernian basil. There is nothing in the poem to suggest that this *grasta* contained the head of her lover, or even that her lover is dead; indeed, there is clear evidence to the contrary: "It was stolen from me," she says, because "just the other day I did not sufficiently guard it from the man I love so much."⁷¹ Yet its

ⁿ Or "did not guard it well by reason of the man I loved so much" —"ch' i' n'ebbi mala scorta dal messer cui tanto amai." Payne renders this "Yet kept one day, through him whom I adore, I'll ward upon my gear." Whatever meaning Payne may have attached to "through him whom I adore" the girl cannot be supposed to say

loss is the occasion of passionate grief: "Would I had died before this happened! It is evident now that my basil has been stolen away; I can hide the fact no longer. If I had known beforehand that this would happen, I should have thrown myself down outside before the door to guard my *grasta*. High God alone could help me, if it were His good pleasure, against the man who has so wronged me,"⁷² who has put me in pain and torment because he has stolen from me my basil so sweet-smelling." No wonder the ladies wanted an explanation of the song. But if they knew the text as we have it, it is rather surprising that they should have accepted Filomena's story as an explanation of it. The true explanation is to be found in the folklore attaching to basil and kindred simples; and a widely known English folk-song affords a significant parallel to this Sicilian ⁷³ canzone.

The folk-lore of basil, thyme, and rue is too vast and too confused a matter to be set forth here in any detail. I shall note only a few points that seem to have a bearing on the song under discussion.

that by reason of her devotion to her dead lover she neglected the pot of basil in which was buried that lover's head. My friend and colleague Mr. Giuseppe Cherubini, to whom I submitted the question, writes: "I would interpret lines 19-20 thus: 'I gave it very bad protection from the man I loved so much—I did n't protect it from' etc. . . . If the lines were to be taken in their innocent meaning I would translate them thus: 'It is only a short while that it was entrusted to me by the man' etc.,—but that would not go with what precedes (ll. 5, 11, 18). I think your inference is right also from what seems to transpire from ll. 28-34."

"This "uomo che m'e stato tanto rio" is obviously (if we put Boccaccio's story out of our minds for a moment) the "messer cui tanto amai" of l. 20.

"The word *grasta* belongs to the Sicilian dialect. Note also that Boccaccio lays the scene of the story in Messina. The basil cult is especially strong in Sicily and southern Italy.

Aromatic herbs of the labiate family—basil, thyme, marjoram, rosemary, the sages, the mints—have retained, and very likely by interchange have accumulated, pseudo-medicinal virtues from remote antiquity. The virtues ascribed by one authority to basil may be ascribed by another to thyme, or to marjoram, or to savory; the later herbalists, compiling from all their predecessors, find themselves ascribing the same properties to many different herbs, and to the same herb many and sometimes contradictory properties, until old Nicholas Culpepper,⁷⁴ coming to list the virtues of basil, writes: "This is the herb which all authors are together by the ears about, and rail at one another (like lawyers). Galen and Dioscorides hold it not fitting to be taken inwardly; and Chrysippus rails at it with downright Billingsgate rhetoric: Pliny, and the Arabian physicians, defend it." It is an antidote to the bite or sting of "venemous beasts," yet "being laid to rot in horse-dung, it will breed venemous beasts. . . . Something is the matter; this herb and rue will not grow together, no, nor near one another; and we know rue to be as great an enemy to poison as any that grows. To conclude: It expelleth both birth and afterbirth; and as it helps the deficiency of Venus in one kind, so it spoils all her actions in another. I dare write no more of it." Bartholomew Zorn,⁷⁵ writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, has nearly four closely-printed pages on basil, alleging among other things that "Frauen, so Basilien Wurtzel und Schwalben-Federn in den Händen halten, wann sie in Kindes-Nöthen arbeiten, leichtlich und ohne Schmerzen gebahren." De Gubernatis⁷⁶ gives the

⁷⁴ Quoted here from *The English Physician*, ed. of 1799, p. 28.

⁷⁵ *Botanologia Medica*, Berlin, 1714, pp. 116 ff.

⁷⁶ *Mythologie des Plantes*, Paris, 1878-1882, II, pp. 35 ff.

best account I have found of the folk-lore of basil. One variety of it, *tulasi* in Sanskrit, is a sacred plant in Vedic worship, being considered the spouse of Vishnu—an emblem of the generative power. "It plays a great part in the popular tradition of Greece and Italy; a double significance is given to it, erotic and funereal." He quotes from a letter from a friend in southern Italy: "All our young girls gather a bunch of basil and put it either in their bosom or in their belt (probably as an emblem of maidenhood; married women fasten it on their heads). . . . A young countryman scarcely ever goes to see his sweetheart without wearing a sprig of basil over his ear; but they are careful not to give it, for that would be a mark of contempt." ⁷⁷ In the twenty-second tale of Gentile Sermini (fifteenth century), de Gubernatis tells us further, a pot of basil withdrawn by a young woman from her window informs her lover that he may come up. "Yet basil has most often a sinister significance. The ancient Greeks believed that the sowing of basil must be accompanied by curses, else it would not thrive; whence the saying 'to sow basil,' i. e. to slander. In Crete, basil is a sign of mourning—altho it is to be seen in every window in the countryside. In a Cretan folk-song the girl cries: 'Basil, herb of mourning! Flourish in my little window; I too will go to bed in woe, and go to sleep a-crying.'"

It is clear that in some of these practises basil is symbolical of virginity. To the same general range of ideas belongs the Moldavian belief ⁷⁸ that basil "can stop the wandering youth upon his way, and make him love the maiden from whose hand he shall accept a sprig." Rol-

⁷⁷ Apparently because it would imply that she had "lost her basil."

⁷⁸ Richard Folkard, *Plant Lore*, p. 146. Unfortunately Folkard does not give his authorities.

land ⁷⁹ reports a similar notion in France: "Le basilic le fait venir" . . . Diction de jeunes filles relatif à l'amoureux."

In France the same notion seems to have attached itself to thyme or marjoram, tho the record is less definite.⁸⁰ "Réveiller les pots de marjolaine" ⁸¹ meant, in the sixteenth century, to serenade one's sweetheart. In the Departments of Orne, Ille-et-Vilaine, and Oise "Le thym signifie: thym, putain."⁸² Of *serpolet* or wild thyme Rolland tells us ⁸³ that "en beaucoup d'endroits les filles de la campagne se mettent du serpolet entre les seins pour les parfumer," and quotes from a sixteenth-century cookery book: "Rustici proverbium habent: succosiores esse virgines quae serpillum quam quae muscum olent." Basil, thyme, or marjoram, carried in the bosom or set in a

⁷⁹ E. Rolland, *Flore Populaire de la France*, IX (1912), p. 40.

⁸⁰ It is characteristic of folk-lore, and especially of the folk-lore of plants, that the same idea should be attached to various species; as de Gubernatis says (II, 91): 'Ces confusions sont très fréquentes dans la nomenclature botanique, où le même nom a été attribué à une foule de plantes différentes.' J. B. Porta in his *Natural Magic* (French edition of 1571, p. 20*, quoting Martial—by mistake, as Mr. Phillips Barry points out to me, for Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XIX, p. 57) says that if basil is planted repeatedly it turns into wild thyme and then into *cresson* or water-mint. What Pliny wrote was: "Namque et ocium senecta degenerat in serpyllum, et sisymbrium in calamintam."

⁸¹ Quoted in Littré s. v. *marjolaine*. The whole passage (*Aresta Amorum*, Paris, 1555, p. 101) runs: "ainsi qu'il estoit sur les rues pour aller la nuit resueiller les potz de marioleine, et planter le may devant l'huy d'une moult gracieuse dame." The *Aresta* is a curiously pedantic collection, in French and Latin, of decisions in the court of love.

⁸² *Flore Populaire*, IX, p. 29. Rolland adds: "C'est la rime qui a amené l'idée"; but in the light of the folk notions here assembled this is an inadequate explanation.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

flower-pot in the window, the symbolism appears to be the same: the herb represents virginity.⁸⁴

In England, where the herbalists and compilers of books on the folk-lore of flowers have little to say of this meaning of thyme or basil, a folk-song bears ample evidence that it is none the less current. Since the English song affords an illuminating parallel to the Sicilian basil song I print it here.⁸⁵

THE SPRIG OF THYME

O once I had thyme of my own,
And in my own garden it grew;
I used to know the place where my thyme it did grow,
But now it is covered with rue, with rue,
But now it is covered with rue.⁸⁶

⁸⁴How much of this particular symbolism is an inheritance from ancient religion, magic, and medicine and how much is due merely to delight in the fragrance of these herbs—how much indeed of the ritual and magic attributes were derived in the first place from their actual physical properties—is a problem in folk-psychology which fortunately we need not here attempt to solve.

⁸⁵Sharp, *Folk Songs from Somerset*, No. 110; also in his *One Hundred English Folksongs*, No. 34. His text is from Somerset, where he says he has taken down twenty-four versions of "this dual song," i. e., *Sprig of Thyme* and *Seeds of Love*, which run into one another and are commonly held to be one song, tho Mr. Sharp undertakes to distinguish them. See also Sussex versions, *J. F. S. S.*, I, pp. 86, 210; and a fragment from Nottinghamshire, *J. F. S. S.*, II, p. 288, where Kidson quotes a version printed in A. Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology* in 1816, beginning:

O, once my thyme was young,
It flourished night and day,
But by chance there came a false young man
And he stole my thyme away.

⁸⁶Rue vies with the labiates as a simple in the number and contrariety of its virtues. It has been famous as an antitoxin since the time of Mithridates; it was a favorite prophylactic against the plague; Porta in his *Natural Magic* (ed. of 1571, p. 18^b) says of it what he and others say of basil, that it thrives upon abuse; and he adds (p.

The rue it is a flourishing thing,
 It flourishes by night and by day;
 So beware of a young man's flattering tongue,
 He will steal your thyme away, away,
 He will steal your thyme away.

I sowed my garden full of seeds;
 But the small birds they carried them away
 In April, May, and in June likewise,
 When the small birds sing all day, all day,
 When the small birds sing all day.

In June there was a red-a-rosy bud,
 And that seemed the flower for me;
 And oftentimes I snatched at the red-a-rosy bud
 Till I gained the willow, willow tree,
 Till I gained the willow tree."

132^a) that it is of use "pour refroidir le desir de luxure" and (p. 133^b) to procure abortion. Zorn (*Bot. Med.*, 1714, p. 589) quotes the 'Salernitani' as authority for the statement that "ruta viris minuit Venerem mulieribus addit"—which affords a sufficient commentary, quite apart from the English word-play (rue = repent), upon its appearance in *The Sprig of Thyme*.

" Cf. *The Seeds of Love* (Sharp, *One Hundred Engl. Folk Songs*, No. 33). The imagery varies. *Waly Waly* (*ibid.*, No. 39) has this:

I thrust my hand into one soft bush,
 Thinking the sweetest flower to find.
 I pricked my finger to the bone,
 And left the sweetest flower behind.

A copy of *Seeds of Love* printed by Nappey of York (Harv. Libr. 25242.17, II, p. 204) has:

I'll get me a posey of hyssop no other flower I'll touch
 That all the world may see I lov'd one flower too much
 I lock'd my garden gate and resolv'd to keep the key
 But a young man came a courting to me and stole my heart
 away.

The Wheel of Fortune, printed by Stephenson, Gateshead, (*ibid.*, I, p. 111), has:

He has spoiled all my good behaviour,
 And broke my fountain against my will.

• • • • •

O the willow willow tree it will twist,
 And the willow willow tree it will twine;
 And so it was that young and false-hearted man
 When he gained this heart of mine, of mine,
 When he gained this heart of mine.

O thyme it is a precious, precious thing,
 On the road that the sun shines upon;
 But the thyme it is a thing that will bring you to an end,
 And that's how my time has gone, has gone,
 And that's how my time has gone.

Altho the symbolism has faded a good deal in this song,
 as the last stanza especially shows, and is probably but

You are the man that broke my fountain,
 But not the man that shall break my heart.

Nappey's print of *The Sprig of Thyme* (*ibid.*, II, p. 204, on the same sheet with *Seeds of Love*) has this:

But now my old thyme is dead,
 I've got no room for any new,
 For in that place where my old thyme grew,
 Its run to a running running rue.
 But I'll put a stop to that running running rue,
 And plant a fair oak tree,
 Stand up you fair oak tree,
 And do not wither and die,
 For I'll prove as true to the lad that I love
 As the stars prove true to the sky.

The oak tree appears also in a Sussex version of *Seeds of Love*, *J. F. S. S.* I, p. 210.

The folk fancy, which eschews or ignores the more dignified types of figurative expression—simile, decorative metaphor, personification, apostrophe—is by no means averse to a certain kind of wit, especially in dealing with erotic themes. "Old fashioned love," says Donne, catches men "riddlingly." Witness the riddle ballads at the beginning of Child's collection, and such pieces as *Crow and Pie* (Child, No. 111) and *The Nightingale*. Nor is its use in ballads restricted to those of a ribald or mocking temper. There are few more tragic ballads than that which takes its title from the image of the sheath and knife (Child, No. 16).

vaguely present to the consciousness of those who now sing it, the meaning of the "thyme" is sufficiently clear; and it is the same as that of the pot of basil in the Sicilian song. It was an inspiration of the literary artist—who was no doubt familiar with the romance stories of magic and treasured heads—to associate this lament with the story of the girl whose lover had been killed by her brothers. The murder plot in itself is too near to Italian daily life and feeling to need any specific "source."⁸⁸

What is distinctive about Boccaccio's tale is the burial of the lover's head in the flower pot; and this I believe may most satisfactorily be explained as an artistic inspiration, whereby, at the suggestion of the girl's grief in the popular basil song, Boccaccio has combined with a familiar murder-and-ghost theme hints from romance sources about a treasured head, and so has moulded a new creation in which the original meaning of the basil is lost.⁸⁹ That he was giving an unfamiliar interpretation of the song seems to be implied by the ladies' comment.⁹⁰ That he was giving an impossible one, if he knew the song as it has come down to us, is certain. May he not have intended to hint at the real meaning of the song when he says that

"If a written source must be assigned, it may be found in an author with whom Boccaccio was thoroly familiar. The reason given for Dido's flight from Tyre (*Æneid*, I, 343 ff.) is essentially the same story. Dido's husband is treacherously slain before the altar by her avaricious brother, who "factum . . . diu celavit et aegram multa malus simulans vana spe lusit amantem," until at last her husband's ghost, "ora modis attollens pallida miris," comes to her in a dream, reveals the crime and tells her of a great treasure hidden in the ground by means of which she may establish a new state in Africa—for the story is here raised to a political and dynastic level.

"Yet in which the murder-and-ghost story is separable, and at the demand of vulgar ballad taste is separated, with the marks of Boccaccio's handling still strong upon it, in *The Bramble Briar*.

"See Note 67.

the ladies despite their questioning had never been able to learn what it meant? Sophisticated as these ladies undoubtedly are, he might wish to represent them as not understanding the essentially folk symbolism of the basil song.⁹¹

We have gone a long way from Perrysville and the Ozark Mountains. If I have made it probable that *The Bramble Briar* is derived from the *Decameron*, there remains to be considered what relation it bears to *The Constant Farmer's Son*.⁹²

VI

The Constant Farmer's Son, tho it tells essentially the same story as *The Bramble Briar*, is a distinct ballad. Its versification—stanzas of four seven-beat lines riming in couplets, without feminine endings and with pretty

"De Gubernatis has indeed a quite different idea of the antecedents of the basil story. Getting together divers legends, Indian, Greek, Italian, Russian, Roumanian, Silesian, Bavarian, in which some plant or flower—basil, corn-flower, chicory—is said to be a maiden transformed by longing for a lost or rejected lover, or the lover himself so transformed, he interprets them all as forms of the sun myth, coming from India thru Greece and Byzantium to Slavic and Western Europe. See *Mythologie des Plantes s. vv. basilic, bluet, chicorée, tulasi*. Collectively the evidence is imposing, and makes it highly probable that somewhere in the backward and abyssm of folk fancy such a notion attached to the cult of basil. The folklore of any given object is commonly an accretion of many elements, frequently incongruous and frequently no longer clearly distinguishable. But that the Sicilian song as we have it and as it was current in the fourteenth century was not a lament for the loss of a lover's head buried in a flower pot, or for a lover transformed into a flower, the text itself bears witness.

"Printed in the *J. F. S. S.*, I, p. 160; also, from a stall ballad in the British Museum (without the printer's name) in *Sew. Rev.*, XIX, p. 222.

regular internal rime in the third and fourth lines—is quite distinct from that of *The Bramble Briar*.⁹³ The hero is not a “servant man” or apprentice, is not attached in any way to the family, but is a farmer’s son. There is no overhearing of the lovers by the brothers; indeed their love is not a hidden one:

Long time young William courted her and fixed the wedding day,
Their parents all consented . . .

But her brothers have determined that she shall wed a lord who has “pledged his word,” and therefore plan to make away with her lover. The occasion they find not in an excursion into the forest, whether for hunting or merely “a diletto,” but in a trip to a fair “not far from town.”⁹⁴ The scene of the murder is not described; it was done on the way home, with a “stake”—a favorite instrument of murder in vulgar ballads. When they reach home the sister asks no questions, but they proffer the information that her lover has fallen in love with another girl, and “therefore we came for to tell the same of the constant farmer’s son.” To this she makes no reply. At night

she had a dreadful dream,
She dreamt she saw his body lay down by a crystal stream.

The ghost’s appearance is not described, as it is in Boccaccio and *The Bramble Briar*; indeed it is not a ghost that comes in answer to her lamentations and tells her what has befallen, but merely a dream of him lying dead.

⁹³ In Catnach’s print it is directed to be sung to the tune of *Young Edwin in the Lowlands*, which could hardly be used for *The Bramble Briar*. Each stanza after the first closes with the words “constant farmer’s son,” constituting a refrain. There is no trace of a refrain in *The Bramble Briar*.

⁹⁴ All these changes are in the direction of fitting the story into the English life and temper.

She runs straightway to the place (not further described),
and there

dead and cold she beheld her constant farmer's son.

The salt tears stood upon his cheeks all mingled with his gore
She shrieked in vain to ease her pain and kissed him ten times o'er,
She gathered green leaves from the trees to keep him from the sun,
And night and day she passed away with her constant farmer's son.

But "hunger it came creeping on," and she went home to
"find his murderer,"

Crying, Parents dear, you soon shall hear a dreadful deed is done,
In yonder vale lies dead and cold my constant farmer's son.

Up came her eldest brother and said it is not me,
The same replied the younger and swore most bitterly,
But Mary said don't turn so red nor try the laws to shun,
You've done the deed and you shall bleed for my constant farmer's
son.

These villains soon they owned their guilt and for the same did die,
Young Mary fair in deep despair she never ceased to cry,
Their parents they did fade away the glass of life was run,
And Mary cried in sorrow died for her constant farmer's son.

Most of the details and emphases by which *The Bramble Briar* attaches itself closely to Boccaccio's story have disappeared from this distressingly banal stall ballad. On the other hand the three stanzas before the last, especially the phrase about hunger "creeping on" her, have a good deal in common with *The Bramble Briar*. The natural inference is that *The Constant Farmer's Son* is a working over of *The Bramble Briar* by some hack for the ballad press. Taylor of Waterloo Road, who printed ballads about 1830-40,⁹⁵ issued a copy⁹⁶ to which is appended the

⁹⁵ So I infer from the fact that he describes his place of business sometimes as "near the Coburg Theatre" and sometimes as "near the Victoria Theatre." The Royal Coburg Theatre became the Victoria Theatre in 1833. See Besant's *London South of the Thames*,

name of G. Brown; and worthless as such signatures to printed ballads generally are, he may have been the fashioner of this version. At any rate it is just such a ballad as he might be expected to write. And it was successful, too; it was printed by Catnach, Forth, and others in London as well as by Taylor, by Gilbert in Newcastle, Cadman in Manchester, and Wehman in New York;⁹⁷ and as we have seen, it was still sung in Sussex a few years ago.⁹⁸

VII

In any consideration of the history and affiliations of a ballad there lies in the background the ultimate question: Who made it? By what sort of person, at least, and under what circumstances, was it made, and how has it been spread and perpetuated? The question is especially interesting in the case of a ballad that has a definite literary source. I have only speculative suggestions to offer.

If *The Constant Farmer's Son* was made from *The Bramble Briar*, then the latter must have been in existence before the time of Catnach and Taylor. How long before it is difficult to judge. The earliest English translation

1912, p. 83. But since the ballad was also printed by Catnach, who went out of business in 1839, it is perhaps more likely that Catnach was the first printer of it.

⁹⁷ Harvard Library 25242.2, p. 258. This collection has about three score ballads with Taylor's imprint, very many of them with the name of the "writer" affixed—a procedure not customary among nineteenth-century London ballad printers. Taylor's "writers" or purveyors of copy were George Brown and John Morgan, whose names appear with about equal frequency on his prints. According to a writer in the *National Review*, XIII (1861), p. 409, John Morgan at least was a real person; and no doubt George Brown was too.

⁹⁸ See Kittredge's note, *J. A. F.-L.*, XXIX, p. 169.

⁹⁹ Note 14.

of Boccaccio's story was Turbervile's,⁹⁹ in the sixteenth century. The complete *Decameron* was published in translation in 1620, and this translation was several times reissued in the seventeenth century. A new translation appeared in 1702, and this was twice reissued in the eighteenth century; and there were four more editions before the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Of these, none that I have been able to consult¹⁰¹ has any peculiarities to mark it as the particular source of our ballad. There is nothing in the language or style of the ballad to indicate antiquity. I should be inclined to assign it to the early eighteenth century.

Who made it? Somebody, certainly; a ballad that tells so definite a story and retains such clear marks of derivation from a definite literary source, a ballad without refrain or the customary repetition and commonplaces, is neither a product of the homogeneous dancing throng nor the chance aggregate of traditional fragments, like some of the love-lorn ditties now found among ballad folk.¹⁰² On the other hand there is no evidence that it originated in that professional ballad press with which *The Constant Farmer's Son* was so great a favorite. Indeed its appearance only in remote country places, on both sides of the ocean, and the diversified, corrupt, and often defective character of the texts are arguments, so far as they go, against its having been disseminated as a stall ballad.

⁹⁹ In his *Tragical Tales*, 1587; pp. 183 ff. of the Edinburgh reprint of 1837.

¹⁰⁰ *The Decameron . . . translated into English Anno 1620* (Tudor Translations), 1909, I, p. cxxiv.

¹⁰¹ Those of 1587, 1620, 1684, 1820, 1822.

¹⁰² E. g. *Kitty Kline* (*J. A. F.-L.*, xxii, p. 240), or *The False True Lover* and many other accretions of ballad detritus in the collection of the Missouri Folk-Lore Society.

The following hypothesis will perhaps fit the facts so far as they are known.

The itinerant entertainer—blind fiddler, street singer, roaming tinker, gypsy,¹⁰³ mountebank, tent- or wagon-showman—has long been and still is a feature of the social life of rural communities. From Sidney's blind crowder, and long before, down to the "huckster" Wallace, who made and sang in his tent-show a ballad on a notorious murder case in Missouri a few years ago,¹⁰⁴ the succession has never been broken. If we imagine such an entertainer, sufficiently lettered to read a translation of the *Decam-*

¹⁰³ One of our versions, B IV, is recorded from the singing of English gypsies; and it is a tempting guess that gypsies have been the carriers of this ballad both in England and America (a number of gypsies, most of them bearing good Scotch names, were deported from Glasgow to America in 1715; see *Journ. of the Gypsy Lore Soc.*, o. s., II, p. 61). Besides their trades of fortune-telling, tinkering, and horse-trading gypsies have plied that of entertainment in Great Britain since the sixteenth century, when they used annually to gather on the 'stanks' or marshes of Roslin and give "severall plays" (F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk Tales*, p. 124, note). They are great tellers of folk tales. Miss Broadwood, *J. F. S. Soc.*, v, p. 7, points out that four versions, so corrupt as to be partly unintelligible, of the old "carol" or homiletic known as *The Moon Shines Bright* or *Christ Made a Trance* were recorded from the singing of gypsies, and believes that the gypsies in their wanderings "had probably passed on a distortion of the text to one another." These distortions are in kind remarkably like those found in *The Bramble Briar*. On the other hand, there is no evidence that any of our American versions are associated with gypsies, and Miss Broadwood traces her version (B I) thru three generations of what seems unimpeachable Hertfordshire stock.

¹⁰⁴ The murder of Gus Weeks and his wife and children by two cattlemen, George and Bill Taylor, in Linn County in 1894. See *A Study in Contemporary Balladry*, *Mid-West Quarterly*, I, pp. 162 ff. Wallace's ballad was taken up, remade, and sung by other local "carnival companies" until in a few years it was known and sung by the country people, in widely varying yet related forms, thru considerable parts of the state.

eron¹⁰⁵ and sufficiently of the vulgar to see the possibilities of this story for vulgar balladry, we have a conceivable origin for our ballad. If we further suppose that after making it known in the parts of England in which he traveled he, or someone following his trade, came to try his fortunes in the colonies and brought the ballad with him, we shall have an explanation of its appearance here.¹⁰⁶

Ballads so originating may have a considerable currency, as the entertainer moves from place to place thru his humble clientele, without ever being drawn into the field of the metropolitan ballad press.¹⁰⁷ Yet the comparative completeness and similarity of certain of the American versions of *The Bramble Briar* (A I, II, IV) suggest that in this country it circulated at some time in print. Quite probably it did. The itinerant singer not infrequently has some local printer strike off copies of the songs in his repertory to be offered for sale to those who, after hearing him sing, desire to have the text of a song so that they may sing it themselves.¹⁰⁸ Print of this sort is limited in

¹⁰⁵ If he was blind or quite illiterate we must suppose that the story was read or told to him from the book, and that he then proceeded, like Caedmon, to regurgitate and chew the cud.

¹⁰⁶ Its geographical range in America suggests that it came with the Scotch-Irish in the eighteenth century.

¹⁰⁷ A striking instance is that of *Young Charlotte*, for which see Barry, *William Carter, the Bensontown Homer*, J. A. F.-L., xxv, pp. 156 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Jones, a blind fiddler who made his rounds in Missouri a few years ago, sold a "Comic and Sentimental Songster" containing one piece of his own composition and a miscellany of popular favorites. It bore the announcement that "If anyone should desire a book they can obtain it by sending their name and postoffice address with ten cents in silver to the postmaster at"—Dexter, Missouri, in one copy that I have seen; Hillman, Indiana, in another. Blind Jasper Kinder and his wife similarly sold a book of the songs that they sang in Howell County. Songs so learned pass of course into

circulation practically to the region in which the singer moves, and is little likely to come into the net of the collector. Presenting the text as the singer, often quite illiterate, knows it, it may of course embody gross corruptions.

There is still another way in which oral tradition is supplemented in the dissemination of ballads. From the sixteenth century to the present time ballad-lovers have made manuscript books of the ballads they liked.¹⁰⁹ Such collections are still made in Missouri, and no doubt in other parts of the country. Sometimes the texts appear to be copied from print, at least are of ballads easily obtainable in print and correspond closely to printed copies; sometimes they are just as clearly set down from memory, showing mishearings and lacunae. When, as is most often the case in the ballad-books I have seen, the writer is barely literate, this method of transmission is a fruitful source of corruption in the text—especially at two or three removes. Readings like “calmy” (A II) and “camelite” (A I) for “comely,” and “salome” for “sailor” (? A II), probably arose in this way.

the learner's repertory of song. I have a copy of *McAfee's Confession*, words and air, sent me in 1912 by Miss Colquitt Newell from Farmington, Missouri. The tune she took down from the singing of a friend, Mr. C——; the words she copied from a “book of ballads and songs some new, some old, . . . bought by him from a blind man selling them thru that town about ten years ago. He learned several tunes for different songs in the book from this blind man, who would sing them from the street corners.” The procedure has not changed, apparently, since the time of Autolyus and the Barnes family (cf. Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 5).

¹⁰⁹ Most of Grundtvig's great collection of Danish ballads is drawn from ms. ballad-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *Shirburne Ballads* is such a collection made (from printed ballads) in England in Elizabeth's time; Percy's famous Folio ms. is another made some half-century later.

On the whole, however, the state of the texts of *The Bramble Briar* must be ascribed to oral transmission thru a considerable series of simple and unlettered singers, some of whom have made substitutions and additions of their own where memory failed or fancy prompted. In that sense *The Bramble Briar* is a traditional ballad. And its substantial identity thru all its variations is a striking evidence of the tenacity of tradition.

The suggestion here offered as to the origin of our ballad is confessedly vague and frankly hypothetical. We have no documentary evidence about it antedating Mr. Sharp's record of 1904. I shall be content if I have convinced my readers that *The Bramble Briar*, in all its versions, is one ballad, of the "vulgar" type, traditional in England and America, and drawn from a literary source; and, incidentally, that the Italian *canzone* had a meaning quite different from that which Boccaccio seems to assign to it.

H. M. BELDEN.

TEN TEXTS OF *The Bramble Briar*

[Since the variations are chiefly a matter of putting in or leaving out, I have for convenience in collation numbered the lines in each text on the basis of the aggregate of lines. Differences not indicated by this method can easily be checked up by comparison. The stanza division is not indicated, but will be readily found (in A I, ll. 77 and 82 are recorded in two forms). In only one case is the order of the lines changed from that in the recorded text, viz., in A I, ll. 49-53, where the recorded order is appended in (). Elsewhere, numbers in () indicate that the line is repeated from another place in the version.]

A I

THE APPRENTICE BOY

H. G. Shearin in *The Sevanee Review*, XIX, pp. 321 f.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 1 | In yon post-town there | 27 | Her brothers studied on |
| | lived a margent, | | this cruel matter, |
| 2 | He had two sons and a | 28 | Concluded a-hunting they |
| | daughter fair; | | would go, |
| 3 | There lived a prentice-boy | 29 | |
| | about there, | 30 | And with this young man |
| 4 | Who was the daughter's | | they both would flatter; |
| | dearest dear. | 31 | A-hunting with them he |
| 5 | | | had to go. |
| 6 | | 32 | They traveled over high |
| 7 | Ten thousand pounds was | | hills and mountains |
| | this gay lady's portion; | 33 | And through strange places |
| 8 | She was a fair and a came- | | where it were unknown, |
| | lite dame; | 34 | |
| 9 | She loved this young man | 35 | Till at length they came to |
| | who crossed the ocean; | | some lonesome valley, |
| 10 | He told her how he could | 36 | |
| | be so deslain. | 37 | And there they killed him |
| 11 | | | dead and thrown. |
| 12 | | 38 | All on that evening when |
| 13 | | | they returned, |
| 14 | | 39 | |
| 15 | | 40 | She asked them where's her |
| 16 | One day they was in the | | servant man. |
| | room a-courting; | 41 | |
| 17 | The eldest brother chanced | 42 | |
| | to hear; | 43 | |
| 18 | | 44 | |
| 19 | He went and told the other | 45 | 'What makes me ask you?' |
| | brother, | | she seems to whisper, |
| 20 | | 46 | 'Dear brothers, tell me if |
| 21 | | | you can.' |
| 22 | | 47 | |
| 23 | | 48 | |
| 24 | | 49 | 'I'll tell you in plain, you're |
| 25 | | | much affronted; (3) |
| 26 | They would deprive her of | 50 | Oh, now will you explain |
| | her dear. | | to me.' (4) |

- 51 'He is lost in the wild
woods a-hunting; (1)
- 52
- 53 His face you never more
shall see.' (2)
- 54
- 55
- 56 All on that night, while
she lay sleeping,
- 57 He came and stood at her
bed-feet,
- 58
- 59 All covered over in tears
a-weeping,
- 60 All wallowed o'er in gores
of blood.
- 61
- 62
- 63 He says, 'My love, it's but
a folly;
- 64 For this is me that you
may see—
- 65 Your brothers both being
rash and cruel—
- 66
- 67
- 68
- 69 In such a valley you may
find.'
- 70 All on next morning when
she arose,
- 71 She dressed herself in silk
so fine;
- 72
- 73 She traveled o'er hills and
mountains
- 74 Her own true lover for to
find.
- 75 She traveled over high hills
and mountains
- 76 And through strange places
where it were unknown,
- 77 Till at length she came to
some lonesome valley,
- 78
- 79
- 80 And there she found him
killed and thrown.
- 81
- 82 His pretty cheeks with
blood were dyed;
- 82 His lips were bloody as any
butcher;
- 83 His lips (cheeks) were
salty as any brine;
- 85
- 86 She kissed them over and
over, a-crying,
- 87
- 88 'You dearest bosom friend
of mine.'
- 89 Three days and nights she
tarried with him
- 90
- 91
- 92
- 93
- 94
- 95 Till she thought her heart
would break with woe,
- 96 Until sharp hunger came
cropping on her,
- 97 Which forced her back
home to go.
- 98 All on that evening when
she returned,
- 99
- 100 Her brothers asked her
where she'd been—
- 101
- 102 'O ye hard-hearted, deceit-
ful devillions,
- 103 For him alone you both
shall swing.'
- 104 Her brothers studied on
this bloody matter, (27)

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| 105 | Concluded the ocean they | 109 | That they two villyons |
| | would sail; | | should be cast away; |
| 106 | 'My friend, I tell you, it's | 110 | And broadways they came |
| | on the morrow | | tosling under; |
| 107 | The raging sea there for to | 111 | The sea did open and pro- |
| | sail.' | | vide their grave. |
| 108 | The sea began to roar, I | | |
| | think no wonder | | |

A II

THE BRAMBLE BRIAR

Sent me by Professor Tolman in 1917; communicated to him by Miss Mary O. Eddy, who got it from Miss Jane Goon of Perrysville, Ohio. See *J. A. F. L.*, xxix, p. 169.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| 1 | In portly town there lived | 18 | |
| | a merchant, | 19 | |
| 2 | Who had two sons and a | 20 | |
| | daughter fair, | 21 | |
| 3 | And a prentice fond from a | 22 | |
| | far intender, | 23 | |
| 4 | | 24 | They said this courtship |
| 5 | | | should be ended, |
| 6 | Who plowed the victories | 25 | 'We will send him head- |
| | all over the main. | | long into his grave.' |
| 7 | Ten thousand pounds it was | 26 | |
| | her portion; | 27 | And for to conclude this |
| 8 | She was a neat and calmy | | bloody murder |
| | dame; | 28 | These two villains hunting |
| 9 | And upon the salome that | | did go; |
| | plowed the ocean, | 29 | |
| 10 | | 30 | And upon the salome they |
| 11 | She had a notion to bestow | | loaved and flattered, |
| | the same. | 31 | Along with them hunting |
| 12 | | | to go. |
| 13 | | 32 | They traveled over high |
| 14 | | | hills and mountains, |
| 15 | | 33 | Through lonely valleys that |
| | | | were unknown, |
| 16 | One night while they were | 34 | Until they came to the |
| | sitting courting, | | bramble briar, |
| 17 | He two brother chanced to | 35 | |
| | overhear. | | |

- 36
 37 And there they did him kill
 and thrown.
 38 And when they had back
 home returned,
 39
 40 Their sister ask for the
 servant man.
 41
 42
 43 'Oh! sister dear, what
 makes you inquire
 44 All so for this young man's
 sake?'
 45 'Because I thought you
 seemed to whisper.
 46 Come tell me, brothers, or
 my heart will break.'
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51 'We left him in the woods
 a-hunting,
 52 And we no more of him
 could find.'
 53
 54
 55
 56 One night, while she was
 lying sleeping,
 57 He appeared to her bedside;
 58
 59 And he was all in tears a-
 weeping
 60 And all rolled over in gores
 of blood.
 61 He says: 'My dear, leave
 off this crying
 62
 63 It is a folly for you to
 know;
 64
 65 For your two brothers
 killed me, rash and
 cruel;
 66
 67
 68
 69 In such a place, love, you
 may me find.'
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75 She traveled o'er high hills
 and mountains,
 76 Through lonely valleys that
 were unknown,
 77 Until she came to the
 bramble briar,
 78
 79
 80 And there they had him
 killed and throwed.
 81
 82
 83
 84
 85
 86
 87
 88
 89 Three days and nights she
 tarried by him,
 90 Kissing on her bended
 knees;
 91
 92 When in that time she was
 constrained
 93 To utter forth such words
 as here:
 94 'I had a mind for to stay
 by him

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| 95 | Until my heart it did break
with woe; | 105 | These two villains to sea
did go; |
| 96 | But I felt that hunger
came creeping o'er me, | 106 | And to tell the truth it
was on the morrow |
| 97 | Which forced me back
home to go.' | 107 | The stormy winds began to
blow. |
| 98 | And when she had back
home returned, | 108 | The winds did blow, and it
was no wonder; |
| 99 | | 109 | These two villains were
cast away; |
| 100 | Her brothers 'ask where she
had been. | 110 | And by the flood they were
lost under, |
| 101 | | 111 | And the raging sea formed
their grave. |
| 102 | 'Be gone, ye proud and de-
ceitful villains! | 112 | |
| 103 | For him alone you both
shall swing.' | 113 | |
| 104 | And for to shun this bloody
murder, | 114 | |
| | | 115 | |

A III

THE LONESOME VALLEY

Katherine Pettit in *Jour. of Amer. F.-L.*, xx, pp. 259 f.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 1 | In yonder town there lived
a merchant; | 11 | |
| 2 | He had two sons and a
daughter fair: | 12 | |
| 3 | | 13 | |
| 4 | | 14 | |
| 5 | Away lone down in a lone
green meadow, | 15 | |
| 6 | A raging sea there for to
sail. | 16 | |
| 7 | Six thousand pounds was
this lady's portion; | 17 | |
| 8 | She was a fair and comely
dame; | 18 | |
| 9 | She loved a young man o'er
the ocean | 19 | |
| 10 | Which caused her to look
there so disadain. | 20 | |
| | | 21 | |
| | | 22 | |
| | | 23 | |
| | | 24 | |
| | | 25 | |
| | | 26 | |
| | | 27 | They studied o'er this cruel
matter; |

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- | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|
| 88 | 'You're the dearest bosom
friend of mine.' | 100 | Her brothers asked her
where she had been: |
| 89 | Three days and nights she
tarried with him | 101 | |
| 90 | | 102 | 'You are too hard-hearted,
deceitful villains, |
| 91 | | 103 | For him alone you both
shall swing.' |
| 92 | | 104 | They studied o'er this
bloody matter; (27) |
| 93 | | 105 | Concluded the ocean they
would sail, |
| 94 | | 106 | |
| 95 | Till she thought her heart
would break with woe; | 107 | |
| 96 | She felt sharp hunger ap-
proaching on her, | 108 | |
| 97 | Which forced her back home
to go. | 109 | |
| 98 | All on that evening as she
returned, | 110 | The wind did blow, and I
think no wonder, |
| 99 | | 111 | The sea did open and pro-
vide a grave. |

A IV

THE MERCHANT'S DAUGHTER

H. M. Belden in *The Sewanee Review*, XIX, pp. 222 f.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|--|
| 1 | In a seaport town there | 13 | |
| 2 | lived a merchant, | 14 | Her brothers were so hard
cruel,— |
| 3 | He had two sons and a
daughter fair. | 15 | All of this was to the same. |
| 4 | An apprentice bound boy
from all danger | 16 | One evening they were
silent, courting, |
| 5 | Courted this merchant's
daughter fair. | 17 | Her brothers chanced to
overhear, |
| 6 | | 18 | |
| 7 | | 19 | |
| 8 | Five hundred pounds was
made her portion; | 20 | |
| 9 | She was a neat and cunning
dame: | 21 | |
| 10 | | 22 | |
| 11 | | 23 | |
| 12 | | 24 | Saying, 'Your courtship
will soon be ended, |
| | | 25 | We will send him hither to
his grave.' |

- 26
 27
 28
 29 Next morning early, break-
 fast over,
 30
 31 With them a-hunting he
 did go;
 32 They went over hills and
 lofty mountains
 33 And through some lonesome
 valleys too,
 34
 35 Until they came to a lone-
 some desert,
 36
 37 There they did him kill
 and throw.
 38 When they returned back
 home that evening
 39
 40 Their sister asked for the
 servant man;
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51 'We lost him in the woods
 a-hunting
 52 And never more we could
 him find.'
 53
 54
 55
 56 Next morning she was
 silent, weeping,
 57 He came to her bedside and
 stood
 58
 59 All pale and wounded,
 ghastly looking,
 60 Wallowed o'er in gores of
 blood.
 61 Saying, 'Why do you weep,
 my pretty fair one?
 62
 63 It is a folly you may pawn:
 64
 65
 66
 67 Go over hills and lofty
 mountains,
 68
 69 This lonesome place you
 may me find.'
 70
 71
 72
 73
 74
 75 She went over hills and
 lofty mountains
 76 And through some lone-
 some valleys too,
 77 Until she came to a lone-
 some desert,
 78
 79
 80 And there she found him
 killed and thro.
 81
 82 His handsome cheeks the
 blood was dyeing,
 83 His lips were salt as any
 brine;
 84
 85
 86 She kissed him o'er and
 o'er, crying
 87
 88 'This dear beloved friend
 of mine.'

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| 89 | Three days and nights she | 100 | Her brother asked her |
| | did stay by him, | | where she'd been. |
| 90 | 'Twas on her bended knees | 101 | |
| | she stood; | 102 | 'You hard and cruel and |
| 91 | All in the height of her | | unkind creatures! |
| | great anger | 103 | For him alone you both |
| 92 | | | shall swing.' |
| 93 | She uttered forth such | 104 | And then to avoid all shame |
| | words as these: | | and danger |
| 94 | 'My love, I thought I would | 105 | Away to sea they both did |
| | stay by him | | go. |
| 95 | Until my heart should | 106 | |
| | break with woe; | 107 | |
| 96 | But I feel sharp hunger | 108 | |
| | growing on me | 109 | |
| 97 | Which forces me back home | 110 | The wind did blow and it |
| | to go.' | | was no wonder |
| 98 | When she returned back | 111 | The roaring sea proved both |
| | home that evening | | their graves. |
| 99 | | | |

A V

IN SEAPORT TOWN (I)

Sent to me by Mr. Sharp in 1917 from his collections in the Southern mountains.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|---------------------------|
| 1 | | 16 | One evening all alone a- |
| 2 | | | talking |
| 3 | | 17 | Her brothers cease for to |
| 4 | | | overhear, |
| 5 | | 18 | |
| 6 | | 19 | |
| 7 | | 20 | |
| 8 | | 21 | |
| 9 | | 22 | |
| 10 | | 23 | |
| 11 | | 24 | Saying: 'Your courtship |
| 12 | | | now will soon be ended. |
| 13 | | 25 | Will you force him along |
| 14 | | | into his grave?' |
| 15 | | 26 | |

- 27
 29 They rose up early the next
 morning,
 28 A game of hunting for to
 go,
 30 And upon this young man
 they both insisted
 31 For him to go along with
 them.
 32 They wandered over hills
 and mountains
 33 And through many a place
 unknown
 34
 35 Till at last they came to
 that lonesome valley
 36
 37 And there they killed him
 dead alone.
 38 When they return back the
 next evening
 39
 40 Their sister ask for the
 servant man,
 41
 42
 43
 44
 45
 46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51 Saying: 'We lost him on a
 game of hunting,
 52 No more of him it's could
 we find.'
 53
 54
 55
 56 While she lie on her bed-
 side slumbering,
- 57 The servant man did appear
 to her,
 58
 59
 60
 61
 62
 63
 64
 65 Saying: 'Your brother
 killed me rough and cruel
 (60) All wallowed in a score of
 blood.'
 67
 68
 69
 70 She rose up early the next
 morning
 71 And dressed herself in a
 rich array,
 72
 73
 74 Saying: 'I'll go and I'll
 find my best beloved
 (60) All wallowed in a score of
 blood.'
 75 She wandered over the hills
 and mountains
 76 And through a many of a
 place unknown
 77 Till at last she came to
 that lonesome valley
 79
 80 And there she found him
 dead alone.
 81
 82 Saying: 'Your eyes look
 like some bloody butcher,
 83 Your eyes look like some
 salt or brine.'
 84
 85
 86 She kissed his cold, cold
 lips and crying,

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| 87 | | 101 | |
| 88 | Said: 'You are the darling | 102 | 'O hold your tongue, you |
| | bosom friend of mine.' | | deceitful villains, |
| 89 | | 103 | For one alone you both |
| 90 | | | shall hang.' |
| 91 | | 104 | Her brothers then they |
| 92 | | | came convicted |
| 93 | | 105 | To jump in a boat and |
| 94 | | | finally leave. |
| 95 | | 106 | |
| 96 | | 107 | |
| 97 | | 108 | |
| 98 | When she returned back | 109 | |
| | the next evening, | 110 | The wind did blow and the |
| 99 | | | waves came o'er them; |
| 100 | Her brothers asked her | 111 | They made their graves in |
| | where she'd been. | | the deep blue sea. |

A VI

IN SEAPORT TOWN (II)

Sent to me by Mr. Sharp in 1917 from his collections in the Southern mountains.

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| 1 | In Seaport Town there | 17 | Her oldest brother per- |
| | lived a merchant, | | chance did hear. |
| 2 | He had three sons and a | 18 | |
| | daughter dear, | 19 | He went and told his other |
| 3 | And among them all was | | brother. |
| | the prettiest boy; | 20 | |
| 4 | He was the daughter's | 21 | |
| | dearest dear. | 22 | |
| 5 | | 23 | |
| 6 | | 24 | |
| 7 | | 25 | |
| 8 | | 26 | 'Let's deprive her of her |
| 9 | | | dearest dear.' |
| 10 | | 27 | |
| 11 | | 28 | They rose up so early next |
| 12 | | | morning. |
| 13 | | 28 | A-hunting, a-hunting they |
| 14 | | | must go. |
| 15 | | 30 | But little did he think of |
| 16 | One evening late they were | | the bloody murder, |
| | in the room courting, | | |

31	A-hunting he did agree to	71	
	go.	72	She fetched a sigh and a
32			bitter groan.
33		73	
34		74	
35		75	
36		76	
37		77	She hurried till she found
38	And they came back so late		him in a ditch of briars,
	in the evening,	78	
39		79	
40	She enquired of her servant	80	Where her true love had
	boy.		been killed and thrown.
41		81	
42		82	His eyes looked like some
43			bloody butcher,
44		83	His lips looked like some
45			salt or brine.
46		84	
47		85	
48		86	She kissed his cold, cold
49			chin a-crying:
50		87	
51	'O he got lost in the wild	88	'You are the daughter's
	woods hunting,		dearest dear.
52		89	
53	And his fair face you shall	90	
	see no more.'	91	
54		92	
55		93	
56		94	
57		95	
58		96	
59		97	
60		98	
61		99	
62		100	
63		101	
64		102	
65		103	
66		104	
67		105	
68		106	
69		107	
70	She rose up so early next	108	
	morning,	109	

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| 110 | | 114 | One grave shall preserve us |
| 111 | | | both together; |
| 112 | Since my brothers been so | 115 | As long as I have breath I |
| | cruel | | will stay with you.' |
| 113 | As to force your sweet love | | |
| | away, | | |

B I

LORD BURLING'S SISTER

Laura E. Broadwood in *Jour. of the F. S. Soc.*, v, pp. 123 ff.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|----|------------------------------|
| 1 | | 29 | |
| 2 | | 30 | Without any fear or strife, |
| 3 | | | These two bold and wicked |
| 4 | | | villains |
| 5 | | | They took away this young |
| 6 | | | man's life. |
| 7 | | | And in the ditch there was |
| 8 | | | no water |
| 9 | | 34 | Where only bush and briars |
| 10 | | | grew; |
| 11 | | 35 | |
| 12 | | | They could not hide the |
| 13 | | | blood of slaughter |
| 14 | | 37 | So in the ditch his body |
| 15 | | | threw. |
| 16 | | 38 | When they returned home |
| 17 | | | from hunting, |
| 18 | | 39 | |
| 19 | Lord Burling told his eld- | 40 | She asked for her servant- |
| | est brother | | man: |
| 20 | 'See how they did sport | 41 | |
| | and play!' | 42 | |
| (18) | He told his secret to none | 43 | |
| | other, | 44 | |
| (19) | To his eldest brother he | 45 | 'I ask you because I see you |
| | did say. | | whisper, |
| 23 | | 46 | So, brothers, tell me if you |
| 24 | | | can.' |
| 25 | | 47 | 'O sister, you offend me so |
| 26 | | 48 | Because you do examine |
| 27 | | | me; |
| 28 | They asked him to go a- | 49 | |
| | hunting, | 50 | |

- 51 We lost him in the fields of
 hunting,
 52 No more of him we could
 not see.'
 53
 54
 55
 56 As she lay dreaming on her
 pillow,
 57 She thought she saw her
 true love stand
 58 By her bedside, as she lay
 weeping,
 59
 60? Was dressed all in his
 bloody coat.
 61 'Don't weep for me, my
 dearest jewel,
 62 Don't weep for me, nor care
 nor pine,
 63
 64
 65 For your two brothers
 killed me so cruel—
 66
 67
 68
 69 In such a place you may
 me find.'
 70 As she rose early the next
 morning,
 71
 72 With heavy sigh and bitter
 groan,
 73
 74
 75
 76
 77
 78 The only love that she ad-
 mired
 79
 80 She found that in the ditch
 was thrown.
 But in the ditch there was
 no water,
 (77) Where only bush and briars
 grew, (34)
 They could not hide the
 blood of slaughter
 (80) So (though) in the ditch
 his body threw.
 82 The blood that on his lips
 was drying,
 83 His tears were salt as any
 brine.
 86 She sometimes kissed him,
 sometimes crying
 88 'Here lies the boldest friend
 of mine!'
 89 Three nights and days has
 she sat by him
 90
 91
 92
 93
 94
 95 When her poor heart was
 filled with woe,
 96 Till faintness came a-creep-
 ing on her,
 97 And home she was obliged
 to go.
 98 When she returned to her
 brothers:
 99 'Sister, what makes you
 look so thin?'
 100
 101 'Brother, don't you ask the
 reason,
 102
 103 Then (and) for his sake
 you shall be hung!'

B II

IN STRAWBERRY TOWN

C. J. Sharp in *Jour. of the Folk Song Soc.*, v, pp. 126 f.

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | In Strawberry Town there | 29 |
| | lives a farmer, | 30 |
| 2 | He had two sons and one | 31 |
| | daughter dear, | 32 |
| 3 | | 33 |
| 4 | | 34 |
| 5 | | Through woods and valleys |
| 6 | | where briars grow, |
| 7 | | 35 |
| 8 | | 36 |
| 9 | | And there they did this |
| 10 | | young man murder |
| 11 | | 37 |
| 12 | By day and night he got | And in the brake his body |
| | deluded, | throw. |
| 13 | Which caused their parents | 38 |
| | more's hearts with care. | As they was returning home |
| 14 | | from hunting. |
| 15 | | 39 |
| 16 | | Not thinking on the harm |
| 17 | | they'd done: |
| 18 | | 40 |
| 19 | | 41 |
| 20 | | 'You're welcome home, my |
| 21 | 'What do you think? Our | poor dear brothers, |
| | servant man, | 42 |
| 22 | I think our servant man | And now pray tell me |
| | court our sister, | where the serving man?' |
| 23 | I think they have a great | (38) |
| | mind to wed; | As they was returning |
| 24 | We'll put an end to all | home from hunting |
| | their courtship | Not a sight of him could |
| 25 | And send him silent to the | she see: |
| | grave.' | 45 |
| 26 | | 46 |
| 27 | | 47 |
| 28 | A match of hunting it was | 'Since, dear sister, you do |
| | prepared | offend us |
| | | 48 |
| | | And straightly examine |
| | | me.' |
| | | 49 |
| | | 50 |
| | | 51 |
| | | 52 |
| | | 53 |
| | | 54 |
| | | Then to bed this fair maid |
| | | went |

55	Lamenting for her own true love;	85	And wiped his eyes though he was blind,
56		86	
57	She dreamt she saw her own true lover	87	'Because he was some true lover,
58		88	Some true lover a friend of mine.
59		89	
60	Covered over in a gore of blood.	90	
61		91	
62		92	
63		93	
64		94	
65		95	
66	'You rise up early tomor- row morning	96	
67		97	
68	And straightway early to brake you know	98	
69	And there you find my body lying	99	
(60)	Covered over in a gore of blood.'	100	
71		101	
72		102	
73		103	
74		104	
75		105	
76		106	
77		107	
78		108	
79		109	
80		110	
81		111	
82		112	And since my brothers have been so cruel
83		113	To take your tender sweet life away
84	She took her handkerchief from her pocket	114	One grave shall hold us put together
		115	And laying to you till death I'll stay.'

B III
BRUTON TOWN

C. J. Sharp in *Jour. of the Folk Song Soc.*, II, p. 42.

1	In Bruton Town there lives	29	
	a farmer,	30	
2	Who had two sons and	31	
	one daughter dear.	32	
3		33	
4		34	Thorny woods and valley
5			where briars grow;
6		35	
7		36	And there they did this
8			young man a-murder,
9		37	And into a brake his fair
10			body thrown.
11		38	
12	By day and night they	39	
	was a-contriving	40	
13	To fill their parents' hearts	41	'Welcome home, my dear
	with fear.		young brothers,
14		42	Pray tell me, where's that
15			servant man?'
16		43	
17		44	
18	He told his secrets to no	45	
	other,	46	
19	But unto her brother he	47	
	told them to:	48	
20		49	
21		50	
22	'I think our servant courts	51	'We've a-left him behind
	our sister,		where we've been a-hunt-
23	I think they has a great		ing,
	mind to wed;	52	
24	I'll put an end to all their	53	We've a-left him behind
	courtship,		where no man can find.'
25	I'll send him silent to his	54	She went to bed crying and
	grave.'		lamenting,
26		55	Lamenting for her heart's
27			delight;
28	A day of hunting whilst	56	
	prepared,		

57	She slept, she dreamed, she	85	For to wipe his eyes for
	saw him lay by her,		he could not see;
58		86	
59		87	
60	Covered all over in a gore	88	
	of bled.	89	
61		90	
62		91	
63		92	
64		93	
65		94	
66		95	
67		96	
68		97	
69		98	
70	She rose early the very	99	
	next morning,	100	
71		101	
72		102	
73		103	
74		104	
75		105	
76		106	
77		107	
78		108	
79	Unto the garden brook she	109	
	went:	110	
80		111	
81	There she found her own	112	'And since my brothers
	dear jewel		have been so cruel
(60)	Covered all over in a gore	113	To take your tender sweet
	of bled.		life away,
83		114	One grave shall hold us
			both together,
84	She took her handkerchief	115	And along, along with you
	out of her pocket		to death I'll stay.'

B IV

THE BRAKE O' BRIARS

Alice E. Gillington in *Songs of the Open Road*, pp. 10 f.

1	36	And there they did the
2		young man murder;
3	37	In the Brake of Briars
3		there him they threw.
4	38	Then they rode home the
5		same night after,
6	38	They rode home most speed-
7		ily;
8	40	
9	41	' You're welcome home, my
10		own two brothers,
11	42	But pray tell me where's
12		your servant man?'
13	43	
14	44	
15	45	
16	46	
17	47	
18	48	
19	49	
20	50	
21	51	' We lost him as we rode a-
22		hunting,
23	(34)	Down in the woods where
24		briars grow;
25	52	Where we lost him we could
26		not find him,
27	52	And what became of him
28		we do not know.'
28		Then the match was made
		to go a-hunting,
29	54	Then she went to bed the
30		same night after;
31	54	She went to bed immedi-
32		ately,
33	56	
33	57	She dreamt to see her own
34		true loved one;
34		Down in those woods where
		briars grew;
35	58	
	59	

60	He was covered all over in	88	'There lies a dear bosom
	great drops of blood.		friend of mine.'
61		89	
62		90	
63		91	
64		92	
65		93	
66		94	
67		95	
68		96	
69		97	
70	She rose early the next	98	Then she rode home the
	morning,		same night after,
71		98	She rode home most speed-
72			ily;
73		100	
74		101	
75		102	
76		103	
77	To search the woods where	104	
	briars grow;	105	
	And as she dreamed so	106	
	there she found him;	107	
79		108	
80	In the Brake of Briars he	109	
	was killed and thrown.	110	
81		111	
82		112	
83		113	
84	Then she pulled a handker-	114	
	chief from her bosom,	115	
85	And wiped his eyes as he	116	She poisoned herself and
	lay as blind;		her own two brothers:
86	She ofttime weeped in sor-	117	All four of them in one
	row, saying,		grave do lie!
87			

XIII.—AN OBJECTIVE STUDY OF SYLLABIC QUANTITY IN ENGLISH VERSE

BLANK VERSE

It is my purpose in this paper to consider the quantity of the syllables in twenty-five lines of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The selection, given below, was read by three different men. The first is an instructor in vocal expression, the second is a graduate student in language and phonetics, and the third is a professor in the Department of General Linguistics. All three are connected with the University of Michigan.

The instrument into which the readers spoke the lines is one devised by Professor John F. Shepard of the University of Michigan. It consists of various tambours covered with mica and rubber and mounted with pointers which record the vibrations and the outflow of air during speech. The pointers removing the soot from a revolving band of smoked paper, write thus the various vibrations and curves which represent speech; syllables can therefore, in most cases, be accurately measured.¹

Before considering results a few words must be said about syllabic division. I have followed conventional dictionary division as being on the whole most satisfactory; but the conventional division of syllables and the actual division do not always coincide. Thus *summer*, *ferry*, and other words with double consonants have really but one

¹ A complete description of the instrument, and a detailed reading of two plates is given in my thesis on *Pause, a Study of its Nature and its Rhythmical Function in Verse, Especially Blank Verse*. Edited by Fred Newton Scott in *Contributions to Rhetorical Theory*.

consonant sound: *sum - er, fer - y*. Again, one cannot say in certain words what are the precise limits of syllables. For example, do we say *re - g(i)on* or *reg - (i)on*? Do we say *mom - ent* or *mo - ment*? *e - vil* or *ev - il*? *Gor - go - nian* or *Gor - gon - ian*? And does one syllabify always in the same manner?² These doubtful cases are, however, rare; each person can consider them for himself, and can make allowances. A more serious difficulty lies in finding in the records the precise division between syllables that end and others that begin with voiced sounds. These sounds often blend in such a way that no division of sound is perceptible. The end of the nasals *m* and *n* is, however, easily distinguishable, since nose tones are recorded by a special pointer; but *o* and *l*, *e* and *a* are examples of sounds which may blend. It is not necessary to state that the sounds and syllables of continuous discourse are not as exact as writing indicates. The boundaries of syllables, however, which is our concern, are, with the exceptions stated, clearly evident. All doubtful divisions are indicated.

In the material which follows the numbers represent the length of the syllables in tenths and one-hundredths of a second. The numbers in parenthesis are pauses.

Paradise Lost, II, ll. 604-628: Readers I, K, and M.

They	fer	-	ry	o'	-	ver	this	Le	-	the'	-	an	sound	604
.28	.38		.12	.18		.15	.25	.2		.2		.18	.65	
.4	.4		.15	.3		.1	.2	.3		.3		.25	.8	(.4)
.2	.3		.18	.25		.15	.34	.18		.2		.25	.42	(.15)

² The problem of syllabification is now under investigation at the University of Michigan. The solution of the difficulties involved will be a very material aid in verse analysis.

³ Doubtful division.

Both to and fro, their sor-row to aug-ment, 605
 .46 .2 .2 .6 (.18) .15 .3 .18 .26 .2 .4 (.65)
 .4 .3 .22 .8 (.25) .4 .5 .18 .2 .4 .45 (.6)
 .38 .3 .18 .5 (.65) .22 .4 .12 .25 .35 .44 (.55)

And wish and strug-gle, as they pass, to reach 606
 .2 .4 .2 .32 .25 .12 .2 .42 (.4) .2 .36
 .2 .5 .3 .4 .3 (.4) .3 .22 .7 (.46) .3 .4
 .2 .5 .24 .28 .2 .22 .2 .6 (.35) .22 .3

The tempt-ing stream, with one small drop to lose 607
 .12 .3 .26 .62 (.3) .18 .4 .5 .42 .2 .5
 .2 .38 .34 .84 (.46) .28 .4 .65 .6 (.18) .3 .4
 .1 .28 .3 .6 (.55) .25 .32 .44 .4 .12 .5

In sweet for-get-ful-ness all pain and woe, 608
 .2 .4 .18 .3 .12 .22 (.2) .3 .6 .12 .5 (.58)
 .2 .4 .2 .3 .2 .28 .48 .6 .2 .62 (.7)
 .2 3. .2 .24 .18 .25 (.1) .3 .4 .2 .44 (.5)

Ah! in one mo-ment, and so near the brink; 609
 .4 .2 .12 .4 .25 (.25) .22 .20 .32 .1 .5 (.5)
 .48 .22 .3 .4 .3 (.5) .35 .35 .44 .12 .7 (.7)
 .38 .18 .2 .22 .34 (.65) .25 .3 .34 .1 .5 (.28)

But Fate with-stands, and, to^a op-pose the attempt, 610
 .22 .4 .3 .58 (.38) .2 .1 .1 .5 .18 .5 (.3)
 .26 .48 .35 .8 (.6) .25 .25 .15 .55 .3 .6 (.55)
 .2 .3 .2 .6 (.5) .2 .2 .08 .4 .2 .45 (.14)

Me-du-sa with Gyr-go-nian ter-ror guards 611
 .15 .4 .12 .22 .22 .3 .2 .22 .25 .44
 .15 .38 .12 .2 .4 .4 .2 .34 .24 .7
 .14 .2 .2 .2 .28 .2 .3 .28 .14 .4

The ford, and of it-self the wa-ter flies 612
 .12 .55 (.3) .2 .2 .18 .5 .12 .26 .25 .68
 .2 .74 (.4) .42 .18 .18 .6 .15 .3 .2 .8
 .1 .52 (.2) .2 .21 .25 .35 .12 .2 .2 .45

^a Doubtful division.

All taste of liv¹ - ing weight, as once it fled 613
 .14 .48 .15 .2 .2 .4 (.4) .2 .4 .14 .4
 .4 .6 .18 .22 .2 .48 (.5) .4 .46 .14 .6
 .25 .35 .15 .15 .15 .4 (.6) .28 .3 .2 .3

The lip of Tan - tal - us. Thus rov¹ - ing on 614
 .14 .35 .12 .28 .1 .32 (.7) .3 .3 .2 .52 (.1)
 .05 .4 .18 .48 .2 .3 (.82) .45 .6 .22 .62
 .12 .2 .12 .22 .15 .28 (.9) .28 .3 .15 .38

In con - fused march for - lorn, the ad - ven - turous bands, 615
 .22 .38 .38 .4 .24 .45 (.4) .2 .32 .22 .6 (.52)
 .14 .5 .6 .6 .4 .7 (.5) .22 .4 .3 .8 (.6)
 .22 .32 .44 .44 .3 .48 (.62) .2 .3 .2 .6 (.18)

With shud - dering hor - ror pale, and eyes a - ghast, 616
 .2 .26 .3 .3 .28 .6 (.15) .18 .4 .08 .54 (.4)
 .28 .3 .32 .4 .25 .72 (.5) .15 .5 .1 .52 (.7)
 .2 .32 .2 .24 .2 .6 (.1) .1 .6 .1 .6 (.55)

Viewed first their lam - en - ta - ble lot, and found 617
 3. .37 .18 .18 .08 .1 .15 .7 (.74) .28 .38
 .68 .5 .3 .44 .18 .08 .26 .55 (.55) .5 .6
 .35 .4 .18 .22 .1 .18 .1 .4 (.22) .2 .32

No rest. Through man - y a dark and drear - y vale 618
 .18 .5 (.3) .3 .25 .18 .12 .52 .2 .4 .18 .38
 .4 .8 (.65) .4 .26 .18 .1 .55 .2 .4 .2 .75
 .24 .6 (.7) .26 .2 .1 .1 .55 .18 .44 .1 .45

They passed, and man - y a re - gion dol - o - rous, 619
 .2 .6 (.3) .12 .28 .12 .15 .28 .26 .25 .15 .32 (.3)
 .22 .76 (.62) .2 .3 .18 .12 .28 .54 .2 .2 .6 (.8)
 .18 .68 (.3) .15 .2 .08 .1 .22 .2 .28 .16 .22 (.3)

O'er man - y a froz - en, man - y a fier - y Alp, 620
 .22 .24 .1 .15 .35 .3 .3 .12 .1 .42 .3 .52 (.3)
 .2 .25 .15 .18 .45 .34 (.4) .4 .1 .08 .46 .18 .58 (.5)
 .2 .2 .12 .15 .32 .34 (.3) .15 .1 .1 .5 .08 .5 (.6)

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death— 621
 .5 (.3) .6 (.15) .5 (.2) .65 (.2) .5 (.2) .7 (.3) .2 .44 .1 .52 (.55)
 .8 (.08) .8 .6 .85 (.25) .8 (.1) .65 .22 .65 .15 .7 (.7)
 .62 .7 .48 .3 (.4) .6 (.07) .6 .24 .5 .18 .5 (.3)

A¹ u - ni - verse of death, which God by curse 622

.15 .22 .07 .34 .12 .48 (.3) .3 .52 .2 .4 (.1)
 .2 .3 .12 .4 .1 .6 (.6) .32 .6 .44 .65
 .2 .2 .1 .4 .15 .5 (.6) .3 .48 .2 .4

Cre²-at-ed e³-vil, for e³-vil⁴ on - ly good; 623

.18 .24 .12 .3 .2 (.3) .32 .2 .15 .3 .18 .5 (.6)
 .3 .25 .1 .38 .3 (.32) .4 .4 .18 .4 .18 .52 (.5)
 .2 .15 .1 .28 .2 (.4) .2 .24 .15 .2 .18 .5 (.8)

Where all life dies, death lives, and Na - ture breeds, 624

.28 .42 .35 .72 (.2) .4 .62 (.3) .15 .35 .12 .42 (.18)
 .4 .44 .6 .85 (.4) .5 .7 (.4) .3 .4 .2 .8
 .3 .3 .4 .75 (.2) .3 .52 (.6) .18 .29 .18 .4

Per - verse, all mon - strous, all pro - dig - ious things, 625

.3 .58 (.3) .32 .32 .4 (.3) .3 .2 .22 .2 .6 (.35)
 .4 .5 (.5) .42 .42 .4 (.1) .4 .2 .28 .2 .6 (.5)
 .28 .5 (.2) .26 .3 .42 (.1) .28 .2 .26 .2 .6 (.5)

A - bom - i - na - ble, in - ut - ter - able, and worse 626

.09 .38 .02 .12 .38 .18 .18 .2 .3 (.3) .26 .3
 .12 .4 .02 .1 .3 (.25) .2 .2 .08 .3 (.3) .3 .54 (.3)
 .15 .25 .1 .08 .48 (.2) .15 .12 .2 .24 (.6) .24 .35

Than fa - bles yet have feigned or fear con - ceived 627

.28 .28 .28 .3 .22 .6 (.1) .32 .4 .2 .52 (.47)
 .25 .3 .35 .35 .2 .68 .35 .52 .25 .62 (.5)
 .26 .32 .18 .18 .2 .46 .2 .32 .4 .8 (.5)

Gor - gons, and Hy - dras, and Chi - mae - ras dire. 628

.3 .35 (.1) .18 .38 .38 (.2) .18 .2 .26 .28 .6 (.8)
 .5 .5 (.2) .2 .44 .44 (.3) .2 .4 .45 .4 .7 (.7)
 .32 .32 (.15) .2 .32 .34 (.1) .2 .28 .4 .28 .5 (.1)

For convenience of classification I shall assume to begin with, and modify the statement later, that every foot has one stressed syllable. I regard the stresses as falling on the second syllable except in the case of two trochees standing at the opening of lines 605 and 609. I shall

* Doubtful division.

assume that even in so-called spondees the second syllable is slightly more stressed than the first. With these assumptions granted, there would be in twenty-five lines 125 stressed syllables. The percentage of stressed syllables which are longer than the unstressed syllables in the same foot is for the different readers as follows: I, 86% ; K, 82% ; M, 85% ; or an average of 84%. About 8% of the stressed syllables that are not longer than the unstressed are of the same length. Of the remaining 8%, representing cases in which the unstressed syllable is the longer of the two, it should be noted that rarely is the first, or unstressed syllable, more than one-tenth of a second longer than the second syllable of the foot. The average difference in length between unstressed and stressed is .2. It should also be noted as a preliminary observation that rarely for any one of the three readers is there in any given line more than one foot of which it is true that the unstressed syllable is of the same length as the stressed, or longer; this foot never occurs at the end of the line and only infrequently at the beginning of the line.

Let us now examine and classify the anomalous 16%. A very few cases of long syllables in the unstressed position are clearly cases of spondees, but it should be noted that the majority of feet usually regarded as spondees are read with the second syllable longer. Other cases, a fairly large number, occur at points where the actual division was not clear in the records, or where the conventional division may not coincide with the true division.

We shall now consider various forms of a group which have possibly only a very slight stress or none, and may, therefore, be exceptions to the statement that every foot contains a stressed syllable. The first of these are polysyllables. In words of this sort the syllables tend to be

either very short or comparatively so. The stress in these cases is very light. Other cases occur in feet which probably are pyrrhics, that is, have no stressed syllable. An example is *and of*, line 612. Nearly all of the remaining are cases of unstressed syllables standing before the pause within the line. These syllables all readers make as long as the one following the pause, or longer.⁴

In these cases it should be noted that with the possible exceptions of line 620 and line 625, the word or syllable following the pause, is itself a word which is usually found, or often found, in the unstressed position. It is undoubtedly true, as Professor C. W. Cobb has pointed out in his article *Further Study of the Heroic Tetrameter*⁵ (*Mod. Phil.*, xiv, pp. 559-67), that many persons read these lines with only four clearly perceptible stresses, as

And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach,
All in one moment, and so near the brink;
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimaeras dire.

Another possible explanation is that the pause itself stands for the long syllable, and that the following short syllable is carried over into the next foot.

A few other cases occur in words the stress of which may not have been perfectly clear to the reader, since the word-stress and metrical stress do not fall together. Such words are *Lethean*, line 604; *confused*, line 615; *lamentable*, line 617.

All these classes comprising the 16% of syllables in which it is not true that the stressed syllables are longer

⁴In my investigation of pause, I found that the syllable or word before the pause is usually greatly lengthened.

⁵Other articles dealing with the same subject by Professor Cobb are: "A Type of Four Stress Verse in Shakespeare," *New Shakespeareana*, Jan. 1911; "A Scientific Basis for Metrics," *Modern Language Notes*, xxviii, pp. 142-146.

than the unstressed fall into three general classes: spondees, in which the stress may be equally distributed, and polysyllabic words, in which the same statement may hold true; pyrrhics, or feet made up of syllables neither of which is stressed; and, finally, cases in which error of reading or of division is possible. An exact division, of course, might increase and not decrease the percentage of anomalous cases.

It may be suggested at this point as the most obvious explanation of the 16% of syllables analyzed that stress and quantity do not need necessarily to accompany each other,—that a syllable in the unstressed position may be longer than one in the stressed position. This may be true, but our experiments, as well as those of others, show that syllables stressed even very lightly are longer than the same syllables unstressed. I have asked several readers to make an iambic rhythm of *do do* and of other syllables, as *do le*, *le do*, etc., stressing one more than another. I have no record in which the stressed syllable is not longer than the unstressed. The part which pitch plays in the differentiation of one syllable from another and the relation of this to quantity is a subject upon which I am at present working.

If now we subtract from the 125 syllables which we assumed to be stressed at the outset all syllables the division of which is doubtful, and still assume, since we have no definite data for asserting anything to the contrary, that every syllable in the stressed position is stressed, we have for the three readers, respectively, the following per cent. of stressed syllables found to be the long syllables of the foot: 90%, 89%, and 90%. We can, therefore, safely assert that 90% of all stressed syllables in the selection studied are also longer than the unstressed syllables, and we may

infer, if we choose to believe the evidence before us, that the remaining 10% are cases of feet in which one syllable is not more vigorously stressed than another, and therefore not longer. This 10% furnishes the relief from the monotony of five beats for every line, just as do the so-called spondees, or cases of an extra stress, and together with the cases of extra stress furnished by the spondees yields rhythmical variations and logical flexibility. I have already mentioned the fact that unstressed syllables which are longer than stressed syllables are only slightly longer, usually not more than .1 of a second.

In this connection it would be interesting to know how much longer one syllable must be than another to be subjectively appreciated as such. Certainly difference in pitch would easily differentiate syllables of the same quantity or of the same intensity. Judging from the various experiments made by different persons, I should surmise that in a rhythmic series already clearly established in the mind, the slightest change of pitch, quantity, or stress would satisfy the rhythmic feeling. I am inclined to think that no change or even a very slight increase of any one of these sound elements in favor of the unstressed syllable would not be perceived as cacophonous. As has been repeatedly demonstrated, the metrical pattern once established in the mind, will not be disturbed by a few irregularities. In fact, the rhythm may be momentarily dropped and then regained without difficulty.

In this paper I shall make no attempt to point out reasons for shortness or longness in syllables. The physical content of the syllable is, of course, an element concerned; and likewise, its mental and metrical import. *Ut* of *inutterable* carries very little mental content of itself; *pain* and *woe* carry much. Light, or short syllables, are largely

light because their mental content is light, but these may become at times the most important words in a phrase; as, I have at last found *the* man. It is the element of meaning which makes syllables and words delicately larger or smaller, more or less impressive, as one reads or speaks. It is interesting to note in line 607,

with one small drop to lose
In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe.

that all readers make *small* longer than *drop*, although usually it is true in iambic verse that of the long syllables in a spondee the second is longer than the first.

To show how variable in length syllables may be, I will give the lengths of a few words which are repeated in the selection. *And* varies in length from .1 to .5. *To* varies from .2 to .3. *All* varies from .14 to .48. All three words are in both the stressed and unstressed positions.

Of greater interest than the varying lengths of the same word are the varying lengths of the short and long syllables in the foot. The feet, in many cases, are not made of syllables which are absolutely short and long, but of syllables which are relatively so. Nevertheless, it is clear from an examination of the material that in nearly every line there are usually three and often four feet of which it may be said that the stressed syllable is not only long, but approximately twice as long as the unstressed. Below is a table which gives for each reader the average length of the short syllables, range in length, and average length for each foot in the line. The same details are given for the long syllables, together with general averages.⁶

⁶ Since there might be a difference of opinion as to how the words in a spondee should be classified, I have omitted these: *small drop*, line 607; *viewed first*, line 617; all of line 18; and *life dies, death lives*, line 624.

TABLE I

a. SHORT SYLLABLE

Reader	Aver. Length	Range	Average Length of Short Syllable for				
			1st ft.	2nd ft.	3rd ft.	4th ft.	5th ft.
I	.20	.02-.4	.19	.20	.20	.20	.20
K	.25	.02-.54	.25	.25	.25	.26	.24
M	.20	.08-.44	.20	.20	.22	.20	.20
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Aver.	.22	.02-.54	.21	.22	.23	.22	.21

b. LONG SYLLABLE

I	.38	.1 -.8	.38	.33	.32	.37	.49
K	.44	.08-.84	.45	.42	.40	.43	.62
M	.34	.1 -.8	.34	.33	.30	.31	.37
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Aver.	.39	.08-.84	.39	.36	.34	.37	.49

The table indicates that although there is a very great variety in the length of both short and long syllables, the average length of the short syllables is approximately .2 and of the long syllable .4, yielding the accepted ratio for classic poetry of 2:4. The average length of the short syllable in the different positions within the line remains approximately the same for each reader. The average length of the long syllable shows for each reader greater length in the fifth foot and also in the first foot,—a fact which is of significance as indicating the organization of the line.

From what has already been said the composition of the foot in English verse is clear. It is made up of syllables 90% of which are, in the stressed position, longer than those in the unstressed. There is the greatest possible variety in the relationship of short to long, but the average length of short to long is approximately as 2:4. Underlying the great diversity there seems to be a norm. Al-

though, as has been said, these facts make the foot composition clear, in order to make the matter more definite I give a table which shows the average length of the foot in this selection, the range in lengths for each reader, and for the material as a whole. In this table the times of all syllables are included.

TABLE II

Reader	Aver. Length of foot	Range	Average 1st ft.	Length of Short 2nd ft.	3rd ft.	4th ft.	5th ft.
I	.57	.18-1.2	.57	.50	.51	.58	.67
K	.76	.2 -1.6	.76	.74	.70	.73	.88
M	.59	.3 -1.32	.58	.55	.58	.57	.65
Aver.	.64	.18-1.6	.64	.6	.6	.63	.73

Although it is possible for any one interested to find the length of the feet in the material given, I will give the length for each of the three readers for the first five lines, merely to indicate more vividly the time values in verse of this sort.

I	.66	.3	.4	.4	.83	1
K	.8	.45	.3	.6	1.05	
M	.5	.43	.49	.38	.67	
I	.66	.8 (.18)	.45	.44	.6 (.65)	2
K	.7	1.02 (.25)	.9	.38	.85 (.6)	
M	.68	.68 (.65)	.62	.37	.79 (.55)	
I	.6	.52	.37	.62 (.4)	.56	3
K	.7	.7	.6 (.4)	.92 (.46)	.7	
M	.7	.52	.42	.8 (.35)	.52	
I	.42	.88 (.3)	.58	.92	.7	4
K	.58	1.18 (.46)	.68	1.25 (.18)	.7	
M	.38	.9 (.55)	.57	.84	.62	
I	.6	.48	.34 (.2)	.9	.72	5
K	.6	.5	.48	1.08	.82	
M	.6	.44	.43 (.1)	.7	.64	

These units can hardly be said to be even approximately equal in length, since one is frequently twice as long as another and may be three and four times as long. It is interesting to note, however, that at times a reader will keep the feet about the same length, as for example, M, line 1, and K, line 3. Psychologically, as has been demonstrated by experiments with elements mechanical in nature, the ear does not need approximately equal units, but only a certain degree of uniformity. To anyone who listens attentively to the time values of a good reader, the changing time is clearly evident, and this variation adds greatly not only to the logical and emotional character of verse, but also to its artistic power.

ADA L. F. SNELL.

XIV.—THE *EXEMPLUM* OF THE PENITENT USURER

It has been generally recognized by students of the mediæval drama, that certain of the moral tales found in collections of *exempla* and in commonplace books influenced indirectly the morality play.¹ This inference seems to be drawn as much from evidence of the dramatic possibilities inherent in specific *exempla* as from evidence of their widespread popularity. An example of a didactic story with such dramatic adaptability is offered by the tale of the penitent usurer. Its theme, the struggle between demons and angels for the soul of man, seems to foreshadow the conflict-between-the-vice-and-virtues type of morality. The number of mss., moreover, which have survived, proves that the tale was disseminated throughout England and the Continent, and therefore would be easily accessible to playwrights in search of dramatic material. Furthermore, the same inference may be drawn from the analogy between plays embodying favorite miracles or fabliaux and morality plays probably based upon popular *exempla*. For, although no scholar has hitherto shown the dependence of any extant morality play upon a specific *exemplum*, yet it is almost inconceivable that well-known didactic tales, obviously suited to dramatic purposes and extensively circulated in collections of *exempla* and in commonplace books,² should not have been used by the makers

¹ Cf. Elbert N. S. Thompson, *The English Moral Plays in the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, New Haven, Ct., 1910, vol. XIV, pp. 298-303.

² In an article upon the *Authorship of the Alphabetum Narrationum*, printed in the *Library* for January, 1905, Mr. J. A. Herbert writes, "Towards the end of the century [i. e., the thirteenth] three

of moral plays. A striking illustration of the tendency to embody miracles in plays is the *Croxton Play of the Sacrament*. Written about 1465, this play dramatizes a widely diffused miracle of the Eucharist. An illustration of the use of the fable is offered by an Italian miracle play of the fifteenth century, in which the writer has merely put into dramatic form the tale of the *Three Robbers and the Treasure Trove*,³ found in the *Veddabbha Jataka*. Again, Hans Sachs, who often used for his *Fastnachtspiele* material taken directly from books of sermons and from German translations of fabliaux, treated the same *Treasure Trove* story in a form similar to the Italian version, first in a *Meisterlied*, written in 1547, and later in a *Spiel*, composed in 1555.⁴ Shakespeare's use of the story of the Three Caskets in the *Merchant of Venice* furnishes another instance of the frequency with which dramatic tales were incorporated in plays or parts of plays. Even at the present time, Maeterlinck supplies another instance of the same tendency in his *Sister Beatrice*, in which he has done little more than modernize the old miracle of the B. V. M., the *Nun Who Saw the World*.

large collections of *exempla* were formed by different compilers, arranged under subject-headings in alphabetical order . . . the *Speculum Laicorum* . . . the *Tractatus exemplorum de abundantia adaptorum ad omnem materiam in sermonibus, secundum ordinem alphabeti* . . . the *Alphabetum Narrationum*," and that "the latter half of the thirteenth century was prolific in such works."

³ Alessandro D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI raccolte e illustrate*, Firenze, 1872, vol. II, p. 33, "L'edizione originale è così descritta dal Batines, Bibl., p. 23:—'Incomincia la Rappresentatione di Sancto Antonio della Barba romito: et prima langio lo annuntia—Fa parte del tomo II della Raccolta del sec. XV, dove occupa 22c.—In fine si legge soltanto: Finis.'"

⁴ F. J. Furnivall, Edmund Brock, W. A. Clouston, *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, *Publications of the Chaucer Society*, 2nd Series, 7, 10, 15, 20, 22, London, 1872-87, pp. 433-434.

Such dramatic practice seems to indicate that the conflict-between-the-vices-and-virtues type of morality might have been suggested, if not definitely influenced, by the *exemplum* of the penitent usurer. Consequently, it is the purpose of this paper to trace the evolution of the story of the penitent usurer and to point out the probability of its influence upon the conflict-between-the-vices-and-virtues type of morality. In tracing the evolution of the tale, the source must first be considered. Secondly, certain hitherto unpublished versions will be printed and those which have already been printed will be summarized. Thirdly, each of these versions will be compared with the common source. Finally, in showing how great was the probable influence of the *exemplum* of the penitent usurer upon the morality play, the dramatic possibilities of the subject-matter and its widespread popularity will be considered in detail.

The first appearance of the *exemplum* of the penitent usurer, under the title of *De contentione sanctorum angelorum cum daemonibus pro anima cuiusdam usurarii contriti*, occurs in Cæsarius von Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*,⁵ (Dist. II, cap. 31) to which a date later than 1222⁶ cannot be assigned. The story is related by Cæsarius on the authority of a certain old man, a "sacerdos et monachus nigri ordinis, natione Saxo." Since, however, Cæsarius' ascriptions are not always trustworthy,⁷ it

⁵ *Cæsarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Josephus Strange, Coloniae, Bonnae, et Bruxellis, 1851.

⁶ J. A. Herbert writes in his *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1910, vol. III, p. 348, "The *Dialogus Miraculorum* was completed in or very soon after 1222: see Dist. X, capp. 41, 48, etc."

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 349, with reference to the authorship of the story of the *Merciful Knight*, found in the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Dist. VIII, cap. 21.

remains an open question whether this Benedictine monk was the original authority for the miracle. Nevertheless, as no earlier version of the tale has been found, it may be true that, in this case, the Black Monk was the author. Whatever the exact form of the original story may have been, it is upon Cæsarius that scholars rely for the first written version. The following is a brief summary of this story as it is related in the *Dialogus Miraculorum*.

A wealthy usurer, stricken by a sudden malady, begins to meditate upon the wickedness of usury, the torments of hell, and the difficulties of repentance. Recognizing that he is at the point of death, he summons an abbot of the Black Order, into whose keeping he promises to give all his possessions, provided that the latter absolves him from his sins. After a preliminary consultation with the bishop, the abbot agrees to become sponsor for the usurer's soul. The dying man then beseeches the abbot to have him carried to the monastery whither his goods have been already removed. All is done according to the usurer's wish, but he expires upon reaching the monastery and his body is placed in the oratory. There during the night brothers watch beside the corpse. Suddenly appear four loathsome demons, who take up positions on the left side of the bier and, with the exception of one old monk, put the brothers to flight. Immediately four angels enter and range themselves on the right, opposite the demons, whose leader at once intones the second verse of the thirty-fifth Psalm. The rest of the fiends repeat after him in turn the third, fourth, and fifth verses, and upon the completion of the fifth they cry out in unison, "God is just, and therefore this man rightfully belongs to us." Hereupon, the angels beg the demons to proceed with the song of David, but the demons reply that enough has been said to ensure the usurer's damnation. Then the angels one after another repeat the next three^{*} verses of the psalm and claim the soul as theirs, adding the ninth and tenth verses as further proof of the usurer's salvation. After putting the demons to confusion and then to silence in this manner, the angels take the soul to "associate

^{*}The first angel quotes the sixth verse; the second angel quotes only the first sentence of the seventh verse; the second part of the seventh and the first part of the eighth verses are recited by the third angel, while the fourth concludes with the remainder of the eighth verse.

with those of whom the Saviour says, 'Gaudium est in coelo angelis Dei super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente.'"⁹

This version is written in Latin throughout. In the fifteenth century, however, the *exemplum* of the penitent usurer occurs in five mss., all based more or less closely upon Cæsarius' story and written partly in Latin and partly in English. Of these mss. two have been already printed, the one in the *Alphabet of Tales*,¹⁰ entitled *Testamentum usararij in morte factum valet*, and the other in *Jacob's Well*,¹¹ where it is used as an *exemplum* for the sermon *De Cupiditate*, while the remaining three, Magdalen College Oxford ms. 60, f. 236^b, Corpus Christi College Cambridge ms. 392, f. 260,^a and Advocates ms. 18.4.4., f. 108 ^a-108 ^b, have hitherto been unprinted.¹² In order that a comparison of all the tales with Cæsarius' version may be conveniently made, the first two will be summarized briefly, and the remaining three will be printed in full, one after the other.

The story found in the *Alphabet of Tales* tells concisely how a usurer fell sick and summoned a holy abbot to shrive him. For the sake of his soul he gave all his goods to the abbey whither he had been brought to die. When the monks were at prayer round the corpse, they suddenly perceived four grisly spirits standing on its left side. All the brothers fled in fear, except one old monk. Then four white angels made their appearance on the side opposite the fiends. Thereupon the demons recited, in Latin, verses 2-5 of the thirty-fifth Psalm in proof of the usurer's guilt,

⁹ This verse from Luke xv, 10 is not quoted accurately.

¹⁰ *An Alphabet of Tales*, ed. Mary M. Banks, *Early English Text Society*, Original Series, vol. 127, pp. 503-504, London, 1905.

¹¹ *Jacob's Well*, ed. Dr. Arthur Brandeis, *Early English Text Society*, Original Series, London, 1900, vol. 115, pp. 138-141.

¹² Dr. Carleton Brown kindly brought these mss. to my notice.

while the angels defended him by reciting verses 6-8 of the same Psalm. By this means the demons were confuted; and the soul was carried off to heaven. Of the version in *Jacob's Well*, the larger part of the tale deals with a sermon delivered by the abbot to the dying usurer upon the duty of restoring goods falsely gained. In this account, unlike the others, the usurer was brought dead to the abbey. While the monks were repeating the *Office for the Dead* four fiends entered and put to flight not only the monks, with the exception of one, but also the abbot. Upon the entrance of four fair angels, one of the evil spirits said, "Oure freend here is deed. Pefore we iiij feendys saye we oure sawtere for his soule, and I begynne." First the demons quoted verses 2-5 of the thirty-fifth Psalm in Latin and then the angels replied with the next three verses. An English rendition of the verses is added. For convenience in comparing this rendition with those of the Advocates, Magdalen, and Corpus Christi College Cambridge versions a reprint is inserted here.

þis synnere in him-self he sayde
 þat he schulde synne, noȝt euyll apayde.
 Goddys dreed, a-forn his eyȝe syȝt,
 had he neure, day ne nyȝt.

He þis hath don treccherously
 In þe syȝt of god on hyȝ, |
 þat his wyckydnes is foundyn hate
 to his god, erly & late.

woordys of his mowth were wyckydnesse;
 He dyde neuere weel, to more ne lesse.

Euere wyckydnesse he thouȝt,
 In his bed whan he was brouȝt.
 Wyckyd waye hatyd he nouȝt,
 Malyce & synne euere he souȝt.

God lord, þi mercy
 is in heuen in hyȝ!
 þi truthe on erthe goth to þe skye,
 to saue synnerys þat wepe hertly.

þi ry3tfulnes
 as goddys hylles [it is],
 þe domys of þi goodnes
 ben wel depe, wyth-oute les!

þou lord, both man & beste
 sauyst, and bryngyst to reeste.
 Euыр þi mercy meste
 to man is multiplied!

þe chylderyn of mannys gettyng
 vnder þi weengys, god, wrying,
 In hope schul be gyed!
 of mannys getyng þis deed man is;
 þow3 he dede in erthe amys,
 vnder wengys of mercy wryed he is,
 & curyd wyth goddys grace!
 In þis synfull wy3t
 haue 3e no ry3t
 þerfore hens sly3t
 ffeendys 3e pace!

The version of the story in the Magdalen College Oxford ms. 60, f. 236,^b runs as follows:

Fertur quod erat quidam diues qui propter multitudinem peccatorum cecidit in extremis pro quo orauit heremita per multos annos ad deum vt sibi ostenderet obitum suum vnde accessit ad eum videns ipsum totaliter desperatum dulciter loquebatur ad eum dicens. Sed bone consolaciones et fducie et spera in deo et miserebitur tui quia scribitur derelinquet impius viam suam et vir iniquus cogitationes suas et reuertatur ad dominum et miserebitur eius. Infirmus medio tempore loquelam amisit et semel ad celum oculos leuauit. Videns hoc heremita precepit vt contricionem haberet et quam g[ra]-tanter deus peccatores recipit cogitaret in signum huius rogauit quod iterum in celum oculos leuaret et iterum humiliter leuauit in signum vere contricionis et sic reddidit spiritum vnde tunc temporis non fuerunt ita instructi in lege domini sicut nunc sunt credebant eum esse dampnatum quia non fuit explete confessus. et statim portabant corpus ad capellam heremite relinquentes viduas et pauperes vnde circa mediam noctem intrauerunt quatuor demones diuidentes corpus in quatuor partes; primus accepit partem suam super humerum suum dicens: dixit iniustus [vt delinquat] in semetipso non est timor dei ante oculos eius. Anglice. þis synful man yn dede and thougt His lord god he dredde no3t. Secundus. Accipiens

partem suam dixit: Quoniam dolose egit in conspectu eius vt inueniatur iniquitas eius ad odium. Before god that hym dere hath bouzt falshede and Wikkednesse euere he hath wrouzt. Tercius accipiens partem suam dixit: *Verba oris eius iniquitas & dolus.* Noluit intelligere vt bene ageret. He was fals yn Worde. and dede. peynes of helle shall be his mede. Quartus accipiens partem suam dixit. *Non iniquitatem meditatus est in cubili suo; astitit omni viae non bonae, malitiam autem non odiuit.* He bouzt yn synne both day and nyzt. therefore he shall be yn helle and that ys rizt et evanuerunt Mulieres putabant animam in inferno quia corpus tantum dolorem habuit vnde non multum post intrauerunt quatuor boni angeli quorum primus primam partem super feretrum posuit dicens domine in celo *miseriordia tua. et veritas tua usque ad nubes.* lord yn heuen ys thi mercy mannes sowle to saue with truthe pou art redy. Secundus angelus partem suam dedit dicens. Iusticia tua sicut montes dei *miseriordia tua abbissus multa.* In the hye hull of heuen ys riztfulnesse. thy dome ys mercy thorw sothfastnesse. Tercius deposuit partem suam dicens. *homines et iumenta saluabis domine &c.* Man and best thou shalt saue. And synfulman thy mercy shall haue. Quartus posuit partem suam dicens. *Filij hominum in tegimine alarum tuarum sperabunt &c.* Eche man that trust yn the. With his trust saued shall be. Tunc accedente Christo ihesu corpus integrum fecit et benedixit illud et surrexit et confessus est de tota vita sua etc.

The Corpus Christi College Cambridge ms. 392, f. 260 ^a reads:

Primus Demon	Sayde pys vntrewe man hymself for to schende My god schal y noth dred now at my last ende	<i>versus dixit</i> <i>iniustus, etc.</i>
Secundus Demon	Wel falsly he wrowthe. be hys godus syzth Hys falsed ys founde. to hate now he ys dyzth	<i>quoniam do-</i> <i>lose, etc.</i>
Tertius Demon	Euery word of hys mowth was falsed & vntrewthe He wold noth vndyrstande & on hymself haue rewthe	<i>verba oris</i> <i>eius, etc.</i>
Quartus Demon	On wykkydnesse he powthe yn bed & euery place All synne he loued but nothyng goddys grace	<i>qui iniquitate</i> <i>medi[tator],</i> <i>etc.</i>

Primus Angelus	lord god þy mercy ys in heuene aboue And yt ys y-spred yn erthe for synful manys loue	<i>domine in celo miseri- cordia, etc.</i>
Secundus Angelus	Endles god þy rythwusnesse ys heyer þan eny hyll And yt ys sprat in erthe þt man schuld neuer spyll	<i>judicia tua sicut montes, etc.</i>
Tertius Angelus	Euery man yn þys wardle lord god þu schalt saue Yt hys not þy wyl þt man schuld spyll þt wyl þy mercy craue	<i>homines et iumenta, etc.</i>
Quartus Angelus	Euery man þt ys born ynto þys wordles wo Schal truste yn þy mercy wyngys for now & euer mo, etc.	<i>filij autem hominum, etc.</i>

The Advocates MS. 18.4.4., f. 108^a-108^b ¹⁸ reads:

Narrat Cesarius quod quidam vsurarius ad mortem infirmus fecit ad se vocare quendam abbatem et confessus est eiꝝ tale condidit testamentum: domine si vultis respondere pro anima mea: omnia que habeo vobis trado vt sicut vobis videbitur pro anima mea faciatis: que annuens: omnia bona illique fecit ad abbathiam portare et ipsum infirmum qui statim vt ingressus est abbathiam expirauit: Abbas autem omnia oblata restituens fecit cleram de residuo: cum autem fratres circa corpus eius psallerent: ecce quattuor spiritus nigri ex parte sinistra feretri steterunt. quibus visis omnes fratres fugerunt pro timore excepto uno bono et sancto et ecce quattuor angeli boni vestiti albis steterunt in parte dextra: vnus demon incepit psallere & dixit: Dixit iniustus vt delinquat in semetipso non est timor dei ante oculos eius: þis fals mannes thoght was all in synne: for drede of god ne walde he blynnere. Secundus demon dixit: qui dolose egit, etc: þat is, falsly he wroght in ilke a dede: þe wrathe of god he wan to mede || tertius demon: verba oris eius iniquitas. & dolus, etc: hys wordes wore in gyle ilk a dele: he walde noght thenke to do wele || quartus demon: Iniquitatem meditatus est in cubili, etc: þat is falnes & tresoun was all hys thoght: felnesse & malice ne hated he nogt || Tunc omnes demones dixerunt: Thurgh rightwys dome he losed þe blys: for he is gylty of al þis || Tunc omnes boni angeli dixerunt: Wretched wyghtes 3e wyl noght loke: what god is

¹⁸ Miss C. R. Borland kindly procured for me a rotograph of these folios.

wreten in þis boke || *unus angelus dixit* domine in celo *miseri-*
cordia tua, etc. þat is: þi mercy lord drawes man to heuen: þi
sothfastnesse can we noght neuen || *secundus angelus dixit*: Iusticia
tua sicut montes, etc. þat is | þi rightwysnesse is ferly hegher: þi
domes are preuy & ful sleghe. || *tertius angelus*: homines ac iu-
menta *saluabis domine*, etc. þat is lord man & beste yow heles fro
sore: so shewes þowe þi mercy more & more || *quartus angelus* filij
homini sub tegmine alarum *tuarum sperabunt*, etc. þat is þe man
atte laste fleghtes vndur þi wenge: there euer more for to lenge ||
Tunc omnes boni angeli dixerunt: Oures he is gif he come later
We shal hym lede to heuen gate || *Et omnes demones fugerunt vt*
a proposito frustrati, etc.

Collaciones Holcote.

After a comparison of the Advocates ms. with the story
in the *Dialogus Miraculorum* it becomes clear that this ms.
is merely an epitome of the version found in Cæsarius,
preserving, however, verses 2-8 of the thirty-fifth Psalm
intact and inserting as translations of these verses eleven
English riming couplets. The Corpus Christi College
Cambridge ms. is a fragment, consisting only of eight
riming couplets, a vernacular translation of verses 2-8 of
the same Psalm. That these verses were not an inde-
pendent translation of the thirty-fifth Psalm but that they
were undeniably written in connection with the tale of the
penitent usurer is conclusively proved, since verses 2-8
alone are Englished, and in the left hand margin opposite
each of the couplets are written the words, "Primus
Demon, Secundus Demon," etc.

The Magdalen College version, though similar in bare
structure to the story of the penitent usurer in the
Dialogus Miraculorum, displays, nevertheless, several strik-
ing divergences. For the sake of clearness it seems advis-
able to print the differences between the Magdalen College
version and the text of the Cæsarius story in parallel
columns.

Caesarius

Magd. Coll. Oxf. ms. 60

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. A usurer falls ill. | A rich man is on the point of death. |
| 2. He calls an abbot of the Black Order. | He summons a hermit. |
| 3. The abbot agrees to stand sponsor for his soul. | The sick man dies before he finishes his confession. |
| 4. The body of the usurer, who expired upon reaching the monastery, is placed in the oratory. | The body is taken to the hermit's chapel. |
| 5. Brothers watch beside the bier. | Widows and paupers watch beside the bier. |
| 6. Four demons enter. | Four demons enter and, after quartering the body, each takes a part. They repeat the verses of the thirty-fifth Psalm, and then vanish. |
| 7. Four angels enter. The demons repeat verses 2-5 of the thirty-fifth Psalm; the angels reply with the three following verses (6-8). | Four angels enter, take up the quarters and place them upon the bier, repeating, at the same time, their respective verses. |
| 8. The demons are silenced and confused; the angels take the body to heaven. | Christ makes the body whole, blesses it; the man arises and makes full confession. |

It is evident from this comparison that the three most prominent variations are (1) the separate entrances and exits of the demons which entirely preclude a debate, (2) the quartering of the body, and (3) the resuscitation of the dead man. The first dissimilarity seems to be explicable on the ground of confusion in the writer's mind. He had apparently heard or read the tale and remembered the sick man, his sudden death, and the appearance of angels and demons reciting verses from the thirty-fifth Psalm; but he seems to have forgotten that the angels and the demons quote their verses in the regular form of a body-and-soul debate. The reason probably lay in his lack of

sufficient dramatic ability to understand the value, in this case, of a single scene as opposed to two repetitive scenes. The profanation of the body, on the other hand, may have been a conscious embellishment on the writer's part, suggested to him by stories in which demons desecrate the body of the sinner upon death.¹⁴ His choice of the specific form of desecration, quartering, may have been due to the common practice of his own day rather than to any particular instance of quartering which he may have observed in stories dealing with the debate between the body and the soul. The resuscitation of the dead man is another definite addition to the miracle related by Cæsarius, though the restoration to life of the sinner was a very common theme, especially in miracles of the B. V. M. There are, for example, the revivification of the drowned sacristan,¹⁵ and also those of the sinful monk of Cologne,¹⁶ of the woman in the diocese of Langres,¹⁷ of the child who returned to life,¹⁸ etc. These tales, however, could only have exerted an indirect influence upon the Magdalen College version, since there is no evidence of direct borrowing. The author would naturally be familiar with the theme of revivification and, therefore, used it in retelling the story of the

¹⁴ Louise Dudley, *Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul*, Baltimore, 1911, ch. II, pp. 18-31.

¹⁵ Aloys Meister, *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Cæsarius von Heisterbach*, III, 16, pp. 145-146 in the *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, Dreizehntes Supplementheft, Rom 1901.

¹⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by Wm. Caxton*, London, 1900, vol. IV, pp. 247-248. This is apparently an analogue of the tale of the drowned sacristan.

¹⁷ H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1893, vol. II, p. 633. The story of the revivification of the woman in the diocese of Langres occurs in the *Speculum Historiale*, VII, 117.

¹⁸ Bibliothèque Nationale Latin ms. 5268, 49, III, 8.

penitent usurer. There is also another tale, the *Boy Devoted to the Devil*,¹⁹ which might have suggested, besides the resuscitation of the repentant sinner, two more of the divergent elements of the Magdalen College version. In this story the Boy, in his anxiety to be released from the power of the Devil, seeks out a very holy hermit who decides that "hit is nedfull to the to aske helpe of the blissid maid and moder Marye."²⁰ Although the hermit placed the Boy between himself and the altar upon the day appointed for his seizure by the Devil, the child was taken to hell. He was, nevertheless, delivered from torment by the prayer of the "blissid maydene" and returned whole to life. This miracle was widely popular and therefore probably well-known to the author of the Magdalen College ms., but it is difficult to determine whether it exercised any direct influence; for hermits, hermits' chapels, and revivification abound in the vision literature of the time. They form part of the stock material of stories found in commonplace books from which preachers drew freely for illustration.

The two remaining fifteenth-century versions, the one in the *Alphabet of Tales* and the other in *Jacob's Well*, unlike the three already considered, translate the whole tale into the vernacular. The story found in the *Alphabet of Tales* is a condensed form of that found in the *Dialogus Miraculorum*. It differs from the other fifteenth-century versions in omitting altogether the ninth and tenth verses of the thirty-fifth Psalm, spoken in unison by the angels, and in introducing the other verses unaccompanied by a translation into English.

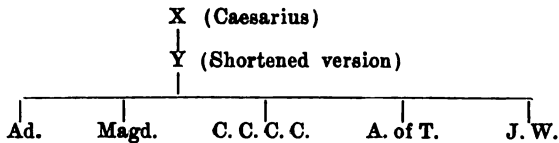
A freer and fuller translation than that of the story in

¹⁹ Ward, *l. c.*, II, p. 632.

²⁰ *Anglia*, III, p. 323. The text is here printed from Lambeth ms. 432.

the *Alphabet of Tales* is discovered in the version in *Jacob's Well*, which not only retains the dialogue between the angels and the demons but also includes that between the usurer and the abbot. It varies from the Advocates, Magdalen, and Corpus Christi College Cambridge mss. in the English rendition of the song of David; for, instead of the single couplet used in these versions, the author of *Jacob's Well* has turned each verse of the Psalm into double couplets, except in the case of the third fiend, who recites only one couplet, and of the fourth angel, who has eleven lines. It would be difficult to determine at what particular stanzaic form the author was aiming in these eleven lines, for the rhyme scheme runs a a b c c c d e e e d, and the verses are of varying lengths and metrically uneven. In this version, as in all those with English renditions, the vernacular couplets are separate and independent translations of the Latin lines into the respective dialect, Midland or Northern or Southern,²¹ but little can be said either for the beauty or for the fluency of any of these vernacular renderings.

Furthermore, all the five versions differ from the original story recounted by Cæsarius in omitting the abbot's visit to the bishop. This may be explained on the ground that the fifteenth-century texts depend upon an intermediate shortened version of the Cæsarius tale, thus:



²¹ The couplets in the Ad. ms. and the translation in the *Alphabet of Tales* are written in the Northern dialect, while the couplets in the Magd. and C. C. C. C. mss. and the translation in *Jacob's Well* are preserved in the Midland dialect.

Very little is known definitely about either the date or the authorship of these mss. Since the Advocates ms. is entitled *Collaciones Holcote*, one might presume that the *Collaciones* was the work of Robert Holkot, but this ascription of authorship cannot be accepted as final, because neither Leland²² nor Tanner²³ includes the *Collaciones* in their lists of Holkot's writings. Furthermore, even on the supposition that Holkot was the author of this collection, it would still be doubtful whether he had composed the English couplets, for the verses are written in the Northern dialect, while Holkot presumably spoke and wrote, when writing in the vernacular, the Southern dialect.²⁴ But this argument from the dialect is inconclusive, since a later scribe, writing in the Northern dialect, would have had no difficulty in transposing the Southern forms. If Holkot was the author of the *Collaciones*, the story of the penitent usurer could not have been written

²² *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, auctore Joanne Lelando, Oxonii, 1709, cap. CDXI, p. 370.

²³ *Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica*, auctore Thoma Tannero, Londini, 1748.

²⁴ Tanner, *ibid.*, p. 407, writes: "Holcothus [Robertus] sive Haldecotus Dominicanus, Avoniae borealis^d alumnus, nunquam aut labori, aut oleo pepercit, quo literas tandem, quarum amore totus conflagrabat, assequeretur.^f

- d. Seu Northamptonae addit ms. Trin.
- e. Apud Holcot in agro Northamptoniensi natus. Fuller, *Oh. Hist.* III. 95. Familia hujus cognom. apud Buckland (agr. Berch.) floruit; sed ex margine libri A. Wood. Ms. Pits. et nota ms. praefixa fuit distincta. Vide Ashmol. ms. 850.
- f. In coenobio sui ordinis Oxon. educatus, et ibi tandem SS. theologiae doctor, et ejusdem facultatis publicus professor. Bale. Pits. Cave. MCCCXXXI—II. II kal. Apr. fr. Rob. Holcote ordinis Minor. admissus erat ad audiendas confessiones. *Memorand. Henr. Burghers episcopi Lincoln.*"

later than 1349, since this was the date of Holkot's death.²⁵

Although the exact date of the composition of the story in the Magd. Coll. ms. cannot be stated with certainty, it is clear that the *exemplum* was circulating in the fifteenth century in a commonplace book, containing miscellaneous material, a collection of Dominican sermons and stories with moral explanations from the *Gesta Romanorum*, *Legenda Aurea*, *Vitae Patrum*, Bede, St. Gregory, etc.²⁶

Scarcely more is known concerning the date and authorship of the C. C. C. C. fragment. Like the version in the Magd. Coll. ms. these couplets are found in a ms. which James ascribes to the fifteenth century.²⁷ Regarding the section in which these verses occur he adds, "A collection of Sermons, etc. in various hands, closely written. The writer seems to have been a Cambridge man."²⁸

As in the case of the previous mss., the authorship of *Jacob's Well* is unknown and also the exact date of composition, although it very probably falls, as Brandeis is disposed to think, somewhere within the first quarter of the fifteenth century.²⁹

The *Alphabet of Tales* is a fifteenth-century translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, which was once ascribed to Étienne de Besançon, but is now generally conceded to

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 408, "Obiit, autore Trittemio, ex peste; et sepultus est Avonae mediterraneae.

²⁶ Peste extinctus est, in lectione septimi capituli in *Ecclesiasticum* Anno MCCCXLIX. Bal. v. 84. Pits. p. 463. seq. Whar-ton. *Append...Cave Hist. lit.* p. 35."

²⁷ H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Colleg. Aulisque Oxon.*, Pars II, pp. 36-37 of *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Collegii B. Mariae Magdalenae*, Oxonii 1852.

²⁸ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, vol. II, p. 248, Cambridge, 1912.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

³⁰ *Early English Text Society*, Original Series, vol. 115, p. xiii.

have been the work of Arnold of Liège. Herbert comes to the conclusion that the *Alphabetum Narrationum* was written in 1308.³⁰ From this date the inference can be drawn that very early in the fourteenth century the story of the penitent usurer had already attracted the attention of collectors of *exempla* on account of its vividness and its dramatic climax.

It is not my purpose to maintain that there exists an actual source relationship between the *exemplum* of the penitent usurer and the conflict-between-the-vices-and-virtues type of morality, but to point out the existence of a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that this *exemplum* influenced this particular type of morality. Such a conclusion is suggested by circumstantial evidence: first by the dramatic possibilities of the *exemplum* itself, secondly by the obvious analogy between the two themes, and thirdly by the extensive popularity of the story. The possibilities for stage representation in the debate between the angels and the demons are apparent to the most casual reader. Their speeches are cast into regular dialogue form, thus, Primus Demon:—

Secundus Demon:— etc.,

so that the debate was practically ready to be staged. It seems probable, therefore, that at the inception of the morality play this story suggested the motif of the conflict-between-the-vices-and-virtues, owing to the analogy between this theme and the struggle between the demons and the angels. Moreover, the widespread popularity of the tale would increase its opportunity of influencing the moralities, for the numerous versions³¹ of Cæsarius von Heister-

³⁰ *The Library*, January, 1905, pp. 94 ff.

³¹ Meister, *l. c.*, p. xix, writes, "Es genügt darauf hinzuweisen, dass Strange seine Ausgabe auf nur vier (sechs) Handschriften des Dialogus basierte hatte, während mir bis jetzt über 50 mehr oder

bach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* served to disseminate it and, when extracts from the *Dialogus Miraculorum* were directly embodied in mss. containing miscellaneous material, this particular narrative was often chosen.³² It is clear, therefore, that the story found favor with sermon- and story-collectors quite on its own merits. In addition, its use by preachers³³ would be no small factor in making it popular, because they were beginning to realize that sermons interspersed with *exempla* produced more effect upon their congregations than purely theological discourses. This *exemplum* would undoubtedly be long remembered after the excellent moral injunctions of such a sermon as the *De Cupiditate* had been entirely forgotten. Furthermore, the frequency with which one discovers scrolls³⁴ of demons

minder vollständige bekannt geworden sind. Diese grosse Anzahl heute noch vorhandener Handschriften des *Dialogus* lässt die Vermutung zu, dass uns noch verhältnismässig viel mehr verloren gegangen ist."

³² Herbert, *A Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. III, p. 352, Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 18346, § 23 and p. 620, Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 18364, § 184.

³³ Herbert in the *Library*, 1905, pp. 94-95 writes, "About the beginning of the thirteenth century preachers began to see the importance of making their sermons appeal more directly and forcibly to their hearers; and the practice of using *exempla* to illustrate arguments, or to fix the attention of a drowsy audience, began to become general. This tendency received a mighty impetus from the foundation of St. Dominic's order of Friars Preachers, but was not confined to them—among the foremost preachers of the new school were the canon Jacques de Vitry and the parish priest Odo of Cherton, and the Friars Minor of St. Francis did not lag far behind their rivals. Popular preaching was, however, the special study of the Dominicans, and most of the books designed for the assistance of preachers emanated from them."

³⁴ The Dunois *Horae* (H. Y. Thompson, *Fifty MSS.* I, p. 56, no. 65), "A picture of the scene with scrolls upon which are inscribed the words spoken by the dying man, and the demons and the angels." James in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of St.*

and angels at the bedside of the dying man testifies not only to the great popularity but also to the interest aroused by this theme.

The foregoing discussion has shown that Cæsarius von Heisterbach's *De Contentione sanctorum angelorum cum daemonibus pro anima cuiusdam usurarii contriti* is the ultimate source of the versions of the tale of the penitent usurer, found in Advocates ms. 18.4.4., C. C. C. C. ms. 392, Magd. Coll. Ox. ms. 60, in the *Alphabet of Tales*, and in *Jacob's Well*. The *Dialogus Miraculorum* was widely disseminated and the *exemplum* is frequently found in excerpted collections of the *Miracles* and was often depicted upon scrolls. It was also included in the *Alphabetum Narrationum* and in other collections of *exempla*, and there are very probably extant many other versions of the tale not included here, since this paper in no way professes to be an exhaustive study of the story of the penitent usurer. It seems probable that a theme so attractive to the mediæval mind, so widely known, and so intrinsically dramatic

John's College, Cambridge, 1913, p. 313, ms. 264, § 10, f. 120, writes: "*Office of the Dead*. In *C.* foreground a young man in scarlet tunic lined with fur, and blue hose, etc., his hair (or head dress) spreading very wide, in the form of gold leaves. He looks to *L.*, where Death, a skeleton-corpse in a shroud holding two darts, is emitting him on the breast with one of them. On *R.* lies his nude corpse in a coffin. Above, his soul, nude, in the air. Two angels in silver take it by the arms: one is armed with a long cross-spear. Two black devils seize the legs of the soul. The ground and trees are yellow-green. The figures of Death, the youth, the corpse, the angels, demons and soul have all blank scrolls." Brit. Mus. Add. ms. 37049, § 8, "Drawing of a death-bed with dialogue (on scrolls) between the Soul, Death, the Devil, an Angel, St. Mary, Christ and God the Father; *e. g.* Soul,

O hope in nede þou helpe me.
Gods moder I pray to þe. f. 19.

Cotton ms. Faust. B. vi., § 22. Cf. also Stowe ms. 39, f. 32^b.

exercised an influence upon the mediæval drama and especially upon the conflict-between-the-vices-and-virtues type of morality. The good and bad angels who occur in the morality plays and the contention of vices and virtues for the soul of *Humanum Genus* were in all likelihood based upon exemplary tales of good and bad angels contending for the soul of sinful but, in the end, penitent mankind.

MARY E. BARNICLE.

XV.—WAS PARADISE WELL LOST?

There are few things in literature so beautiful as the endings of Milton's three long poems. *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, the great Puritan poems of sin and righteousness, end, each in its own way, on a quiet note of reconciliation with life. In all three the story tapers off and there is no final climax. In all three the grand style sinks into the simple, the music dies away on the slow chords of a cadence, the mighty pinions on which the poet was lifted in his flight float him gently down to earth again. And in all three, though he does not cry "back into life, back into life" with Goethe, he drops back into it instinctively. Like the skylark, he is true to the kindred points of heaven and home. In *Paradise Lost* is the finest of these closes, and concerning the meaning of this one there has, of late, arisen some question.

They looking back, all th' eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms:
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

The stern Puritan might have been expected to dictate an ending full of anger and fierce denunciation of the sin which had brought Death into the world and all our woe, or to give place only to the wailing of the sinners themselves. But he does neither. He presents to us, instead, a simple picture of the man and woman leaving home and

going out into the world, in tears but not despairing. This is meant, it would seem, to be a picture—a symbol—of the life they were entering upon, the life their children were to lead; and is it not a remarkable thing that the blind old Puritan, amid his quarrelling daughters and the renegades of the Restoration, on evil days though fallen and evil tongues, could, after singing of the wrath of God, the rage of devils, and the fatal folly of men, now change his note, stay his stern hand, and give that life its due?

Does he then simply check himself, virtuously rein himself in? On the contrary he had fully prepared for this benign and magnanimous ending. His thought unfolds as in a drama rather than as in an epic; and from the moment of the temptation of Eve there is perceptible a gradual humanizing of his tone and adjustment in his point of view. Adam really becomes a man, Eve, a woman. She is impelled at first not to share the fruit with her mate, but by her new-found wisdom get the upper hand. And she changes her mind through an impulse still more feminine:

But what if God have seen
And death ensue? Then I shall be no more,
And Adam, wedded to another Eve,
Shall live with her!

That thought she keeps to herself (and there she is like a woman too), but she pleads with him to share her lot, whatever it be; and he, speaking for the first time the language of sin—the accents of our common nature—yields to her, crying, with the first throb his voice had ever felt,

How can I live without thee?

The tie between them now is far closer than before, and their speech is simpler and franker. They give up epic formality, as has been observed. No longer do they ad-

dress each other as "Daughter of God and Man," or "My author and disposer," or "Thou for whom and from whom I was formed," but as plain "Adam" and "Eve." Their dignity and formality disappear as nature asserts itself within them—as they know what it is to tremble and weep, to reproach or forgive one another, and cling to one another because either has no other in the world.

In keeping with this awakening of the humanity in the hero and heroine is the development in the conception presented of sin and death. In xii, 473 ff., Adam, after the vision of the future, is uplifted in soul:

Full of doubt I stand
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By me done and occasioned, or rejoice
Much more, that much more good shall spring;
To God more glory, more good will to men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.

And though in Book iii, ll. 207 ff., God had pronounced Death to be the penalty on man for the sin that he will commit, in Book xi, ll. 59 ff., he declares that, happiness having been lost to man, Death now "becomes his final remedy." So he bids the archangel send them forth, "though sorrowing, yet in peace."

These developments or adjustments in the conception of sin and death are only in keeping, I think, with the general drift of the poem, and with the poet's consistent purpose to make the superhuman life in Eden slope down to the level of the life that men lead and have always led. I consider them as contrived deliberately, in sympathy with the humanizing of Adam and Eve through their sin and with that spirit of natural resignation in which they accept their exile. The purity of Paradise might bear up under the vertical rays of eternal truth, but human nature would

wither and shrivel. Professor John Erskine,¹ on the other hand, considers all these developments and adjustments, whether in doctrine or characterization, to be changes and contradictions, of which the poet was hardly aware, and which were owing to more enlightened views that took possession of him as he "finished the last books" of the poem. What I consider a particular and intentional beauty, the foreseen and necessary conclusion, he considers an afterthought. "Indeed, they go out in excellent spirits," says Professor Erskin, "except for the inconvenience, as Eve laments, of leaving the home one is accustomed to. But for the world before them they had nothing but zest. At last they were to travel and see life—in short, to have a Renaissance career." Eden, that is to say, had been something of a bore, and now Adam and Eve, being "on their own," so to speak, are about to have the time of their lives. But by this interpretation the delicate gradations of Milton's art are obliterated, and Milton, one of the most conscious, deliberate, and unerring craftsmen that ever lived, becomes naïve, inconsistent, not classical but medieval or Elizabethan. Such poets as he have afterthoughts no doubt, but in their poems there are none.

The changes (mentioned above) in the doctrine concerning sin and death are, I must think, no exception. The latest opinion concerning sin is Adam's own humble surmise, not the deliverance of the Lord. That he, at any rate, shall be given no afterthoughts, the poet takes care. For the Lord does not contradict himself in that, having pronounced Death as the penalty, he later declares it to be a relief. Death is both, we know. We can see that without incurring a charge of contradiction if the immortal poet couldn't. Moreover, these modifications or developments in doctrine are not only necessary

¹ In these *Publications*, XXXII, p. 580.

in the poem as we now descend to the human level, but the truths involved are in keeping with the general principle accepted elsewhere in the poem, nay, are exemplifications of it. That, in a word, is that God brings good out of evil. In Book VII, which presumably is not to be accounted one of "the last books," twice over² the heavenly choir sings his praises for doing this very thing with the sins of the angels; and how much more might God do it with the sin of man! In thus representing God as bending both sin and death to his exalted purpose the poet would, in a higher sense, be consistent enough. And therefore it seems unnecessary here to take up the question of the more enlightened opinions which Milton may have begun to entertain near the end. When he "was finishing the last books" we do not know; but the opinions in the *Areopagitica* concerning the flimsiness of "a fugitive and cloistered virtue," which Mr. Erskine finds now prevailing, were expressed of course before he had even begun the first. No change in his opinions, therefore, need be involved.

The main objection to Mr. Erskine's interpretation, however, is that it does violence to the text. There is nothing "lively" that I can see about Adam and Eve at their departure. The point is not that they want to go but that they are willing; they weep, as they go hand in hand; the world is all before them, but they do not run to meet it, and it is with wandering steps and slow that they take their solitary way. They are not dejected, but neither are they cheerful: their mood is as pensive as the movement of the verse. Mood and metre both breathe the spirit of the words of the Lord—"sorrowing, yet in peace." In short, this is human life as we know it, and as Milton knew it, of a mingled web, good and ill together, dim, sad, but

² Ll. 188-193, 615-16.

very dear. And to a poet (and reader too) who conceives it so, all the previous developments and adjustments are necessary as in this poem of superhuman life we approach the human, and as what we call human nature takes, in a measure, the place of sin. What Mr. Erskine considers an afterthought is but the outcome of that accommodation of religion to life to which every healthy spirit, however illogically, strives to attain, and without which life would rest under a monkish curse. Milton had attained to it, being more of a man and poet than a Puritan. "Nor love thy life nor hate," Adam had just been bidden by the archangel. "But what thou livst live well," he adds,—and by that, to be sure, he does not mean "with zest."

It is a twilight mood, as I conceive it, in which the poem ends, as typifying the twilight in which men dwell. And so, unlike Mr. Erskine's cheerful and lively ending, it readily blends, by gradations, with what had gone before. Twilight and dim horizons at the end—after the darkness visible and lurid splendors of hell, after the glories of heaven, after the sweet but unreal light of Paradise. At the beginning the towering passions of the devils and the ecstasies of the saints; the nude and spotless purity of Paradise in between; and now the shame and sorrow, and love and hope, of frail humanity. There is sweetness in the close; but there is also the melancholy that Mr. Erskine denies to it; and were this not the case, the close would be little in harmony with the high and serious spirit of the poem as a whole. The beauty of it Mr. Erskine turns into what seems to me an esthetic incongruity. "Excellent spirits," anything approaching "zest," at the close of the epic of the fall of man, of *Paradise Lost*! If so, pray why *regain* it? Aye, aye, some of us, no doubt, would answer. But Milton was one of those

who, accepting this life, heroically cling to their dream of a better, however little they can make of it, when it comes to the point, or really conceive it. Even if he were not such, even if he were so much of a skeptic as to think Paradise well lost, he was too much of an artist to say so. He was hardly the one to mock at his own poem and at the poem (almost as fine) still to come. Still less was he the one to spoil his music, and end his solemn song of man's exile from immortal bliss on a piping note of cheer.

ELMER EDGAR STOLL.

XVI.—POSSIBLE EVIDENCE FOR THE DATE OF *TAMBURLAINE*

The first extant edition of *Tamburlaine* bears the date of 1590, but we have evidence of its existence as early as 1588 in the well known reference to "that atheist Tamburlan" found in the address *To the Gentlemen Readers*, which forms the introduction to Greene's *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith*.¹ Many authorities give 1587 as the date of the play, but there is no direct evidence for it. The date of the first appearance of *Tamburlaine* on the stage is of such importance in the history of the English drama that any evidence bearing upon the matter, however slight or however doubtful, should be brought to light for the consideration of students of Elizabethan literature. This is my apology for presenting a matter that seems to me somewhat doubtful; it may turn out to be of no value whatever as evidence; on the other hand, some one of keener insight may see in it strong corroboration of other evidence, or show it to be conclusive in itself.

Bullen, in his introduction to Marlowe's *Works*,² p. lxxv, calls attention to certain poems found at the end of Gabriel Harvey's *New Letter of Notable Contents*, 1593. These poems, four in number, are entitled, 1. Sonet. *Gorgon*, or the Wonderfull yeare; 2. A Stanza declarative; to the Louers of Admirable Workes; 3. The Writer's Postscript; or a frendly *Caueat* to the *Second Shakerly* of Powles; 4. Glosse.³ The first and fourth are each followed by an

¹ Greene's *Works*, Huth Library, vii, p. 8.

² A. H. Bullen, *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, 3 vols., 1884-5.

³ I give titles and text of these poems as they are printed in Grosart's Edition of Harvey's *Works* (Huth Library), i, pp. 295-7.

envoy of two lines. Bullen prints the first, third, and fourth. He points out that the meaning of the first and third "plainly is—' Marlowe is dead; it remains to muzzle Nashe,' " and that the fourth plainly indicates that Harvey thought Marlowe had died of the plague.⁴ Grosart, independently of Bullen, had discerned the meaning of the fourth; in the introduction to his edition of Harvey's works he quotes Bullen in full.⁵

We are concerned here chiefly with the first of these poems, but inasmuch as the second, in its last line, is connected with the first, both are reprinted.

SONET

Gorgon, or the Wonderfull yeare.

*St. Fame dispos'd to cunnycatch the world,
Vprear'd a wonderment of Eighty Eight:
The Earth, addreading to be ouerwhurld,
What now auailles, quoth She, my ballance weight?
The Circle smyl'd to see the Center feare:
The wonder was, no wonder fell that yeare.*

*Wonders enhaunse their poure in numbers odd:
The fatall yeare of yeares is Ninety Three;
Parma hath kist; De-maine entreates the rodd:
Warre wondreth, Peace and Spaine in Fraunce to see.
Braue Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa shames:
The Christian Neptune Turkish Vulcane tames.*

*Nauarre wooes Roome: Charlmaine giues Guise the Phy:
Weepe Powles, thy Tamberlaine voutsafes to dye.*

L'enuoy

*The hugest miracle remaines behinde,
The second Shakerly Rash-swash to binde.*

⁴ Harvey's *New Letter* is dated September 16, 1593; Marlowe was buried June 1 of that year.

⁵ Vol. III, *Introd.*, pp. xii-xvi. McKerrow seems to have overlooked Bullen's interpretation of the poems. See *Works of Thomas Nashe*, v, p. 102.

A Stanza declarative: to the Louers of Admirable Workes

*Pleased it hath a Gentlewoman rare,
 With Phenix quill in diamont hand of Art,
 To muzzle the redoubtable Bull-bare,
 And play the galiard Ohampionesses part.
 Though miracles surcease, yet wonder see
 The mightiest miracle of Ninety Three.
 Vis consilij expers mole ruit sua.*

A few notes are necessary to make plainer the meaning of certain parts of these poems. The "hugest miracle" mentioned in the Envoy (i. e., the muzzling of Nashe) is to be worked by the "Gentlewoman rare" of the *Stanza declarative*,⁶ where it becomes "The mightiest miracle of Ninety Three." Comment upon the "wonders" mentioned in the second part of the sonnet forms part of the "notable contents" of the *New Letter*.⁷ The implication of the last line of the sonnet is that the death of Marlowe is the greatest wonder of Ninety Three. In the first line of the sonnet, "St. Fame" is in imitation and in ridicule of Nashe's use of the appellation in *The Epistle to the Reader* prefixed to *Strange News of the Intercepting Certain Letters*, 1592.⁸

With these preliminary considerations, we can now approach the question suggested by the expression in the

⁶ Harvey in the *New Letter* praises this anonymous lady and her writings in the most extravagant terms. Cf. *Works*, I, pp. 276-284. For Grosart's discussion of the question of her identity, see *Works*, III, Introd., pp. xxiii-xxiv, also McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, v, pp. 89-90.

⁷ *Works*, I, pp. 260-265.

⁸ "Heere lies my hatte, and there my cloake, to which I resemble my two Epistles, being the vpper garments of my booke, as the other of my body: Saint Fame for mee, and thus I runne vpon him" (Nashe's *Works*, I, p. 263). Harvey never tires of making fun of this, sometimes using St. Fame as a nickname for Nashe, who refers to the fact in *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596. Cf. Nashe's *Works*, III, pp. 52, 53.

second line of the sonnet, "a wonderment of Eighty Eight." What was this wonderment of '88?⁹ The first part of the sonnet seems to tell us this about it: Fame, disposed to fool the world, proclaimed the coming of a great wonder in 1588 (that great year of wonders). The Earth is in great dread that this wonder may upset her balance, but the Sun in his course remains serene. The only wonder that "feli" was the fact that nothing wonderful followed Fame's terrifying report. The second part of the sonnet says that greater wonders fell in '93 than in '88 and enumerates five. The first line of the final couplet mentions two more, and the last line announces the greatest wonder of all, the death of Marlowe ("Tamberlaine vout-safes to dye").

It is important to note that Marlowe is here called 'Tamberlaine.' This is in accord with the epithets and expressions used in the "Postscript" and the "Glosse,"—"Sir Rodomont," "Gargantua minde," "Scanderbeg,"¹⁰ "sky-surmounting breath," "breath that taught the Tempany to swell," "hawty man," "gloriously insults," "tamberlaine contempt," "toade Conceit," "Bull-beggar," "He that nor feared God, nor dreaded Diu'll, Nor ought admired, but his wondrous selfe." In such language does Harvey express his contempt for "Atheist Tamburlan" Marlowe and ridicule the pretensions of the dramatist and his play. And the same contempt and ridicule is expressed in the last line of the 'Sonet,' "Weepe Powles thy Tam-

⁹ The modern reader will inevitably think of the Spanish Armada and its defeat, and there is a possibility that this is the right interpretation of the allusion. The present article presents evidence for a different interpretation. See further, p. 443.

¹⁰ There is a similar association of Scanderbeg and Tamberlaine in Randolph's *Hey for Honesty* (1651), III, i, 21: "And I will be the Scanderbeg of the company The very Tamberlaine of this ragged rout." See N. E. D., s. v. *Scanderbeg*.

berlaine voutsafes to dye." Now the title and the first part of the 'Sonet' hold *something* up to ridicule, some "wonderment" that was to astound the world, something as terrible as Gorgon. Is it not reasonable to infer that this is the same thing as that referred to in the last line of the sonnet, namely *Tamburlaine*? Is not such an inference almost inevitable? Our conclusion then is that the "wonderment of Eighty Eight" alluded to in the second line of the sonnet is the play *Tamburlaine*, and, consequently, that 1588 is the date of the first appearance of *Tamburlaine* upon the stage.

Evidence in support of this interpretation is afforded by a poem of Harvey's added to *Pierce's Supererogation*,¹¹ which was evidently written just before the *New Letter*.¹²

An other occasionall admonition.

*Fame rows'd herselfe, and gan to swash about:
 Boyes swarm'd: youthes throng'd: bloudes swore:
 brutes rear'd the howl:
 Her meritorious work, a Wonderlowte;
 Did euer Fame so brauely play the Lowte?
 I chaunc'd vpon the Ryme: and wondred much
 What courage of the world, or Mister wight
 Durst terrible S. Fame so rashly tuch
 Or her redoutable Bull-begging knight.
 Incontinent I heard a piercing voyce,
 Not Ecchos voyce, but shriller then a Larke:
 Sith Destiny allottes no wiser choyce,
 Pastime appose the Pickle-herring clarke.
 Quiet thy rage, Imperious Swish-swash:
 Or Wo be to thy horrible trish-trash.
 Est benè, non potuit dicere: dixit Erit.¹³*

¹¹ Harvey's *Works*, II, p. 339.

¹² McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, v, p. 103. The latest date in *Pierce's Supererogation* is August 3, 1593; the *New Letter* is dated September 16, 1593.

¹³ Nashe himself associates this poem with the *Gorgon* poems in the following passage from *Have with you to Saffron Walden*: "his

There is some obscurity in this piece, but it is plain that it refers to Nashe from "S. Fame" in line 8 and "her redoubtable Bull-begging knight" in line 9. The first four lines plainly refer to the conclusion of the *Epistle to the Reader* of Nashe's *Strange News*, already quoted;¹⁴ they ridicule Nashe's pretension to fame and belittle his work. Now, if we compare these lines with the first six lines of *Gorgon*, we find points of resemblance in general thought and phraseology. In each Fame raises much ado about something (in the *Admonition* a "worke") that is to be a wonder (*Gorgon*, "wonderment" "wonder"); in each the expected wonder turns out to be a ridiculous failure (*Gorgon*, "no wonder fell," *Admonition*, "a wonderclowte"). There can be no doubt that in the *Admonition* a work of Nashe's is referred to; we may be sure, then, that in *Gorgon* some work is referred to. The *Admonition* plainly ridicules Nashe and one of his works, *Strange News*; *Gorgon* just as plainly ridicules Marlowe and *Tamburlaine*. We have noted above the parallels between the openings of both pieces in the thought and expression; it seems inevitable that this parallelism should indicate parallelism of the works ridiculed, in the *Admonition*, *Strange News*, in *Gorgon*, *Tamburlaine*, the "wonderment of Eighty Eight."

In the light of the first four lines of the *Admonition*,

occasionall admonitionatiue Sonnet, his *Apostrophe Sonnett*, and *tinie titmouse Lenuoy*, like a welt at the edge of a garment, his *goggle-eyed Sonnet of Gorgon* and the *wonderfull yeare*, and another *Lenuoy* for the chape of it, his *Stanza declaratiue*, *Writers post-script* in meeter, his *Knitting up Oloase* and a *third Lenuoy*" (McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, III, p. 133).

¹⁴See p. 438, note 8. *Pierce's Supererogation* is Harvey's reply to Nashe's *Strange News*, in which "St. Fame" first appears. One of the sub-titles to *Pierce's Supererogation* is *A Preparative to certaine larger Discourses, intituled Nashe's S. Fame*.

the first six lines of *Gorgon* might be interpreted as referring to some work of Nashe's of the year 1588. Nashe's first work, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, was entered in the *Stationers' Register* September 19, 1588; it was published in 1589; but there is no evidence that Harvey knew of its existence. The fact is well stated by McKerrow:¹⁵ "It [*Anatomie of Absurditie*] seems to have dropped out of sight immediately upon publication, and neither Nashe himself, save, as already mentioned, in the *Preface to Menaphon*, nor Gabriel Harvey ever alludes to it. I can only suppose that Harvey had never seen it—though he must have seen Nashe's own reference to it—for, had he done so, he would surely have found in it something upon which to comment." There is no evidence for dating any other work of Nashe's earlier than 1589. Again, these first six lines of *Gorgon* might be interpreted as referring to Nashe's *Epistle to the Gentlemen Readers*, which forms the introduction to Greene's *Menaphon*. Nashe's high commendation of Greene's works in general and of *Menaphon* in particular might well be described as "proclaiming a wonderment," and Harvey's bitter enmity towards Greene would account for the contempt and ridicule expressed in line 6 of *Gorgon*.¹⁶ But there is no evidence that *Menaphon* was published before 1589. It is to be noted further that any interpretation that makes the first six lines refer to a work of Nashe sadly weakens the unity of the sonnet and fails to give any significance to the title.

The interpretation that is here maintained assumes that some specific thing (*Tamburlaine*) is alluded to in the

¹⁵ *Works of Thomas Nashe*, IV, p. 2.

¹⁶ We know, further, that Gabriel Harvey's brother Richard in his *Lamb of God* (published 1590) had attacked Nashe for presuming to pass judgment on contemporary writers. See McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, v, pp. 75-6.

expression "a wonderment of Eighty Eight," and the evidence is strong that this specific thing is *Tamburlaine*; but it might, perhaps, be contended that such an assumption is unwarranted and unnecessary. In that case other interpretations, less specific in detail, might be suggested. 1. The wonders of '88 are as nothing compared with the wonders of '93; the greatest wonder of '93 is Marlowe's death. 2. Fear of the Spanish Armada terrified us, but it proved to be no wonder; the events of '93 are real and some of them very strange, but none so strange as the death of Marlowe. 3. Marlowe's fame is a wonder of '88, that is, it turns out to be false; his death, like the great events of '93 (some of them strange), is a strange reality. These interpretations are suggested not because it is believed that any one of them is as probable as the one here maintained, but rather to suggest the point wherein may lie a weakness of that interpretation. For if it can be proved that "a wonderment of Eighty Eight" does not allude to any specific thing, then it cannot allude to *Tamburlaine*.

It is not to be supposed that all the possibilities of interpretation have been exhausted here. Some one more deeply read in the controversy between Nashe and Harvey may find an interpretation that fits better all the words and acts of that notorious quarrel, an interpretation that may preclude all possibility of reference to the date of *Tamburlaine*. In the meantime this paper will have accomplished its purpose if it calls the attention of students of Elizabethan dramatic history to the possibility (or probability) of evidence for that date in this poem of Harvey's.

F. G. HUBBARD.

XVII.—SHELLEY'S DOCTRINE OF NECESSITY VERSUS CHRISTIANITY

Among the great English poets of the Romantic period Shelley was the poet of religious as well as of social and political revolt. His mind was preoccupied, especially in the formative years of his life, with the subject of religion, and it is significant that the piece of writing which first attracted any considerable attention to him was the essay *The Necessity of Atheism*, published in 1811 when he was eighteen and a student of Oxford. The essay not only is revolutionary in spirit, but also reveals a mind precociously occupied with religious problems.

With condensed expression and close-knit argument the essay attempts briefly to prove nothing less than the non-existence of Deity. The proof was easy: there are only three sources of evidence—the senses, reason, and testimony—and these do not suffice to establish belief. The major premise in the essay is really the statement that “the senses are the sources of all knowledge to the mind.” If we grant this, the argument is logical enough. Shelley, of course, had no doubt of its validity. Yet the truly religious mind questions it persistently and rightly. It is easier to believe in the existence of Deity than in Shelley’s major premise.

In a letter to Elizabeth Hitchener, written in June, 1811, several months after the publication of *The Necessity of Atheism*, Shelley reveals what was probably the direct source of the major premise in his essay:

Locke proves that there are no innate ideas, that in consequence, there can be no innate speculative or practical principles, thus overturning all appeals of *feeling* in favor of Deity, since that feeling must be referable to some origin. There must have been a time when

it did not exist; in consequence, a time when it began to exist. Since all ideas are derived from the senses, this feeling must have originated from some sensual excitation, consequently the possessor of it may be aware of the time, of the circumstances, attending its commencement. Locke proves this by induction too clearly to admit of rational objection.¹

It is also to be noted that twice in the essay Shelley asserts that "belief is not an act of volition" and that therefore "no degree of criminality is attachable to disbelief." And in a letter to his father dated February 8, 1811, first published by F. Ingpen in his *Shelley in England* (1917), he attacked Christianity on the same grounds. Of the coming of Christ as being called good tidings he says: "It is hard to believe how those tidings *could* be good which are to condemn more than half of the world to the Devil, for, as St. Athanasius says, 'He who does not believe should go into eternal fire'—as if belief were voluntary, or an action, not a passion (as it is) of the mind." Accordingly, to him who perceives that belief is purely involuntary and who considers there is insufficient testimony to prove the being of Deity, atheism is a necessity.

In the many letters Shelley wrote to Miss Hitchener between June, 1811, and June, 1812, inclusive, there is revealed a growing dislike of Christianity which was to burst forth in full intensity and power a little later in *Queen Mab*. This development of his hatred of Christianity is accompanied, curiously enough, by a growth in his views toward, rather than away from, the tenets of the Christian faith. He is now willing, for instance, to admit the existence of Deity, provided you believe in his kind of Deity:

¹ In another letter to Miss Hitchener, dated June 25, 1811, and in still another to her, dated Aug. 18, 1811, he repeats these references to Locke's arguments against innate ideas.

I have lately had some conversation with Southey which has elicited my true opinions of God. He says I ought not to call myself an atheist, since in reality I believe that the universe is God. I tell him I believe that God is another signification for the Universe. I then explain:—I think reason and analogy seem to countenance the opinion that life is infinite; that, as the soul which now animates this frame was once the vivifying principle of the infinitely lowest link in the chain of existence, so it is ultimately destined to attain the highest; that everything is animation (as explained in my last letter); and in consequence, being infinite, we can never arrive at its termination. How, on this hypothesis, are we to arrive at a First Cause? Southey admits and believes this. Can he be a Christian? Can God be three? Southey agrees in my idea of Deity,—the mass of infinite intelligence; I, you, and he, are constituent parts of this immeasurable whole.^a

Likewise he asserts his belief in a certain kind of immortality:

As I conceive (and as is certainly capable of demonstration) that nothing can be annihilated, but that everything appertaining to nature, consisting of constituent parts infinitely divisible, is in a continual change, then do I suppose—and I think I have a right to draw this inference—that neither will soul perish; that in a future existence it will lose all consciousness of having formerly lived elsewhere,—will begin life anew, possibly under a shape of which we have no idea.^b

This view of immortality as impersonal is remarkably similar to that set forth just ten years later in the forty-second and forty-third stanzas of *Adonais*.

But it is the poem *Queen Mab* and the notes appended thereto, printed in 1813, that comprise Shelley's first sustained effort to express the whole of his mind. The poem is notorious as containing an outspoken and unblushing attack upon Christianity. According to the degree of seriousness with which we consider the matter we may either smile or become righteously indignant at his invective.

^a Letter to Miss Hitchener, Jan. 2, 1812.

^b Letter to Miss Hitchener, June 20, 1811.

tives against that religion which he describes as peopling "earth with demons, hell with men, and heaven with slaves."

More important and interesting, however, than the attack itself are the philosophical grounds upon which it is made. At the age of nineteen or twenty Shelley would have scorned the idea of not being able to give a completely rational account of the faith that was in him. "The doctrine of Necessity," he says, "tends to introduce a great change into the established notions of morality, and utterly to destroy religion":

Spirit of Nature! all-sufficing Power,
Necessity! thou mother of the world!
Unlike the God of human error, thou
Requirest no prayers or praises.

In the more philosophical passages the poet emphasizes the conviction that man and all things, from every atom, "sentient both in unity and part," from "the meanest worm that crawls in dust," to the "interminable wilderness of worlds, at whose immensity even soaring fancy staggers," that all pain and pleasure, all good and evil, "join to do the will of strong Necessity."

There is no question but that at the time of writing the author considered the moral and religious deductions to be made from the poem far more important than its imaginative beauty. Hence the "notes." In a letter to Mr. Hookam, the publisher, in January, 1813, he says: "The notes to 'Q. M.' will be long and philosophical. I shall take the opportunity, which I judge to be a safe one, of propagating my principles, which I decline to do syllogistically in a poem." In the notes he says:

He who asserts the doctrine of Necessity means that, contemplating the events which compose the moral and material universe, he beholds only an immense and uninterrupted chain of causes and

effects, no one of which could occupy any other place than it does occupy, or act in any other place than it does act. . . . Every human being is irresistibly impelled to act precisely as he does act: in the eternity which preceded his birth a chain of causes was generated, which, operating under the name of motives, make it impossible that any thought of his mind, or any action of his life, should be otherwise than it is.

It is well known that Shelley derived many of his doctrines directly from William Godwin's *Political Justice*. Yet we cannot help being slightly shocked, as in this particular instance, to note how the poet echoes the very words of his master. In *Political Justice* we read:

He who affirms that all actions are necessary, means, that, if we form a just and complete view of all the circumstances in which a living or intelligent being is placed, we shall find that he could not in any moment of his existence have acted otherwise than he has acted. . . . This view of things presents us with an idea of the universe as connected and cemented in all its parts, nothing in the boundless progress of things being capable of happening otherwise than it has actually happened. In the life of every human being there is a chain of causes, generated in that eternity which preceded his birth, and going on in regular procession through the whole period of his existence, in consequence of which it was impossible for him to act in any instance otherwise than he has acted.*

A sort of corollary to this doctrine is Shelley's theory that there is no creative mind in the universe. The negation in the poem, "there is no God," Shelley says in the notes, "must be understood solely to affect a creative Deity. The hypothesis of a pervading Spirit coeternal

* It is clear that Godwin attached very great importance to these views, a point which Shelley could not have overlooked. In the introductory statements in the chapters on *Free Will and Necessity*, Godwin remarks: "It will be found upon maturer reflection that this doctrine of moral necessity includes in it consequences of the highest moment, and leads to a bold and comprehensive view of man and society, which cannot possibly be entertained by him who has embraced the opposite opinion." He also asserts that all his reasoning is based on this doctrine as a postulate.

with the universe remains unshaken." This Spirit, which has existed from all eternity and from which flows all life, has no power to make things. That it created the world is a pure superstition, Shelley holds, and the creature of this superstition is the God of the popular religion.⁵

And at this point in the notes there is incorporated the main body of the essay, *The Necessity of Atheism*, with slight modifications in expression and occasionally in idea. One significant change occurs in the use of a single word. In the original essay Shelley had said in conclusion that "the mind cannot believe in the existence of a God." In the notes he changed this to—"the mind cannot believe in the existence of a *creative* God." Shelley had now grown to recognize the limitations of his original negation and believed in a living and animating Spirit pervading the frame of things. That is, he was not an atheist, as Southey had told him.

Looking back, then, from *Queen Mab* to *The Necessity of Atheism* one can see that from the beginning the vital thought with Shelley was not Atheism but Necessity. It is necessary that every thought of the mind and every act of life be just what they are, that the mind believe only that which it thinks true, that rewards and punishments based on belief are tyranny, that no personal responsibility really exists, that, in short, Necessity governs all life.

⁵ Shelley's account of how this superstition arose is given in *The Revolt of Islam* (1818):

Some moon-struck sophist stood
Watching the shade from his own soul upthrown
Fill Heaven and darken Earth, and in such mood
The Form he saw and worshipped was his own,
His likeness in the world's vast mirror shown;
And 'twere an innocent dream, but that a faith
Nursed by fear's dew of poison grows thereon.

—Canto VIII, Stanza vi.

In the imaginative passages of *Queen Mab* this law of Necessity is transformed into a vast and all-pervading Spirit, Soul of the Universe, which in its onward flow of being, from the lowest to the highest links in the chain of existence, is preparing the world for some sudden desirable consummation. Though not perfectly fused with the argumentative elements of the poem, these passages have a poetical atmosphere not to be found in Godwin at all.

In the more polemical parts of the poem and in the notes the poet, as we have seen, on the basis of Necessity, violently attacked Christianity, and also kings and priests and institutions, which he conceived to have been produced by Christianity. The God of the Christian religion commands us to believe certain definite things and threatens our disbelief with everlasting punishment. Christianity assumes "that it is in our power to believe or not to believe; whereas the mind can only believe that which it thinks true." Belief being involuntary, the Christian religion attaches the highest possible degree of merit and demerit to that which is worthy of neither. Thus the obedience that Christianity demands, Shelley says, is "only the pitiful and cowardly egotism of him who thinks he can do something better than reason." A philosopher of our own day, the late William James, with his "will to believe," would have been incomprehensible to the philosopher Shelley a hundred years ago.

Godwin said that "man is really a passive and not an active being," and devoted one long chapter in *Political Justice* to prove that the mind is merely a mechanism and that even in volition it is altogether passive. Shelley accepted without qualification the doctrine of his master. It seems in dealing with the principle of Necessity in *Queen Mab* Shelley was not fully aware that he was handling a two-edged sword. For why should kings

and priests and Christians be held responsible for their terrible deeds when, according to the theory of Necessity, they were irresistibly impelled to act precisely as they did act? This, indeed, is the fundamental contradiction in the poem. If Shelley was utterly ineffectual in matters of practical reform, it was because he appealed to a principle of belief that has not the remotest connection with the springs of human action.

Shelley's acceptance of the doctrine of Necessity was a temperamental need and not due wholly to chance acquaintance with Godwin's works at a favorable moment in his youth. To conceive of power in terms of personality was instinctively difficult for him; hence the abstractness and utter impersonality of the law of Necessity appealed to him. Then, too, he always longed intensely for a changeless state in a changing world, an immutable and eternal order of things. The conception, therefore, of a pervading spirit coeternal with the universe, never having been created, never to be destroyed, necessary in all its outer activities, with which "is no variableness, neither shadow of turning," seemed the very fulfillment of such intense longings. "The One remains, the many change and pass," he said in a famous figure in *Adonais* written in the mature years of his life. This doctrine also reduces the explanation of the universe to a single principle. To Shelley, who never was able to measure the complex forces that make up human life, the simplicity of this view commended itself.

The doctrine of Necessity influenced in their youth the minds of two other great speculative and meditative English poets of the period, Wordsworth and Coleridge. Hazlitt quotes Wordsworth as saying to a young student of the Temple: "Throw away your books of chemistry and read Godwin on Necessity." Yet this was but a passing

phase of Wordsworth's youthful experience, for he soon shook off the influence and stood, as he says, in the presence of Nature, "a sensitive being, a *creative* soul."

With Coleridge the theory played a much more important part. "I am a complete necessitarian," he wrote to Southey in 1794, and in another letter of about the same time he declared that he was an advocate of the automatism of man, believing that thought is only motion and that the mind is merely an automatic instrument through which the cosmic order finds an avenue of expression. Everywhere in Coleridge's early poetry man is "predoomed," to use Coleridge's word, to be precisely what he is in whatever state you conceive him. Even the hero of *The Ancient Mariner* has no will of his own, but is a passive agent to powers outside himself, and is destined in a necessitarian spirit to pass from land to land and tell his strange story to such as are doomed to hear it.

Unlike Shelley, Coleridge did not deem this doctrine opposed to the spirit of Christianity. Philosophical necessity was simply another word for religious predestination, which again, in Coleridge's mind, was an aspect of unity, all things, in a predestined way, working together for good in the universe. In later years Coleridge recanted this doctrine and asserted his belief in Free-will; but only, it seems, after he had woven such strong threads of evil habits about his life that most of his career then seemed a sort of fatal necessity.

Unlike Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelley did not experience any change of heart as regards Necessity. And here I take issue with various interpreters of Shelley. They say he was materialistic and necessitarian in *Queen Mab*, of course, but as soon as he had outgrown his boyishness he embraced a philosophy that supersedes and contradicts his juvenile beliefs. True, he swiftly outgrew his

early materialism. Indeed, he was not altogether materialistic even when he wrote *Queen Mab*, as the following passage alone proves:

Throughout this varied and eternal world
Soul is the only element: the block
That for uncounted ages has remained
The moveless pillar of a mountain's weight
Is active, living spirit.

But on Necessity he never changed his attitude fundamentally. This principle stood to the last in the background of his mind, exercising a shaping and controlling influence over his thought. Naturally, in so poetic and subtilizing a mind as Shelley's, so unpoetic a principle as Necessity underwent many refining modifications. Never again did he render it so crudely and obtrusively as in *Queen Mab*, but wrought it subtly and suggestively into the whole of his composition. Always ignoring some of the grim implications of the law of Necessity, the poet aetherialized it into a vast and indefinite spirit of ideas and being.

The passage just quoted from *Queen Mab* is noteworthy as indicating how early Shelley was inclined to ascribe a greater reality to the immaterial than to the material world; wherein, it has often been pointed out, he is like Plato. But, governed by the law of Necessity, the animating Spirit of this supersensuous world is devoid of will and personality and as such is unethical, wherein Shelley is essentially unlike Plato. Shelley's world is unquestionably full of Platonic forms, but it is also unquestionably impregnated with Godwinian teachings. What seems true is that Shelley attempted to graft Platonic forms on the Godwinian doctrine of Necessity. Godwin was his real master.⁶

⁶ In an article, *Platonism in Shelley*, in *Essays and Studies* (vol. iv, 1913), L. Winstanley presents some striking similarities between

In the prose treatise, *A Refutation of Deism*, written in 1814, Shelley's first important production after *Queen Mab*, there is scarcely any modification of the point of view of the poem. In the essay Shelley repeats *verbatim* large portions of the notes to *Queen Mab*, which in turn had been quoted from *The Necessity of Atheism*. These persistent repetitions indicate how deeply ingrained such thoughts were in Shelley's mind.

The essay is developed in the form of an argument between Eusebes, a Christian, and Theosophus, a Deist. The latter attacks Christianity as vehemently as Shelley in *Queen Mab*, and on precisely the same grounds. Especially does he assert that belief, which is a passion, cannot be set up as a criterion of merit and demerit, as is done by Christianity. Eusebes replies, not with a defense of Christianity, but with a vigorous indictment of Deism, in order to force the Deist to accept either Christianity or the alternative, "a cold and dreary atheism."

The Deist bases the argument for his belief in God on

passages from Plato and from Shelley. However, many of the Shelley passages, some of which are quoted in the present essay, are in substance less like Plato than Godwin. It is also obvious that Shelley was especially enamoured by the more fantastic parts of Plato, as, for instance, the idea of pre-existence, a preceding Golden Age, alternate periods of order and disorder, etc. Miss Winstanley's oft-repeated statement, in its various forms, "Shelley has embodied all these conceptions in his poetry," seems a little absurd. For Plato, "first among the preparatory preceptors of Christianity," lays special stress on intellectual discipline, travail, and growth necessary to attain the Beautiful and the Good, which is foreign to Shelley. Much of the mist hovering about Shelley's youthful ideas of the Good is dispelled, for example, by a single sentence from Plato's *Republic*: "Whether I am right or not God only knows; but, whether true or false, my opinion is that in the world of knowledge the idea of good appears last of all, and is seen only with an effort."

the principle of design in Nature. For the sake of the argument the Christian takes the point of view of a professed atheist, and proceeds to destroy the theory of design.

Design presupposes a designer, who may exercise either an arbitrary or a creative will on the Universe, which the atheistical view cannot allow. These negations leave only a law of Necessity to govern all things. At the crux of the argument Eusebes says:

From the fitness of the Universe to its end you infer the necessity of an intelligent Creator. But if the fitness of the Universe, to produce certain effects, be thus conspicuous and evident, how much more exquisite fitness to his end must exist in the Author of this Universe? If we find great difficulty from its admirable arrangement, in conceiving that the Universe has existed from all eternity, and to resolve this difficulty suppose a Creator, how much more clearly must we perceive the necessity of this very Creator's creation whose perfections comprehend an arrangement far more accurate and just. The belief of an infinity of creative and created Gods, each more eminently requiring an intelligent author of his being than the foregoing, is the direct consequence of the premise which you have stated. The assumption that the Universe is a design, leads to a conclusion that there are infinity of creative and created Gods, which is absurd.

After reducing the idea of design to an absurdity, Eusebes concludes that since the Deist considers that the chief characteristic of Deity is intelligence, which has been proved to be a mode of animal being, his God is nothing more than "a vast and wise animal."

The essay closes with a remarkable promise on the part of the Deist:

I am willing to promise that if, after mature deliberation, the argument which you have advanced in favor of Atheism should appear incontrovertible, I will endeavor to adopt so much of the Christian scheme as is consistent with my persuasion of the goodness, unity and majesty of God.

This is remarkable as standing at the close of the last of Shelley's strictly controversial essays. He has, so to speak,

come to the end of his argument; Deism has been weighed and found wanting. The arguments of Atheism seem incontrovertible, but the religion of Atheism is too arid, cold, and dreary for acceptance. Some kind of compromise must be made between its irrefutable reasonings and the Christian scheme. This compromise is attempted in the fragmentary *Essay on Christianity*, conjecturally written in 1815.

This essay is noteworthy as being much more sympathetic toward Christianity than anything of Shelley's that precedes it. Here he attempts to show that Jesus' conception of God was very similar to his own: "It is important to observe that the author of the Christian system had a conception widely differing from the gross imaginations of the vulgar relatively to the ruling Power of the universe. He everywhere represents this Power as something mysteriously and illimitably pervading the frame of things." And again: "He [Christ] considered the venerable word [God] to express the overruling Spirit of the collective energy of the moral and material world." Shelley grudgingly admits that Jesus attributed to this Power the faculty of Will, which is not to Shelley's liking. Yet he charitably conjectures that in so speaking of this Power Jesus "intentionally availed himself of a metaphor easily understood." The implication is that Jesus must have viewed God in a strictly necessitarian spirit.

On the other hand, there is expressed in this essay a tendency toward dualism. Even in the passages in *Queen Mab* that deal with reform, where the poet needs must picture a world of struggle between good and evil, there is a tendency to slip away from that necessitarian view of the universe in which everything is connected and cemented in all its parts and nothing capable of happening otherwise than it has happened. Likewise in this essay

he conceives that, "according to Jesus Christ and according to the indisputable facts in the case, some evil spirit has dominion in this imperfect world. But there will come a time when the human mind shall be visited exclusively by the influences of the Benignant Power." Jesus, Shelley conceives, was one who was constantly visited by this Power, and who by purity and goodness, by love and compassion, and by teaching and persuading, opposed the tyrants of this world and thereby forfeited his life. However, this tendency to dualism Shelley subordinates to the conception of that necessitarian power which is "the uniform and unchanging motive of the salutary operations of the material world."

Though in *Queen Mab* Shelley considered Jesus the author of much evil in the world, he yet there pays tribute to the purity of his life. But now he attests the truth and beauty of his teachings, not only as regards God but also as regards human life, and attempts to harmonize those teachings with his own views. "That those," he says, "who are pure in heart shall see God, and that virtue is its own reward [a Shelleyan doctrine], may be considered equivalent assertions." And the precepts: "Be ye perfect," and "refrain from revenge and retribution," are harmonized with Shelley's views of man's ultimate perfectibility. "We discover," Shelley also asserts, "that he [Christ] is the enemy of oppression and falsehood; that he is the advocate of equal justice; that he is neither disposed to sanction bloodshed nor deceit, under whatsoever pretences their practices may be vindicated. We discover that he was a man of meek and majestic demeanor, calm in danger; of natural and simple thought and habits; beloved to adoration by his adherents; unmoved, solemn and severe."

But in this essay, as well as elsewhere, historic Christianity fares ill at the hands of Shelley, for he considers it to have perverted the teachings of Jesus to superstition and tyranny. Rightly understood, these teachings, Shelley thinks, are a high expression of the eternal laws of Nature and Necessity:

The universal Being can only be described and defined by negatives which deny his subjection to the laws of all inferior existences. Where indefiniteness ends, idolatry and anthropomorphism begin. . . . The doctrine of what some fanatics have termed "a peculiar providence"—that is, of some power beyond and superior to that which ordinarily guides the operations of the Universe, interfering to punish the vicious and reward the virtuous—is explicitly denied by Jesus Christ,

—a rather astonishing necessitarian interpretation of the moral teachings of Christ.

The poem *Alastor*, written also in 1815, strikes a similar note. This poem deals with destiny, but with no special providences. A passage from the *Essay on Christianity* may serve as a key: "Human life, with all its unreal ills and transitory hopes, is as a dream, which departs before the dawn, leaving no trace of its evanescent hues. All that it contains of pure or of divine visits the passive mind in some serenest mood." The two dominant characteristics of the hero are that he is a lone dreamer and that he has the strictly receptive or passive mind, exercising no choice as to his destiny. He is one who has been deeply impressed by the beauty and magnificence of the external world, has drunk "deep of the fountain of knowledge and is still insatiate," and has seen "the thrilling birth of time." Says Shelley in the preface: "So long as it is possible for his desires to point towards objects thus infinite and unmeasured, he is joyous, and tranquil, and self-possessed." But fate by means of a dream presents to his mind the vision of perfect love in the form of a

beautiful maiden. This vision, though unbidden, is the deciding factor in his life. Having spurned the choicest though imperfect gift which human love offers, he is now and henceforth destined, either with or against his will, to seek for a prototype of his conception of perfection, the infinite in the finite, the eternal in the concrete. In pursuit of this unattainable ideal he roams over the face of the earth. His wanderings through strange lands remind one of the Ancient Mariner's journeyings over strange seas. Both are phantom characters, although the Mariner is much more intensely realized. Both are impelled by powers over which they have no control. But the hero of Shelley's poem, having no belief in special providence or in rewards and punishments, is utterly devoid of moral characteristics. Driven by the force of his own dreams of unattainable perfection, he wanders from place to place. "Blasted by his disappointment, he descends to an untimely grave" (preface).

In the lofty introductory passages of the poem Shelley addresses the "Mother of this unfathomable world," which is no other than the "Spirit of Nature! all-sufficing Power, Necessity," of *Queen Mab*. But here that spirit of Nature, or Soul of the Universe, is more subtly and pervasively rendered. In the favorite figure of the lyre, wholly passive, the poet submits himself to the inspirations and workings of that inscrutable and necessitarian power:

Serenely now
And moveless, as a long forgotten lyre
Suspended in the solitary dome
Of some mysterious and deserted fane,
I wait thy breath, Great Parent.

This principle of Necessity, or Soul of the Universe, is rendered in terms of Beauty in the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, written in 1816. Though Shelley's conception of

Beauty in its purely intellectual aspect is certainly influenced by Plato's Beauty as Idea, yet Shelley conceives of Beauty as a Spirit that can hardly be distinguished from the Spirit of Nature of *Queen Mab* and *Alastor* and that works inscrutably on his passive mind:

Thus let thy power, which like the truth
Of nature on my passive youth
Descended, to my onward life supply
Its calm—to one who worships thee.

The Spirit of Beauty is so supernal and ineffable that no man can see it and live; only its shadow visits this world and also each human heart and countenance, consecrating all it shines upon. And when in a memorable moment in the poet's life the shadow of that Spirit fell upon him he shrieked and clasped his hands in ecstasy, denounced again the poisonous names Christianity had taught him in his youth, and dedicated himself to that Vast Form of Awful Loveliness, which will in time, he thinks, free this world from its dark slavery.

Some critics have found similarities between this poem and Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality*. But Wordsworth really worshipped at a different shrine. He raised his song of thanks and praise for those first-born affections in us, for the fact that the child is father of the man, for "the primal sympathy, which having been, must ever be,"—in brief, for the human heart by which we live, its tenderness, its joys and fears. He emphasized the individual worth of the soul on the basis of certain central and indestructible qualities which reside in it, and which are the real roots of man's spiritual freedom. In Shelley's *Hymn*, on the other hand, personality has but a phantasmal existence.⁷

⁷ Compare the following from *A Refutation of Deism*: "Mind cannot create, it can only perceive. Mind is the recipient of impres-

Likewise in the poem *Mont Blanc*, also written in 1816, Shelley muses on his "own separate phantasy," his passive mind, as he calls it, through which flows "the everlasting universe of things," and with what different results from those obtained by Wordsworth! In *Mont Blanc* we are told that all things that move and breathe with toil and sound live and die, and pass away, and that the adverting mind is taught that

Power dwells apart in its tranquillity
Remote, serene, and inaccessible,

governing, however, in its secret strength by a law of Necessity, thought, and life, and being. Thus Necessity is here rendered in terms of Power.

It has already been noted that in *Queen Mab* and in the *Essay on Christianity* there was a modification of this view toward dualism. Since both the poem and the essay deal with reform and reformers, it is natural that such a tendency should appear. Likewise in *The Revolt of Islam*, written in 1817, which is even more than *Queen Mab* a reform poem, though not so crude a one, the dualistic view is quite naturally emphasized:

Know then that from the depth of ages old
Two Powers o'er mortal things dominion hold,
Ruling the world with a divided lot,—
Immortal, all-pervading, manifold,
Twin Genii, equal Gods—when life and thought
Sprang forth, then burst the womb of inessential Nought.

—Canto I, Stanza xxv.

These powers are the Spirit of Evil and the Spirit of

sions made on the organs of sense, and without the action of external objects we should not only be deprived of the existence of mind, but totally incapable of the knowledge of anything. It is evident therefore that mind deserves to be considered as the effect, rather than the cause of motion."

Good. The former is represented by the priests and the tyrants in the poem; the latter by the characters Laon and Cythna. But these two characters are merely passive, obedient only to the Spirit of Good. They love and suffer and forgive and endure, and seal their lives in martyrdom for the cause of good. The struggle is really not so much a struggle between Laon and the tyrants as between the Spirits of Good and of Evil, of which their human representatives are the mere instruments. Yet this dualism is only apparent, not real; for there is a power behind Good and Evil that is far greater than they. As Cythna says in a notable passage:

One comes behind
 Who aye the future to the past will bind—
 Necessity, whose sightless strength forever
 Evil with evil, good with good, must wind
 In bands of union which no power may sever:
 They must bring forth their kind, and be divided never!

—Canto IX, Stanza xxvii.

If there is any single conception that may be spoken of as truly fundamental or central in Shelley's religion, it is here expressed. The fine phrase "sightless strength" is especially to be noted.

In the preface Shelley says that the poem is a succession of pictures illustrating "the awakening of an immense nation from their slavery and degradation to a true sense of moral dignity and freedom; the bloodless dethronement of their oppressors, and the unveiling of the religious frauds by which they have been deluded into submission." However, the attack on religious frauds is by no means as intense as in *Queen Mab*, and it is the last one on any extensive scale in Shelley's writings. He had still five years to live and his greatest works to produce, but he had already arrived at a settled conviction as to the moral greatness of the Founder of Christianity, even though he

occasionally and to the last had his fling at Christian followers. In *The Triumph of Life* written just at the close of his career he speaks of

Gregory and John, and men divine,
Who rose like shadows between man and God;
Till that eclipse, still hanging over heaven,
Was worshipped by the world o'er which they strode,
For the true sun it quenched.*

He had also arrived at the conviction that it was futile to oppose Christianity by means of the doctrine of Necessity, and did not urge it further.

Nevertheless, the idea of Necessity continued to dominate all of Shelley's later meditative poetry. The same dualism with the same overarching Necessity noted in *The Revolt of Islam* controls the action and the thought in *Prometheus Unbound*, begun in 1818 and completed in 1819. Interpreted from one angle, Prometheus personifies the Mind of Man, or Reason, and represents the Spirit of Good. From another angle he represents Revolutionary Liberty, which is also the Spirit of Good. Jupiter, the anthropomorphic God, created by Prometheus through error, personifies authority and institutions, and represents the Evil Spirit. Though Prometheus and Jupiter are the chief antagonists and the reader is led to expect a conflict between them, no such conflict is presented in the poem. Nor is Jupiter directly dethroned by Prometheus; the latter only loves and suffers and endures, and thereby purifies his own nature. He is the supreme example of the passive mind, awaiting calmly his hour, not for action but for his release. Demigorgon, who is Eternity, and Fate, Time, Occasion, Chance, and Change, vast, vague, and

* See also *Prometheus Unbound*, Act I, lines 546-563, and a note to the last Chorus in *Hellas*, in the passage beginning with,—“The sublime human character of Jesus Christ—” etc.

imageless expressions for Necessity, bring about Jupiter's downfall and the redemption of Prometheus, which completes the action of the poem.⁹

But it may be urged that in the poem the principle of Love at least is an active agency, independent of the law of Necessity, which rescues life from that fatalism toward which all of Shelley's writings tend.¹⁰ In one line in a famous passage the independence of Love is asserted:

For what would it avail to bid thee gaze
On the revolving world? What to bid speak
Fate, Time, Occasion, Chance, and Change? To these
All things are subject but eternal Love.

However, in the notes to *Queen Mab* where love is represented as most lawless, indisciplinable, "compatible neither with obedience, jealousy, nor fear," it is declared in the same breath to be an involuntary affection, "inevitably consequent on the perception of loveliness," the lover being a slave to its mandates. And though in the preface to *The Revolt of Islam* Shelley states that "love is celebrated

* *Prometheus Unbound* is primarily lyrical, and as a lyric falls into two distinct parts, with two emotional centers. The division occurs between Scenes i and ii of Act III. The first part represents the Mind of Man (Prometheus) as bound and enslaved; the second as absolutely free. There are no intermediary emotional stages. In the second part the poet achieves an extraordinarily intense and sustained lyricism.

¹⁰ That Shelley was aware of this tendency is shown in a note from the essay *On the Punishment of Death*, where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to distinguish between Necessity and Fatalism: "The savage and the illiterate are but faintly aware of the distinction between the future and the past; they make actions belonging to periods so distinct, the subjects of similar feelings; they live only in the present, or in the past, as it is present. It is in this that the philosopher excels one of the many; it is this which distinguishes the doctrine of philosophical necessity from fatalism." But this makes no real or fundamental distinction. It simply makes Necessity a dignified Fatalism.

everywhere as the sole law that should govern the moral world," it seems that in the poem itself he makes it a servant of Equality:

Eldest of things, divine Equality!
Wisdom and love are but the slaves of thee!

And Equality is but another name for that inscrutable, illimitable and destiny-shaping Power, the mother of all things:

O Spirit vast and deep as Night and Heaven!
Mother and soul of all to which is given
The light of life, the loveliness of being . . .
. . . Now millions start
To feel thy lightnings through them burning;
Nature, or God, or Love, or Pleasure,
Or Sympathy, the sad tears turning
To mutual smiles, a drainless treasure,
Descends amidst us.

—Canto V, Stanza LI.

Thus Love is a word almost interchangeable with Wisdom, or Nature, or God, and though it has a human side, it is chiefly a cosmic force as impersonal and impalpable as Time, or Nature, or any other of Shelley's abstractions, which exist and work in a necessitarian spirit almost exclusively "beyond and above consciousness."

Likewise Asia, who represents Love in *Prometheus Unbound*, is the instrument of a similar impersonal and cosmic power that, in its destined moment, illumines

Earth and heaven
And the deep ocean and the sunless caves
And all that dwell within them.

Naturally Asia, as a character, is as actionless as either Prometheus or Jupiter. She passively awaits the hour of her reunion with Prometheus.

The philosophy of *Prometheus Unbound* is thus essentially the same as that of *The Revolt of Islam*, except that

the application of the principle of reform is much more general and correspondingly more indefinite. The indefinite and somewhat vague characters are the instruments respectively of Good and of Evil, while Necessity's "sightless strength" is the determining factor in the conflict between them.

The shaping hand of Necessity is clearly discernible in the last portion of *Adonais*, written in 1821. Here Necessity is transformed into a Light, a Beauty, a Benediction, a sustaining Love; it is Nature; it is the One that remains; it is Eternity; it is the "one Spirit's plastic stress" that

Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there
All new successions to the forms they wear.

This compelling and self-executing Power, however impersonal and however vaguely described, makes our present finite life seem, by contrast, a mere dream, a phantasmagoria. To die and to be immortal is to be made one with this inscrutable, impalpable, and impersonal Force.

In *Hellas*, written in 1821, Necessity, described in the poem as "the world's eyeless charioteer, Destiny," is rendered chiefly in terms of Mind, or Thought, which is typified by the ideal Greece, or Hellas. Says Ahasuerus, the Jew, to Mahmud, the Sultan:

Talk no more
Of thee and me, the future and the past;
But look on that which cannot change—the One,
The unborn and the undying. . . . This Whole
Of suns, and world, and men, and beasts, and flowers,
With all the silent or tempestuous workings
By which they have been, are, or cease to be,
Is but a vision.

The individual is nothing, the One is all. Men are mere visions, "idle shadows of thought's eternal flight." Not the concrete thoughts of individuals, but Thought in the abstract is the reality. It has nought to do "with time,

or place, or circumstance," but like an eyeless Destiny it controls all finite things.

Even Mahmud recognizes that nothing can happen until its destined hour. When Hassan speaks to him of the time Ahasuerus is to appear to Mahmud, the latter declares that the Jew will come

When the omnipotent hour to which are yoked
He, I, and all things shall compel—enough.

And the spirit of this is caught up and given universal application in the great Chorus that immediately follows, beginning with—

Worlds on worlds are rolling ever
From creation to decay—

The fragment *The Triumph of Life*, the last of Shelley's compositions, is interesting as showing that to the very end he tended more and more toward pure abstractions. The poem is based upon a dream that visited the poet's passive mind—"a vision on my brain was rolled." In his dream he perceived a chariot in which sat a Shape, while around the chariot and following it were many human shapes. This pageantry represents Life. The charioteer was a Janus-visaged Shadow, and "all the four faces of that charioteer had their eyes banded." This Shadow, then, is "the eyeless charioteer, Destiny," the sightless Necessity of the other poems. The purport of the poem is to render Necessity in terms of Life,—an appropriate fragmentary conclusion to the brief life and the works of Shelley.

It should also be remembered that throughout his career Shelley believed in the perfectibility of man, based on the more fundamental belief in the essential unreality of evil. Godwin had said that "under the system of Necessity the idea of guilt, crime, desert, and accountableness have

no place." Likewise in *The Revolt of Islam* Shelley speaks of the mere "temporary triumph of oppression" and "the transitory nature of ignorance and error." And Mrs. Shelley, writing of her husband's philosophy, says: "The prominent feature of Shelley's theory of the destiny of the human species was that evil is not inherent in the system of creation, but an accident that might be expelled."

Thus it requires but a small amount of self-exertion to get rid of an accident or a mere error and to attain to perfectibility. There is no purifying, developing, and enriching of the personality in the process. In fact, it can hardly be spoken of as a process, but rather as a mere instantaneous change. So that when in *The Revolt of Islam* Cythna asserts to the sailors that they might "arise and will" to change the world, she means that somehow there has been a slight aberration on the part of mankind from the law of Necessity and Nature and that the error might be instantaneously corrected.

"The vulgar," said Godwin, "will universally be found to be advocates of free-will. . . . This having been the conception of the masses of mankind in all ages, and the idea of contingency and accident having perpetually obtruded themselves, the established language of morality has been universally tinctured with this error." Shelley took pains not to be classed among the vulgar by his master. Yet the fact is that his language, as well as the language of Godwin himself, and indeed the language of any human being, so far as he is human, is tinctured with this so-called error. "It is a received opinion in metaphysics," says Bagehot, "that the idea of personality is identical with the idea of will." And for any one who has much to say to his fellow-men, it is manifestly impossible to prevent the idea of will from coloring his language. A number of

examples can be found in Shelley's writings.¹¹ No doubt as the poet approached maturity he began to recognize the actual feelings of actual persons around him and to perceive that their actions seemed in nowise to have been determined by a chain of causes generated in the eternity of time before their birth.

For all that, however, the poet was remarkably true to the spirit of his master's teaching on the law of Necessity. In the fragmentary essay *On Life*, assigned by Rossetti to 1815, but conjecturally assigned by Dowden to 1819, Shelley says: "The words I, You, They, are not signs of any actual difference subsisting between the assemblage of thoughts thus indicated, but are merely marks employed to note the different modifications of the one mind." These words, he also says, "are grammatical devices invented simply for arrangement, and totally devoid of the intense

¹¹ Three of the most striking examples are as follows:
From *Julian and Maddalo* (1818):

We are assured
Much may be conquered, much may be endured
Of what degrades and crushes us. We know
That we have power over ourselves to do
And suffer—what, we know not till we try,
But something nobler than to live and die.

From *A Philosophical Review of Reform* (1818): "We derive tranquillity and courage and grandeur of soul from contemplating an object which is because we will it, and may be, because we hope and desire it, and must be if succeeding generations of the enlightened sincerely and earnestly desire it."

From *Prometheus Unbound* (1818). Prometheus to Jupiter:

O'er all things but thyself I gave thee power,
And my own will.

These passages seem numerous around the year 1818. It may be that at this time Shelley was groping his way toward a real sense of will and personality. But the philosophy of his youth was too strong for him to succeed.

and exclusive sense usually attached to them." Totally devoid of individuality and will!

Thus from the doctrine of Necessity as held by Shelley there arise two significant negations—the negation of will or personality and the negation of evil. The holding of these views interfered seriously with the poet's constructive thinking. The tenuity complained of by many readers of Shelley's poetry, "the incurable want, in general, of a sound subject matter," as Matthew Arnold phrased it, is not due primarily to the fact that Shelley considered the supersensuous world more real than the sensuous world, as so many Shelley advocates declare, but rather to the fact of his denial of the reality of evil and of will and personality.

His attitude toward evil tends to turn some of his serious work into mockery. A poet who goes forth to do battle with evil must at least consider the foe a reality, a force to be grappled with, an adversary worthy his best steel. But in Shelley's dualistic poems we are often reminded that the Good is opposed by a mere phantom, and that we have been invited to witness a combat with shadows.

The other negation is more vital; it robs Shelley's poetry greatly of the power of personality and of moral profundity; it precludes any serious volitional appeal.

I could lie down like a tired child,
And weep away the life of care—

Oh lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!

is the prevailing tone of his finest lyrics. It is not merely that the poet feels no sense of deep personal unworthiness or of profound sinfulness within him, but chiefly that his own separate phantasy seems to have such a slight hold on things. The wild lyricism and the extraordinary poig-

nancy of his verse have their source in the poet's sense of his own helpless, fleeting, shadow-like being, and in his sense that the will of man is impotent and has nowhere to turn for strength, for assurance, and for a satisfying and an abiding peace.

From these negations the poet had only two ways of escape. The first was to a dream world of clouds and sunsets, to

The loftiest star of unascended heaven,
Pinnacled dim in the intense inane,

or to a sinless Eden,

Around mountains and islands inviolably
Prankt on the sapphire sea,—

Hence that "thin idealism" so characteristic of Shelley's poetry. But if we recognize the limitations put upon him by his own negations, we may assert that he made the utmost of his ideal world, investing it with an inscrutable Power, imageless and unspeakable, yet necessary and self-executing and compelling in all its aspects, a Power that forever dwells apart, toward which the poet's being forever pants and aspires. In this view man is conceived but as a waterspout in the eternal storms of Being.

The other way of escape was toward the simple, passive, non-resistant life, so like certain aspects of Christianity. "I agree," says Shelley, "with the Quakers so far as they disclaim violence, and trust their course wholly and solely to its own truth." So he sang of those passive qualities which have an abiding interest and an unfailing esthetic charm—love which is truth, gentleness which is brave, endurance which wins by silent resistance, fortitude which does not anger at provocation, forgiveness which takes no account of revenge, yearnings for the infinite which cannot

be satisfied, and most of all, sorrow and melancholy which luxuriate in their own helplessness.

"I shall say what I think," says Browning. "Had Shelley lived he would finally have ranged himself with the Christians." But what Shelley might have become is not so important as what he actually was. Whether he, or any other man, was a Christian depends almost wholly on our definition of Christianity. Perhaps no one would be so bold as to declare what the teachings of Jesus were in their entirety. At least it is not a fit subject upon which to dogmatize. On the other hand, an original poet asserts with assurance only what he sees and feels to be true in his own inner experience. Such experience being inevitably circumscribed in a finite creature, it seems that a poet can at best express only a limited number of great convictions, which may or may not be fundamentally similar to the essential teachings of Jesus. It is in this sense only that Browning himself may be considered a Christian; for there are important aspects of Christianity which he barely touched, because they were not vital to his experience. Now Shelley undoubtedly expressed some convictions that are fundamentally similar to the teachings of Jesus, but because they are not so numerous nor so broad-based nor so heartily sympathetic with Christianity as those of Browning, men have usually accorded to Browning the name of Christian, but have persistently withheld it from Shelley. This is undoubtedly a fair distinction, when it is understood as indicating a difference in degree and not in kind. This distinction is further strengthened when it is remembered that Shelley constantly refused to distinguish the good from the evil in historic Christianity and as a consequence failed to credit the good in it.

Nevertheless, in his later years Shelley not only more than once spoke and wrote of the sublime personality of

Jesus, but in *Hellas* (1821) he wrote some lines concerning God which might even have been acceptable to orthodox Christians of Shelley's day:

In the great morning of the world
The spirit of God with might unfurled
The flag of Freedom over Chaos.

And in a passage (quoted approvingly by Browning) in *The Boat of the Serchio* (1821) Shelley seems to have identified his own view of Necessity with strict religious predestination:

All rose to do the task He set to each,
Who shaped us to his ends and not our own.

S. F. GINGERICH.

XVIII.—THE ORIGIN OF THE *ANCREN RIWLE*

The following paper will give a preliminary statement of a new conjecture as to the origin of the *Ancren Riwle*.¹ It is proposed to identify the three maidens for whom the treatise was composed with the “tribus puellis, Emmae, videlicet, et Gunildae et Cristinae,” to whom, according to the charter printed by Dugdale,² the hermitage of Kilburn, with its appurtenances, was granted by the Abbot and convent of Westminster sometime between the years 1127 and 1135.³ The hermitage was endowed perma-

¹ All the manuscripts and versions of the work are carefully described in the articles by Mr. G. C. Macaulay in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. ix, *passim*. It is Mr. Macaulay's opinion that the French version is the original, and that the Latin version is a late translation. The nomenclature which he uses for the various manuscripts will be reproduced here. The earliest manuscript, B (of about 1230, twenty years earlier than N, G, T, and C), is the most correct, but also the most interpolated. He prints collations of all the thirteenth-century copies, and the complete text of the nineteen passages added in B, some of which are reproduced in later manuscripts. N is the only copy in print (ed. Morton, Camden Society, 1852). I possess a rotograph of parts of the unique French text—an early fourteenth-century manuscript.—G gives extracts only.

² *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1821, III, pp. 422 ff. By the kindness of my friend Miss Deanesly of Newnham College, I possess a copy of the same charter from the Westminster *Liber Niger Quaternus*, f. 125—a collection of documents made at the abbey 1466-85, from one of 1408-11 (see *The MSS. of Westminster Abbey*, by J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, Cambridge, 1909).

³ The grant is made “in the time of Henry I” by Abbot Herebert and Prior Osbert de Clare, with the consent of Gilbert the Universal, Bishop of London. The latter was bishop between 1127 and 1134, as is generally supposed, though Wright notes that some authorities put Gilbert's death at 1138 or 1139 (*Biographia Literaria*, Anglo-Norman period, London, 1846, p. 103). It is generally accepted as having taken place on the way to Rome, August 10, 1134, as is re-

nently with money, land and *beneficia*, in return for which the inmates were to be the beadsmen of the abbey and of its confederate, the Abbey of Fécamp. The house at Kilburn was to be under the protection of St. Peter's, but it was to have complete independence in regard to its internal affairs. The establishment thus made had a continuous existence till the Reformation, under the title, which it seems to have acquired very early, of "Kilburn Priory."⁴

corded in the necrology of Auxerre, where he had been head of the schools before coming to London (see *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xi, p. 236). The confusion perhaps arose because after his death there was a vacancy in his see till 1141. The dates formerly given for Herebert's abbacy were 1121-40, but Dr. Robinson has lately shown that his successor, Gervase (natural son of King Stephen, who was crowned December 26, 1135) was "already abbot in 1138, if not sooner" (*History of Westminster Abbey* by John Flete, *Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey*, No. 2, Cambridge, 1909, p. 142). The letters of Osbert of Clare show that he was exiled before 1123, and was "proscriptus" in 1133. He may have been back during 1127-28, and was back as Prior in 1134. Dr. Robinson puts the foundation of Kilburn in 1134, but it seems difficult to be certain on this point, considering that Gilbert the Universal, if he died abroad August, 1134 (as Dr. Robinson believes) must have left England early in the year, and he granted a second charter in connection with Kilburn—"Cum inter nos et abbatem Westmonasteriensem et conventum quaestio verteretur super subiectione et jurisdictione Cellae de Kilebourne" (No. III in Dugdale). See Dr. Robinson's article on Osbert (*Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1909, pp. 437-54), and the latest volume in the *Notes* (*The Monks of Westminster*, by the Archdeacon, E. H. Pearce, Cambridge, 1916, p. 42). Some of Osbert's letters, in abridged texts, have been printed by R. Anstruther, Caxton Society, 1846. Among those unedited may be some of great interest for the present hypothesis, for Miss M. Bateson notes that Osbert was a correspondent of the Kilburn nuns (*Mediaeval England*, London, 1904, p. 91—the reference which first brought Kilburn to my notice).

⁴The most complete account of its history will be found in J. J. Park's *History of Hampstead*, London, 1814. An article in the *Transactions of the Hampstead Antiquarian and Historical Society*,

The records of Kilburn Priory show that striking likenesses existed between that house and the establishment of anchoresses for whom the *Ancren Riwe* was written. These, with some evidence confirming the connection of the treatise with Kilburn, will be enumerated point by point.

(I) The *Ancren Riwe* was written for women who, like the recipients of the hermitage of Kilburn, were three in number. They were of noble birth, and young, and their entrance into religion had occasioned a stir in the world.⁵ The youth of the Kilburn ladies seems implied

1904-5, pp. 90-101, contributes nothing. The site of the Priory has now been absorbed in London, but a hundred years ago it was still to be distinguished, and two hundred years ago there were still fragments to be seen of the building. Some trifling relics have been excavated on the site, of which the most interesting is a brass showing the head of a prioress. The wimple is said to be unique (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1886-7, 2nd Series, vol. XI, p. 23). Until a late date the locality seems to have been distinctly rustic; it was five miles from London (*London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 1883, pp. 273-7). Its literary associations have been famous: Goldsmith perhaps wrote some works here, and Keats first recited to a friend the *Ode to a Nightingale* in the "Kilburn meadows."

⁵The anchoresses are addressed as young often (Morton, p. 56, etc.); as three in a passage never lacking (Morton, p. 116, see Macaulay, p. 157, Fr. f. 22v); and they are spoken of as of noble birth in another passage always present (Morton, p. 356, Macaulay, p. 328, Fr. f. 57v). The extended description of their circumstances given by N (Morton, p. 192), which repeats these details, falls in a gap in the French text, and is not entirely reproduced in any other copy (Macaulay, p. 159). B, as we shall see, had good reason for omitting it, and has only by inadvertence preserved the personal references noted above; T gives the information as to the stir caused by the maidens' retirement, as it is given in N, and adds the details as to their high birth and youth in other language that seems chosen for the sake of alliteration (this copy has, in general, Northern peculiarities). The general statement as to the material ease of the sisters' circumstances, with which N begins this passage, is repeated

in the use of the word "puellae," which is applied to them in the charter of foundation, and their noble birth is put beyond all doubt by a statement of John Flete, the fifteenth century prior of Westminster (who, as such, would be, as we shall see, *infra*, p. 495, in constant connection with the house in his time, and thus in a position to know its traditions); he says that the "virgines" whom Abbot Herebert established at Kilburn were "domicellae camerae" of "good Queen Maud," the wife of Henry I, daughter of St. Margaret of Scotland, and niece of King Edward the Confessor.⁶

by C. The fact that so much of the information given by N in this important paragraph is confirmed from one source or another, seems to show that N is here giving the original text, and to guarantee the accuracy of one further piece of information here given, for which N is our only authority (see *infra*, p. 492).

* *Op. cit.*, p. 87. Dr. Robinson is inclined to doubt Flete's information, principally because of the lack of provision for prayers for Queen Matilda in the foundation (*C. Q. R.*, p. 353). Her anniversary was however kept at Westminster (see the Customary of the abbey—compiled about 1266—printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society in company with the related Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1904, p. xxvii); and the nuns of the *Ancren Riwele*, as we shall see, kept the anniversaries of their patrons. It should be noted that Matilda died in 1118, and Kilburn, according to Dr. Robinson's dating, was not founded for sixteen years. Some of her "domicellae," however, might at that time still be "puellae," since they might have served her as children, according to the custom of sending children to be reared at court. She lived, as it were, across the way from the abbey for many years at the end of her life (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Rolls Series, 1889, II, p. 494), and the maidens may have come to the attention of Abbot Herebert when at the palace. Widmore has already seen reason to believe that he was in close connection with the court (*History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, London, 1751, p. 22). Dr. Robinson notes that Osbert of Clare (whom he considers to have been the moving spirit in the foundation of Kilburn) was "in 1121 of sufficient importance for the king to interfere with his plans" (*C. Q. R.*, p. 339). The *Ancren Riwele* does not necessarily imply extreme youth for the anchoresses. N uses the terms "in the blossom of your youth," and

(II) The three women are in both cases *inclusae*. The references to this fact in the *Ancren Riwe* are continuous, from the first pages on. The fact that the Kilburn sisters are also enclosed appears from the use in the foundation charter of the phrase, "quae infra clausae fuerint," as applied to the sisters' residence in the hermitage of Kilburn, and a plea is quoted from 1207 by Park (p. 188), in which reference is made to the Prioress of Kilburn, "quae inclusa est."⁷ The *Riwe* makes it clear that the

T the words "young of years." A medieval commentary describes the age of Christ at the Resurrection as "aetas juvenalis" (C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, London, 1896, II, p. xix, n.). Persons younger than twenty were not generally admitted to monastic vows (for Cluny, see Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Latinae*, CLXXXIX, c. 1036).

⁷ It may be that the term "inclusa" was sometimes applied to any nuns who were bound by vow not to leave their house, whether they were confined in solitude—more or less complete—such as is the case in the anchorage of the *Riwe* or not. It is hard to tell the meaning of the term as applied to the first nuns of Sopwell Priory, for example (a cell of St. Alban's—see *De Gestis Abbatum*, Rolls Series, 1867, I, pp. 80-2). About 1140 two women who had lived in a wood were given a more regular establishment by the Abbot of St. Alban's, who "added others, and gave them the Rule of St. Benedict," as Sopwell Priory. The number "inclusarum" was not to exceed thirteen, and "easdem sub clave et sera, ac sigillo Abbatis, qui pro tempore erit, decrevit ibidem includendas." This ceremony suggests the life of anchorites who, according to the Rule of Anchorites by Grimlaic (Migne, CIII, cc. 573 ff.)—a work certainly influential for the *Riwe*—were to be formally sealed in their cells. However, no further information is forthcoming from any quarter which would show the Sopwell nuns to have been dedicated to solitude. In 1338 they were not solitaires (*De Gestis*, II, pp. 511 f.). The writer in the *Victoria County History* (*Hertfordshire*, IV, pp. 422 f.) believes the nunnery to have been founded in recompense for removing the women from the monastery (St. Alban's had been a double house), and he also notes a confusion in the records between Sopwell and Markyate. The latter Priory was dedicated in 1145 as a cell of St. Paul's, but it had been in close connection with St. Alban's. It was founded by "St. Christina of Markyate," perhaps the most famous anchoress of her

nuns addressed are enclosed in a church (Morton, pp. 68, 142, 242, 262), and the second Kilburn charter printed by Dugdale implies the same for the Kilburn sisters,—“*quae sunt in ecclesia beati Johannis Baptistae de Keneburna.*”⁸

time, who had lived in solitude under the protection of a hermit Roger, a monk of St. Alban's (see *De Gestis*, I, pp. 95 ff.). It is certain that in later times Markyate was not a house of enclosed nuns, from incidents when the bishop visited it to explain the statute of Boniface VIII, “*De Claustura Monialium*” (*V. O. H., Bedfordshire*, I, p. 350.—The Cluniac nunnery of Marcigny was at this time famous throughout the world, and one of its most noteworthy features was the fact that all its inmates had made the unusually strict vow of never crossing the threshold of the house. Some of them were vowed to a stricter life in cells as “*anchoretæ*,” and it appears to be only these who are called “*inclusæ*,” (see M. Marnier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, pp. 455 ff., 491 ff.; J. H. Pignot, *Histoire de l'ordre de Cluny*, Paris, 1868, II, pp. 31 ff.). “*Inclusa*” is also the term used throughout the letter of St. Aelred to his sister, which has always been taken as describing a life similar to that described in the *Riwle* (Migne, XXXII, cc. 1451 ff.).

*The case of well known anchorites who were enclosed in parish churches may have created a preconception in many readers of the *Riwle* that the same was true of the women there described. As a matter of fact the “church” of the *Riwle* may easily be that belonging exclusively to the sisters' own establishment. We have seen that the “heremitorium” of Kilburn is called an “*ecclesia*,” and the same term is applied to the monastery of Westminster itself in the foundation charter of Kilburn. Both for Kilburn and the abbey, the term that is applied to the *personnel* is “*conventus*.” It would appear to be a sign of exclusive possession by the anchoresses of the church in which they are enclosed, that they seem to have chosen the dedication of their altars (Morton, p. 18).—The Gilbertine order took its rise at about the time of the establishment of Kilburn in a “church anchorage” of much the same type as that described in the *Riwle* and in the records of Kilburn. Gilbert of Sempringham enclosed the first seven Gilbertine nuns (village maidens), not then expecting they would again come out, or that more would join them (Dugdale, VII, p. xix). This he tells us himself, in the Gilbertine Rule, and his contemporary biographer writes: “*Hoc modo constructis rite domibus religioni competentibus, et claustro circumquaque clauso, inclusit ancillas Christi solitarie victuras, sub pariete ecclesiae beati Andreae apostoli in vico de Sempringham, ad aquilon-*

The failure to recognize that the Kilburn sisters were "inclusae" is probably responsible for the failure of scholars heretofore to identify them with the ladies of the *Riule*, when all the surface indications so plainly pointed the way to that identification. It has not been well understood that "inclusae" might be women living in a definite organization, with a superior. In this connection it is interesting to observe that once, in giving a more or less formal statement of the sisters' condition, the French text uses the term "recluse de moustier" (f. 67v), where the English gives "chirche ancre" (Morton, p. 416).⁹

alem partem . . . fenestra tamen patente, per quam necessaria intro-mitterentur" (*ibid.*, p. vii). Gilbert carried the key of their enclosure always with him. This sounds as if these women were enclosed in a parish church (two of which were in Gilbert's patronage, as Lord of the manor), and as if they were to live in solitude. The presence of a cloister need not presuppose elaborate monastic buildings; the famous contemporary hermit, Godric of Finchale, built a cloister in his tiny hermitage (see his *Life and Miracles*, written by Reginald of Durham at the request of St. Aelred of Rievaulx—therefore before 1166—Surtees Society, 1845, p. 153).

⁹It is obvious that the nuns of the *Riule* enjoy considerable community life, and such is provided for in the Rule of Grimlaic, already mentioned. He describes anchorites living under the protection of a monastery, and he prefers that several should be living together. Peter Damian, in describing the life of hermits, says that if two are living together one is to be the superior (Migne, cXLV, c. 350), and it may be (especially considering the fact that they were living under the protection of a person of the other sex, as we shall see) that one of the three women put in Kilburn was the superior; such an arrangement would appear necessary for executive and legal purposes—in any case if the number in the hermitage were increased. The Carthusians (who, a half century before, had developed what was to be till the end of the middle ages the most successful plan for pursuing the eremetical life in community) lived under priors, as did the group of solitaries among whom lived (in subjection to Cluny) the anchorite Gilbert, to whom Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, addressed his epistle on the solitary life (Migne, cLXXXIX, cc. 40, 89 ff., 233 ff., 360 ff.). Peter and his friends the Carthusians will be seen later to

(III) We are told in the *Ancren Riwe* (p. 356) that the three sisters are "beadsmen"; the Kilburn sisters are the beadsmen of Westminster Abbey, as had been the hermit Godwyn, the builder and original occupant of the hermitage of Kilburn. It may be observed that traces of the duties of prayer expected of the anchoresses of the *Riwe* in return for their sustenance appear in the regulations for their service. Prayers for the dead make an important part of their daily routine: it would be well if they were to say *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and *Commendacion* every day (Morton, p. 22), though on the eve of a festival of nine lessons¹⁰ they may say only three lessons of the service for the dead. "Ine anniuersaries, þet is ine munedawes of ower leoue vreond, siggeð alle niene" (*ibid.*, Fr. f. 5). "The anniversaries of your dear friends" are probably the anniversaries of Westminster, of which a list from a later period is printed in the Customary of the Abbey (p. xxvii).¹¹

have a connection with the *Riwe*. Some communities of hermits in England are listed by Miss R. M. Clay in her *Hermits and Anchorites of England*, "The Antiquary's Books," London, 1914, *passim*, but there is no record that any were perpetuated. Cardinal Gasquet notes that a group of anchorites lived at Shrewsbury (*The Nun's Rule*, "The King's Classics," London, 1907, p. xvi), and the records of their existence there seem to cover a considerable period (see *The History of Shrewsbury*, by Owen and Blakeway, London, 1825, I, p. 315 n., II, p. 475). He also notes the Carthusian life as an analogy for that described in the treatise.

* See *infra*, p. 492. However the service for the dead seems to have been said by most religious houses daily—even by the Cistercians (see William of Malmesbury, II, p. 383).

¹¹ The presence in the French text of the reference to the "anniuersiaires de voz chiers amys" shows that a connection with specific benefactors may be intended by the reference to the anchoresses' living by alms, which is less specific than the English, and in part defective: "Ieo apeele honte touz iours estre tenu en despit et mendier sicome vn harlot, si mestier est, sa vitaille, et ses viures daltre

(IV) When the author of the *Riwle* describes the material circumstances of the three anchoresses, he says that they enjoy a very unusual security in this respect: many others suffer great want.¹² These statements make it all the more significant that the nuns of Kilburn enjoy just such material security as is described in the *Riwle*. Moreover the assistance which the nuns of Kilburn receive, like that described in the *Riwle*, is not only secure, but perfectly definite and regular. It is one of the most striking correspondences between the two lines of evidence which we are following that the corrodies received at Kilburn seem specifically referred to in the *Riwle*, as follows: "Uor 3e ne þencheð nowiht of mete, ne of cloð, ne to ou, ne to ouwer meidenes. Euerich of ou haueð of one ureond al þet hire is need, ne þerf þet meiden sechen nouðer bread, ne suuel, fur þene et his halle" (p. 192—all this is the section found only in N). It would appear

almoigne, sicome vous . . . (defective for perhaps a line at the top of the page) . . . ent dangier dascune (?) ascu . . . foiz qi porreit estre votre serf . . ." (f. 57 f.). The English text reads: "—beggen, ase on harlot, 3if it need is, his liueneð, and beon oðres beodesmon, ase 3e beoð, leoue sustren, & þolieð ofte daunger of swuche oðerhwile þet muhte beon ower þrel" (p. 356).—It may be noted that when a French word occurs in the English text, it is practically always that which is found in the French version.

¹² The first statement is found in N and C, the second is found only in N (see *supra*, p. 476 n.). As is explained earlier, the rest of the information supplied by N in this paragraph is so well substantiated, that there seems every reason to believe that, for the whole description, N furnishes the original reading.—It should be mentioned that the admonition against "gathering" (p. 286) was a stock feature in the contemporary rules for anchorites. It occurs in St. Aelred's letter to his sister (c. 1452) and also in Peter's letter to Gilbert (c. 80 ff.).—One of the conspicuous characteristics of the Carthusians, as described by their friend Peter (c. 994), was their refusal to accept more than enough for their bare sustenance, and Gilbert of Sempringham, at the beginning of his order, was reluctant to receive endowments (Dugdale, p. viii).

that the "hall of the friend" was the hall of the Abbot of Westminster, who had granted the ladies of Kilburn by their foundation charter a sum of money and "duo beneficia" ("one for the benefit of the souls of Westminster and Fécamp," and one "which Ailmar the hermit had"); very soon a second rental is granted them by the Abbot (one was given by a priest at the foundation), and their other benefits are soon described as "three corrodies," of which one is that "which Ailmar the hermit had."¹⁸ A vagueness of expression makes it impossible to decide just the relation between the benefits of Kilburn described in the charters of the first two abbots concerned with the

¹⁸The three corrodies appear in the charter of Gervase, who also grants a charter confirming the possession by the nuns of the land in Knightsbridge granted by Herebert ("sicut eas inde saysivit frater noster Osbertus de Clara"—a clause that gives Dr. Robinson one of his reasons for assigning to Osbert a principal interest in Kilburn). No sign appears in these charters of Gervase's of the sum of money granted earlier or of the land in Southwark, and it is difficult in all respects to know whether Gervase has altered the endowment of the house. He gives no sign that his charter relating to Knightsbridge is a confirmation, and it may be that his other charter also merely confirms what had been customary, for the foundation charter is sufficiently vague in its reference to the "duo beneficia" to make it possible that three corrodies were really covered by the phrase. Flete says that Abbot Herebert gave the women of Kilburn "certas terras, annonas, et corrodia quaedam cum redditibus de monasterio" (p. 87). It would be natural that three corrodies should be given to three persons, and as it stands the charter seems to divide the spiritual benefits of the first "beneficium" between Westminster and Fécamp. All memory of Fécamp seems lost from the charter of Gervase, but the corrody of Ailmar appears as the first in the list. The last is one "which by their charter they had before," the second "the corrody of Abbot Gilbert."—From the latter mention Dr. Robinson believes that the house of Kilburn was planned in Crispin's time (*Gilbert Crispin, Notes*, No. 3, Cambridge, 1911, p. 34): Archdeacon Pearce (p. 41) is misled by it to believe that the corrody was given by Gilbert (who died about 1118).—The twelfth-century hall of the Abbot of Westminster still exists (*The Abbot's House at Westminster*, by J. A. Robinson, *Notes*, No. 4, Cambridge, 1911, p. 4).

house, but it seems very likely that the ladies may have been receiving the three corrodies before 1138, which was approximately the time of Gervase's accession. No sign is given in the charters as to any increase in the *personnel* of the hermitage, and if there were none, each of the three ladies would be receiving by 1138, if not before, from the hall of the patron of her house her "bread and what is eaten with bread," just as did the sisters of the anchorage. Her clothes and the food of the serving maidens (which were also secured for the women of the anchorage) could be provided out of the rentals of Kilburn, even if the eleemosynary sum given at the foundation had been discontinued.¹⁴ Since the source of all their support was the abbot, he might very easily be the "dearest friend" to whom the women of the *Ancren Riwele* were to show their need if such arose (p. 416).¹⁵

The *Ancren Riwele* gives us hints as to the fare received by the sisters, which would seem to suggest the monastic food supplied by corrodies. The anchoress is not to com-

¹⁴ Monastic houses sometimes made definite provision for the food of servants of pensioners. For example, Vaudey Abbey at its foundation in 1147 was to give corrodies to the founder and his wife, as well as food to their two servants as for two servants of the house (see the account by Miss A. M. Cooke of the settlement of the Cistercians in England, *English Historical Review*, VIII, p. 664). Whalley Abbey in the latter fourteenth century gave to an anchoress and her two servants, bread, beer, and a weekly sum of money, as well as faggots, etc. (see the *History of Whalley*, by T. D. Whitaker, Blackburn, 1800, I, p. 60). It would certainly seem that the endowment of Kilburn would have provided for all the wants of the hermitage, if the numbers were not increased, and the silence of the documents would make it appear that they had not been.

¹⁵ The French here has "*voz plus chiers amis*" (f. 68), which may recall the terms used in connection with the anniversaries (*supra*, p. 481, n.). The recension to be described later, which was apparently written for Kilburn, uses the indefinite "good men and women" (Macaulay, p. 471). This is the text found in B.

plain of "mistrum, oðer leane mel, of unsauure metes, of poure pitaunce" (Morton, p. 262). The French text at this point speaks of "defalte de repast ou de sauourees viandes ou de pure (?) pitance" (f. 40v).¹⁶

In contrast to the fare of Kilburn may be cited the example of Tarente, the nunnery with which the *Anclen Riwle* was formerly connected (see *infra*, p. 542). This received from the hall of the lord of the manor, who was its patron, a tithe of all bread "except the king's bread, and all the tithe of salt pork, and of cattle killed in his house every year."¹⁷

One more reference to the material circumstances of Kilburn may exist in the *Riwle*, in the following passage: "Vnder semblaunt of gode is ofte i-heled sunne. And hwu schulen þeos riche ancren þet beoð eorðe tilien, oðer habbeð rentes i-sette, don to poure neiheboures derneliche hore elmesse? Ne wilnen nout forto habben word of one large ancre" (p. 416). All the way through the text the author has so combined admonitions directly intended for the three sisters with what he expressly tells them is not needed for them, but may be useful to others,¹⁸ that in a

¹⁶ According to the charter of Gervase they received bread, beer, "coquina," wine, mead, and "pittances," "cum uno tantummodo clareto, sc. pro anima Gilberti abbatis." The Customary states that they received four gallons of wine on festivals and anniversaries when the convent received it, and beer also when the convent had it; four "panes" daily, and they had the liberty of choosing "utrum per diem velint octo fercula, vel hiis ad certum tempus de coquinaro integram et equivalentem alicujus piscis recipere porcionem" (pp. 73, 79, 98). This sounds like four corrodies (see J. W. Clark, *The Customs of Augustinian Canons*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 216; and *Obedientiary Rolls of St. Swithin's, Winchester*, ed. G. W. Kitchin, Hampshire Record Society, 1892, pp. 159 ff.). Some of the corrodies quoted by Kitchin are received "in aula domini Prioris" (p. 161).

¹⁷ Dugdale, v, p. 619.

¹⁸ He says this in connection with what he has to say about glut-

case like the present it is difficult to separate general references from those that reflect actual conditions in the life of the women in question. At the same time, considering all the other circumstances, it would appear that this passage may be taken as an admonition adapted to the special circumstances of the women addressed,—given impersonally, with a slight touch of affectionate sarcasm. There would be nothing startling in the author's referring to the sisters as "rich," since he has already (p. 192) spoken of their material circumstances as superior to those of any anchoresses whom he knows. B, in any case, here uses "church" instead of "rich" (Macaulay, p. 330). As a matter of fact, the sisters of Kilburn were "tillers of land and receivers of rents" from the first. They owned land in Southwark and Knightsbridge, and there was land connected with their hermitage.¹⁹

(V) In the foundation charter of Kilburn it is stated that Godwyn is to continue to live there as "magister loci, illarumque puellarum quamdiu vixerit custos. Et post ejus obitum eligat conventus puellarum seniore[m] idoneum, qui

tony, staring, etc., etc. (see Morton, pp. 50, 68, etc.).—The French gives the text of p. 416 in a slightly superior reading (f. 67v).

¹⁹ It is perhaps noteworthy, in view of the injunction (p. 416) given by the author of the *Riule* against keeping cattle, that at the Reformation Kilburn Priory seems to have possessed only one beast—a horse "of the color of black" (which, at least in the later days, when the favor of Westminster did not appear to be so personal as in the earlier, would doubtless be necessary for fetching the supplies from the abbey). Nevertheless the nuns cultivated forty acres of land in Willesdon. The prejudice of the author against the keeping of cattle by anchoresses, lest they should thus be drawn into quarrels because of complaints as to injury done by their beasts, seems to be typical of his time. The monks of the eremetical order of Grandmont, founded just before this time, were allowed to keep no living creatures except bees, "que vicinos non ledunt" (W. Map, *De Nugis Curialium, Anecdota Oxoniensia*, xiv, 1914, p. 26). These monks were all *inoluti*.

earum ecclesiae praesit, abbatis tamen concilio." The anchoresses of the *Riwe* are also under a "master." We read: "Nullich þat no mon iseo ou bute he habbe leawe speciale of ower meistre" (Morton, p. 56—I have no roto-graph for the French at this point).

B (apparently written for the house descended from the original anchorage) contains many references to "your master" (see Macaulay, pp. 470-2). It is of the greatest interest that one implies that the "master" is the author of the *Riwe* ("Segge anan rihtes, Vre meistre haneð iwriten us" . . . p. 470). The original *Riwe* implies the same, in the statement as to the "outer rule" heading the last book: "Ne non ne write ich hēm, buten ou one. Ich sigge þis forði þet oðre ancren ne sigge nout þet ich, þuruh mine *meistrie* (the italics are mine) makie ham neowe riwlen" (p. 410. The French gives *mestrie*, f. 67).

The author's "mastership" would give the perfect explanation for the special authority, knowledge, and affection which he shows in relation to the sisters (who are "les femmes qe ieo plus eym," f. 22v, p. 116). Godwyn probably knew his charges in their secular life, for it was at his "concessu" and "precatu" that they received their hermitage. No reader of the *Ancren Riwe* can doubt that its author would be, in the literal sense, "a fair for the mastrye." ²⁰

* One of the many parallels which are to be seen between Kilburn and the nucleus of Sempringham appears at this point. Gilbert took the title of "master"—one of the points in which he imitated Robert of Arbrissel, the famous hermit who in 1101 established the famous double house at Fontevraud (see Migne, CLXII; *Fontevrault et ses Monuments*, by Édouard, Paris, 1873). It was also the title of the head of the Templars, whose Rule—framed under the influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux—was approved in 1128 (see the edition by H. de Curzon, *Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1886). The date of the beginning at Sempringham can be put 1131-5. The con-

(VI) The Kilburn church was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and in a transaction of the reign of Henry IV the name of the Virgin is joined in the dedication (Park, app. p. xxx). About 1200 Kilburn is referred to as dedicated to St. Mary (v. *infra*, p. 490 n.). In the treatise the Virgin and St. John are taken as the types of the solitary life as described in the New Testament, and a specially lengthy discussion is given to St. John (Morton, p. 158). The whole account of the solitary life at this point is taken, with some minor changes, from the Carthusian Customs drawn up about 1127 by Prior Guigo,²¹ but this need not destroy the significance of the passage for the present discussion, for its original use by the Carthusians was exactly that which has been suggested in connection with Kilburn. Guigo's praise of the solitary life in the Customs, given with special reference to the Virgin and to St. John the Baptist, made the climax to the Carthusian Customs, because Carthusians were dedicated to the life of solitude almost as specially as anchorites, and their patrons,—to whom they made their vows on profession—were the Virgin and St. John the Baptist.²²

temporary life of St. Gilbert mentions "the time of Henry I," and we know that Gilbert returned from Lincoln about 1130 (Rose Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, London, 1901, p. 10).—It should be noted that the *V. C. H. (Bedfordshire*, I, p. 539) speaks of a "warden or master as usual in small nunneries."—The question of Godwyn's authorship of the *Riwole* is now being investigated, with promising results.

²¹ Le Coultoux, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Montreuil, 1888, I, p. 302.

²² Migne, *CLIII*, cc. 685, 755 f. It may be noted that St. John the Baptist was the special patron of hermits and anchorites all through this period, as may be seen by reference to Miss Clay's *Hermits and Anchorites of England*. The famous hermit Godric of Finchale, already mentioned as contemporary with the first sisters of Kilburn, saw St. John in person take him under his protection, and Godric's chapel—to which people from all over England resorted—was dedicated to

In all the versions and manuscripts of the *Riwe* the ninth day set for communion is June 24 (p. 412), the day of the patron of Kilburn, but all the manuscripts designate it as "Midsummer Day," except the French, which calls it the "Day of St. John the Baptist" (f. 67)—the title which we should expect at Kilburn. The French form of this passage will be discussed later (p. 541), and will be seen to show other evidence of superior authority.

(VII) When about 1140 two hermit women were taken under the protection of the Abbot of St. Alban's, and given companions and monastic buildings at Sopwell, we are expressly told, not only that additions were made to their numbers, but that the Abbot—although they are called "includæ"—"more sanctimonialium velatas, et sub Ordine S. Benedicti victuras constituit." When about 1134 his neighbor the Abbot of Westminster had put three women into the hermitage of Kilburn, it is a contrast significant for the present hypothesis, that we are given no sign of the rule which they are to follow. This fact has excited the astonishment of Park (p. 162), and he is still more astonished that no mention of the rule followed at Kilburn is to be found till after the middle of the fourteenth century, and that in a formal document of 1377 the nuns are called "of the order of St. Augustine" (Park, pp. 171, 177). This information he is inclined to discard, because of the connection with the Benedictine house of Westminster, and, accordingly, for the same purely conjectural reason, the historians all call Kilburn Priory Benedictine. There exists, however, practically no mediæval evidence for this title, and the Augustinian connection is repeated

the hermit saint, though his inner oratory, where no one might enter except himself, was dedicated to the Virgin (see Surtees Soc., *op. cit.*, *passim*).

in a Patent Roll of Edward III (p. 340),²³ and supported by the excellent authority of Prior John Flete, who, in the passage already quoted, calls Kilburn Priory a "cell of canonesses."

The gradual process—hard to trace in the records—by which the Augustinian rule was attached to canons at just this period has been described by Dr. Frere,²⁴ and perhaps

²³ Gervase of Canterbury, in his catalogue of religious houses (written after 1199), thus describes the order and dedication: "Prioratus Keleburne, Sanctae Mariae, Moniales Nigrae" (*Opera*, Rolls Series, 1880, II, p. 426). This tells us very little definitely. "Black nuns" was the phrase often applied to Benedictine women, but the women of Kilburn were often in the records called "moniales" and the habit of Augustinian canons was black. A similar careless statement which seems to arise from the connection of Kilburn with Westminster is the reference to the "abbes of Kylbourne" in a fifteenth-century parish record (E. E. T. S., No. 125, p. 152).—The full document cited by Park as first giving the title "Augustinian" to the house is printed by Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, London, 1769, pp. 264 ff. The bishop of Rochester here appropriates to the nuns a church because of their excessive poverty, which he has investigated and found due to the duties of hospitality to which their position on the highway exposes them, without fault on their part. He speaks in the beginning of "religiose mulieres, priorissa et conventus monasterii monialium de Kilbourne, ordinis sancti Augustini, London. dioc." Elsewhere he always uses the indefinite phrase "religiose mulieres." At this time Kilburn seems to have received new vitality.

²⁴ *Fasciculus J. W. Clark Dicatus*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 186-217. See also K. H. Schaefer, *Kanonissenstifter im deutschen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1907, which, though it deals specially with the very peculiar development of canonesses in Germany, gives some details of them elsewhere. Dr. Frere, in reply to a letter from me on the subject of Kilburn, writes as follows of the use of the term "canoness" in its connection: "The word is merely applied to people who could not otherwise be described. . . . There is nothing available on the subject of English canonesses: they were very few and obscure. . . . In any case, whatever is the influence behind, the women are clearly recluses, not forming a regular Order, not professed virgins, for they have no ring, p. 420 . . . the very indefiniteness of all this seems to point to the 12th century rather than the 13th."

the same development went on in time in the case of irregular communities of women. In 1244 the Pope united some communities of hermits as the "Hermits of St. Augustine" (who thereupon made the claim that their manner of life had been kept alive since the days of St. Augustine). We do not know when the Augustinian Rule was first applied to Kilburn, and this may have been a precedent influential in the case of that house.²⁵ Since, at least in early days, Benedictine houses like Marcigny and Cluny counted anchorites and hermits among their numbers, it would appear strange, however, that Kilburn did not come into the order of its protector.²⁶

²⁵ See J. Lanteri, *Eremitae Saeculae Augustiniani*, Rome, 1874. The term that is usually applied to the nuns of Kilburn in the charters is "ancilla Christi," a phrase of very long descent and sometimes indefinite meaning (see *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. Cabrol et LeClercq, Paris, 1907). It is used for the nuns of Fontevraud, Marcigny, and Sempringham, and appears in the office for enclosing an anchorite in the York Manual (Clay, p. 193). It is apparently rendered as "mayde cristes" by Thomas de Hales in his *Love Rune* (E. E. T. S., No. 49, p. 93).—As a matter of fact, the Pope in 1148 decreed that "sanctimoniales & mulieres, quae canonicae nominantur, & irregulariter vivunt, juxta beatorum Benedicti & Augustini rationem, vitam suam in melius corrigant & emendant" (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Collectio*, Venice, 1776, xxi, c. 714).

²⁶ The hermits about Cluny owed "obedientiam" to the monastery (Peter the Venerable, *loc. cit.*), and from such arrangements grew up the use of the title "obedientia" to designate cells. The character of some of such establishments may be understood by Peter's complaint that he cannot send to his friend Guigo of Carthusia a certain book because it has been eaten by a bear in one of their "obedientiae" (c. 103). The isolation of these retreats evidently brought on moral dangers, for Abelard refers to the irregular life lived in "obedientiae" (*Opera*, Migne, cxxxviii, c. 265).—Roger, the hermit under whom Christina of Markyate began her religious life, was a monk of St. Alban's giving his "obedientiam" to the monastery (*De Gestis*, p. 97), and it would be expected that Godwyn, the master of Kilburn, would be a monk of Westminster. He is, however, nowhere

It is significant that the Rev. Vincent MacNabb, in an article to be discussed in the Appendix, has made the interesting discovery that the Rule of St. Augustine was used in the *Ancren Riwe*. It may be added that the sisters of the anchorage celebrate festivals of nine lessons, like Augustinian canons, secular clergy, and lay-folk, instead of festivals of twelve, as was the custom in the Benedictine order.²⁷ An Augustinian influence would be natural in the *Riwe*, if written for Kilburn, since, as Dr. Frere points out, Augustinian houses were the height of the fashion until the Cistercians began building in England, and conspicuous Augustinian establishments were made by Henry I and by "good Queen Maud." The Augustinian Rule could be imposed on local customs, and old houses could thus get the prestige of being Augustinian without alteration in their habit of life. The Gilbertine order is a mirror of contemporary influences in that its nuns were Benedictine, its canons Augustinian, and its lay-brothers Cistercian.

(VIII) The most surprising manuscript of the *Ancren Riwe* is B which, as we have already seen, is at once the earliest copy, the most correct in the minutiae of the text, and the most interpolated. By their mention of friars, some of the new sections cannot have been composed much earlier than 1230, and by its handwriting B cannot have been much later.

It is clear from the additions themselves that they are directed towards a special community, and we seem to

so designated in the records, and we shall see that in 1231 the master of Kilburn is a secular priest. Almost anyone might occupy a hermitage as a beadsman of the abbey. Grimlaic makes provision for outsiders becoming anchorites under the protection of a monastery (c. 596).

²⁷ See Morton, p. 22, French text, f. 5, J. W. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. xcvi, cii.

have good reason to believe that this is the house for which the rule was originally written. There are several cross-references to the original text as "your rule," and a great effort is apparently made to coalesce the new material with the old. The community addressed is spoken of as being "like a mother house"—not, we should be careful to note, as *being* a mother house—and the author goes on, apparently as a metaphor for their extraordinary unity, to say that they are united, "as if they were a convent of London, Oxford, Shrewsbury or Chester" (Macaulay, p. 470).²⁸ He goes on to say that the fame of the community he addresses is everywhere known—especially for their extraordinary unity—and their "convent" is spread over England. This again seems to me to be a metaphor, and perhaps a reference to the wide dissemination of the *Riwe*, originally written for this house. That the additions were considered somewhat authoritative, appears from the fact that they were to some extent copied in some of the later manuscripts—and in the French and Latin versions—and a manuscript (C), already written, was at some points corrected to bring it into line with the version represented by B. It is significant that the place-names above quoted begin practically at Kilburn, and follow in the order of their relative distance from there.

Another fact of the greatest importance is added in the same passage, and furnishes the basis for the interpreta-

²⁸ This is to me the most plausible interpretation of this difficult passage. Mr. Macaulay has apparently understood it somewhat more literally, though he evidently finds it uncertain (p. 463). I do not offer my suggestion as a final one, though the evidence drawn from Kilburn would seem to make it very satisfactory. In any case the rigid identification with early Dominican convents, made by Father MacNabb (*Modern Language Review*, XI, p. 4), seems impossible. Later research may clear up this reference. For Shrewsbury recluses living in community, see *supra*, p. 481, n.

tion given above, and a very important link with Kilburn. We are told that the community addressed now number "twenty recluses or more"—the "most living together anywhere in England." It can easily be seen how, from their tradition of isolation, twenty recluses living together in the same unity which the author of the *Ancren Riwe* had recommended for three—in the passage (p. 254) to which was later appended the section described above—would be worthy of special praise, and this would be the only case in which unity, the first of the conventual virtues, could be so considered.

The mention of the twenty recluses has another very important implication for the present hypothesis; it gives a satisfactory explanation for the omission from B and the later copies, of the description of the personal circumstances of the three sisters.

It is perhaps the strongest single piece of evidence for the identification that is here proposed—apart from the similarity in the personal circumstances of the original *inclusæ*—that the new material in B, added about the year 1230, can be connected with the history of Kilburn during the years 1225-31. During that period a great dissension arose between the Bishop of London and the Abbot of Westminster in regard to the jurisdiction over the cell of Kilburn—in spite of the fact that this had, at the foundation of the house, been formally secured to the abbot by Gilbert the Universal. This dispute probably made part of the general controversy as to the exemption from episcopal control which Westminster was undergoing at this time, and the particular question of Kilburn was settled in 1231 by a commission appointed by the Pope (who had been twice appealed to in connection with the cell). It is noteworthy that the convent yielded to a compromise on the subject of Kilburn, in spite of what had

apparently been the custom from the beginning, though they fought out the larger issue to a successful conclusion.²⁹

The terms of the settlement made in 1231 as to the supervision of Kilburn would seem to show that some abuses had crept into the house from the too exclusive power exercised over it by the abbey. It is stipulated that no member of the convent except the abbot or, in his absence, the prior, shall have access to Kilburn to hear confession and enjoin penance, and the Bishop is to have the right of visitation, and of hearing even secret confession. As Park again notes with astonishment (p. 171), there is still no mention of a rule. The real power seems to be vested still in the successor of Godwyn—who appeared in the plea of 1207 as “magister et custos”—and, as it is important to note, is here described as the “secular priest who is set over the house.” A chapter house and a prioress are mentioned and would seem to imply a great increase of numbers,³⁰ but nothing definite on this point appears in the records until the latter part of the fourteenth century,³¹ and it is doubtful whether the inmates would ever have numbered more than twenty: thirteen was, as a matter of fact, the number to which their neighbors of Sopwell were restricted at the time of foundation,³² and it was the number in Carthusian houses.

²⁹ See *Flete*, p. 101; Widmore, pp. 37, 70.

³⁰ Park makes a flagrant error when he refers (p. 171) to the prioress as the “senior person” who is to be put over the nuns, according to the foundation charter. This “seniorem idoneum” whom the convent of maidens are to choose after the death of Godwyn, is certainly represented by the “secular priest” of 1231.

³¹ In 1377 the bishop of Rochester states that the nuns wish to increase their numbers (see *infra*, p. 490, n).

³² It is certain that at times Sopwell held as many as nineteen nuns (*V. O. H.*, p. 422).

Though the information given by B makes clear that in point of numbers the house in question may agree with what we know of Kilburn at the date of the writing of B, it cannot be said that B is quite explicit as to the manner of life there. It is evident that the anchoresses of B meet the outside world only at the windows of their cells, and that also their personal intercourse, as it were, with their sisters, is carried on by visits of their sisters' maidens (Macaulay, pp. 466, 473); but no mention is made of leaving the cell for religious service or for chapter, or of not leaving it. In any case, we know that in 1207 the Prioress of Kilburn is called "inclusa," and the absence of any mention of a rule in the Kilburn records of 1231 may point to an unusual manner of life. They certainly give no information which would make it impossible that we have to do with anchoresses, unless it be that we are told that at the visitation of the bishop the prioress and nuns are to come in procession to the chapter-house, but we shall see later (p. 542) that B practically implies that the house addressed is a priory. It would be hard to see how a settlement of twenty recluses could keep together without some corporate life, for which a chapter would occasionally be necessary, and it would appear inevitable that the strictest degree of enclosure must in any case have to be abandoned in so large a group, since all could not have windows looking into the church, and they would therefore have to go there to hear mass. The original three sisters had windows from which they saw the altar (Morton, p. 68), but that does not make it impossible that they also attended mass in their church, and chapter, according to the example of the Carthusians.³³

³³ Carthusians did not originally leave their cells for mass every day (see *Catholic Encyclopedia*). Some statutes made about 1120

We have seen that in the settlement of 1231 the most important innovation is the visitation of Kilburn by the Bishop. It is a striking coincidence that, as Mr. Macaulay has thought it "interesting to note," "the precautions urged upon the anchoress with regard to shewing herself unveiled . . . are expressly extended to the case of a bishop's visit" (p. 463).³⁴ The passage in question (p. 466) apparently describes a bishop's visit to the anchoress's window, but such an incident would be quite possible at Kilburn according to the terms of the settlement of 1231. The bishop was then given the right of hearing "*confessio privata*," which might have taken place in the cells, as was the Carthusian custom.³⁵ The fact that the writer of the new passages would doubtless be on the side of the abbot in the controversy perhaps accounts for the somewhat suspicious manner which he shows towards the bishop.

The causes which may have existed for curtailing the exclusive power of the abbey over the cell do not appear in the records at present available,³⁶ but it would appear

for a Carthusian house in Calabria recognize two classes there, "*coenobitae*," and "*anchoretæ*." The latter at times leave their cells, though they are to preserve silence when so doing (Le Couteulx, I, p. 237). They even at times eat in the refectory, and the sisters of the anchorage may have done the same, though we have no information on the subject. The author, however, draws the line at their eating with guests "outside" (p. 412), though he says that there are anchoresses of his day who do so. They hear mass every day (p. 262).

³⁴Though Mr. Macaulay generally confines himself to description and avoids generalizations and hypotheses, it is of interest for the theory here put forward of the connection of the additions of B with the original anchorage that he notes that some of the additions are "quite in the spirit of other passages in the *Ancren Riwe*." He gives no opinion as to the origin of B, though he declares the new material to be interpolated.

³⁵Le Couteulx, I, p. 348.

³⁶Two incidents should be noted in this connection, though our

from B that specific abuses have suggested the composition of the recension, and that they are such as would be very foreign to the original anchorage, but might arise from the connection of the house with the abbey. Whereas in the original *Riwe* the author continually reminds the sisters that they already live in some ways only too strictly, and do not need his counsel in respect to the grosser sins (see Morton, pp. 8, 50, 68, etc.), the author of the new directions seems to hint mournfully at irregularities, present or just past, among those whom he is addressing. Their conversations with men unveiled are restricted with the greatest anxiety, and they are told that this is the most important external regulation of their rule (p. 466). The text of Jeremiah on the darkening of the finest gold, which is the stock text used in the Middle Ages against degenerate religious, is commented on with great feeling, in a passage (p. 467) which accuses some anchoresses, at least, of extreme worldliness, bitterness, desire for prestige, and extreme love of dress. As a matter of fact there is no passage added by B which does not dilate eloquently on some sort of conduct most unsuitable for an anchoress. We can, therefore, hardly escape the conclusion that the recension of the *Ancren Riwe* which is present in B was written at a time of the reformation of the house, which would appear to be that of which the records of Kilburn tell, at just the same period. We do not, of course, know who was the master of Kilburn at this period, but we know that the abbot of Westminster, Richard Berking (the

evidence is not complete. We are told that the abbot who was deposed in 1213 was charged with incontinency, among other crimes. Widmore is inclined to doubt the charge (p. 34). Again, Sir Walter Besant relates (*Westminster*, London, 1895, p. 116) that the abbot and convent once all took refuge at Kilburn, because a prophet had prophesied a flood which would drown the abbey. No date or reference is given.

special counsellor of Henry III, who is supposed by Widmore [p. 42] to have influenced the king to rebuild the abbey) was a man of unusual power.

It would perhaps be suspected that we have in B an official copy—perhaps an original—preserved at Kilburn, but the absence of the name “St. John the Baptist,” which would naturally be used at Kilburn for the ninth date for communion, has already been mentioned, and this passage in the French text (which gives the Kilburn patron), and the French version of another, to be discussed in the Appendix, seem distinctly superior as a whole, to that given by any English manuscript. The same state of affairs appears in details; Mr. Macaulay has noted that the French text in general supports “what seem to be the original readings, as opposed to those of the manuscript followed by Morton” (p. 70). A trifling example that shows superiority over B is in the case of the passage from Jeremiah, already mentioned. B here has the absurd “sein ierome,” whereas the French has “li prophete Ieremie” (Macaulay, p. 467 n.).

If B cannot be considered to be the original of the second form of the work, it is also obvious that the French cannot. What seems to be true is that every manuscript, for one cause or another, stands very far from the original; B, because though evidently nearly related to an official copy, this copy was a second version; N because of its general carelessness, in spite of its superiority as the most complete representative of the original first version; the French, because though, unlike the others, it possibly is derived from the copy in the original language and in details often shows distinct superiority, yet it, like B, is related to the second version and is only an incomplete copy of that—as is perhaps natural, since it is to be dated a hundred years later than B. This state of affairs would

seem to suggest a long circulation for the work, and it is useful to observe, in this connection, that Mr. Macaulay notes that "the reviser whose text is represented by N was in the matter of grammatical inflexions in some respects 'earlier' than B, especially in regard to pronouns, articles and demonstratives" (p. 149 n.), though, in general, the "text of N represents a fuller development," which, however, is not "necessarily later in time" (p. 149). He notes (p. 65) that early and late forms are to be found mixed in the French text, and he finds no difficulty in assigning the original composition to a date a hundred years before that of the manuscript. The rapid changes in language found in prose works would probably make an even earlier date possible. It was noted by Heuser³⁷ that the *Ancren Riwe* shows a mixture of late and early forms. Again we find evidence that would seem to prove that the work had passed through a considerable period of circulation. Altogether, it seems very hard to believe, when the manuscripts and versions in 1230-50 show such variations of all sorts, that the original treatise could have been composed at the beginning of that century. It is one of the many important results of Mr. Macaulay's investigation of B that, by showing the serious alterations in the text which were existing at the time of the writing of our earliest copies, the date of the original composition of the *Ancren Riwe* is put back far beyond where it has usually been placed. More than that, B suggests that the house addressed is near London, and a priory—to go no further in summarizing its benefits.

³⁷ *Anglia*, xxx, p. 116. See, for a refutation of a theory here propounded by Heuser, *Modern Language Review*, iv, pp. 433 f. Heuser seems to take it for granted that B was written for Wigmore Priory in Hereford—which procured it, as Mr. Macaulay shows, only about 1300 (p. 145).

(IX) One possible indication of a date for the *Riwe* earlier than 1160 occurs in the statement by the author: "Eresie, God beo iðonked, ne rixleð nout in Engelond" (Morton, p. 82). With this should be compared the description of the Waldenses who came to England in 1160 by William of Newburgh; he declares, "Sane ab hac et ab aliis pestibus hæreticis immunis semper exstitit Anglia, cum in aliis mundi partibus tot pullulaverint hæreses." From the time of the Britons the "virus of heresy" "nec in eam aliunde usque ad tempora regis Henrici secundi tanquam propagandum et dilatandum introivit." Since the Continent was at this time full of heretics—so that Peter the Venerable, so many times mentioned here, devoted to them much of his energy—the immunity of England would appear conspicuous. They went on increasing on the continent till the Albigensian Crusade of 1215, and it is hard to believe that they did not again reach England. A letter of Peter of Blois of c. 1191 seems to refer to heretics in the diocese of York, and Higden tells us that some Albigensians were burned in England in 1209.²⁸

(X) Dr. Robinson believes that the foundation of Kilburn made one of three projects in which Osbert of Clare took a principal part. Osbert's relation to Kilburn seems to me doubtful, but it is at least certain that he took a

²⁸ *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, VIII, 1865, p. 190; Peter of Blois, *Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, 1847, I, p. 350 (a letter to Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, apparently on his accession). With William de Newburgh, (*Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. C. Hamilton, London, 1856, I, p. 121) compare W. Map (*op. cit.*, p. 56). It is noted that the first mention of heresy in London occurs in 1210 (*V. C. H., London*, I, p. 185). For the Continental heretics and the controversial works they called forth, see Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard*, Paris, 1897, II, pp. 209 ff., E. S. Davison, *Some Precursors of St. Francis of Assisi*, Columbia University dissertation, 1907, p. 29.

leading part in the movements to canonize King Edward, and to establish the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The latter enterprise met with opposition, though it was approved by a council of English bishops in 1129.³⁹ It is not certain that the celebration with which Osbert was connected took place at Westminster, for it falls at a time (1127) when he is supposed to have been in exile.⁴⁰

Father Bridgett has pointed out ⁴¹ that we have an echo of this controversy in the statement of the author of the *Riwe* (p. 38) that there was no sin in the Mother of Christ after His Conception, "as I believe, whatever may have been before." The author was here suspending judgment on the exact theological doctrine that underlay the festival.

(XI) Even if the treatise were not originally written in English, it is quite clear from the English texts that it was written for persons knowing English, and therefore, in the conditions of those times, almost certainly of English blood. This appears from the following passage:

"Al þet 3e euer siggeð of swuch oðer bonen, ase of Pater nostres, & of Auez, on ower owene wise, psalmes & vreisuns: al ich am wel ipaied euerichon sigge þet hire best bereð on heorte, verslunge of hire sautere, redinge of

³⁹ E. Bishop, *On the Origin of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, London, 1904; *The Bosworth Psalter*, London, 1908, pp. 43 ff.

⁴⁰ *C. Q. R.*, p. 349.

⁴¹ *Our Lady's Dowry*, London, 1875, 2nd ed., pp. 68, 251. He quotes from a correspondence of 1174-80 between Peter Cellensis and a monk of St. Alban's, in which a very general acceptance of the feast in England is implied. The principal evidence of its celebration in France comes from Fécamp, the confederate of Westminster (*Vacandard, Revue des Questions historiques*, LXI, pp. 166 ff.).

Englichs, oðer of Freinchs, holi meditaciuns" (Morton, p. 44).

The French should also be quoted here:

"Quantqe vous vnques dites daltres celes prieres, sicome pater nostres, et auees, psalmes et oroisons en votre maniere demeine, ieo en sui bien paieiz. Chescune die ausi come mieuz li aporte al queor, versiller en psalter, lire euangeiles (*sic*) ou en francoys seinte meditacions" (f. 8).

Though the divergence of the French text here may make a slight uncertainty as to this passage, it would appear that the English may give the original reading. The fact that the treatise was at least translated into English very early, would support the presumption that it was written in an environment where English was read. Moreover, there is a reference (Morton, p. 244) to the "English book of St. Margaret"—a very interesting indication of the use of English literature at this time—which is all the more interesting if the work in question can be identified with the alliterative life of that saint⁴² which makes part of the "Katherine-group" of legends judged to stand so near to the *Ancren Riwe* both in dialect and in spirit.⁴³ Altogether, it would appear that we were justified in taking it for granted that the *Ancren Riwe* was written in a distinctively English environment.

Archdeacon Pearce has remarked in his work on the monks of Westminster that "the fact appears to be that from its quite early years the Convent was predominantly English" (p. 36). Of the persons connected with the

⁴² Printed E. E. T. S., No. XIII. I regret that I have no rotograph for the French at this point.

⁴³ See *infra*, pp. 507, 512, 536. The heroines of these legends address the Saviour in just the type of mystical devotion described in the *Riwe* in the abstract.

foundation of Kilburn, several were apparently natives. Godwyn, the Master, and "Ailman sacerdos," the donor of the land in Southwark (noted in the first charter), would appear to be so by their names, and Osbert of Clare was an Englishman.⁴⁴ Flete tells us that Abbot Herebert was a Norman (perhaps, as Dr. Robinson conjectures, one who came from Bec with Abbot Crispin), but Widmore remarks that this must be "only by family, or at farthest by birth for he was a monk here, and almoner of the convent, when appointed abbot" (p. 23). He was the first monk of the house chosen abbot after the Conquest.

Not only is it certain that some of the special patrons of Kilburn at its foundation were Englishmen, but we would seem to have reason to believe that the three occupants of the hermitage were at least not all Norman, since one bore the name "Gunhilda." As a matter of fact there would be some reason why all three names should be given to English women, for they all occur in the family of King Edward the Confessor. Emma was his mother, Gunhilda his half-sister (the daughter of Canute), and Christina his niece, the nun of Romsey who brought up Queen Matilda.⁴⁵ We know that some of the strength of Henry I's

"*C. Q. R.*, p. 339. J. H. Round, however, notes that earlier it is unsafe to take the name of Alfred as certainly English (*Feudal England*, London, 1895, p. 327). The same may be true of those involved here.—N tells us (p. 192) that the anchoresses were sisters by blood.

"See William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Some circumstances seem to suggest that the nuns of Kilburn are, as it were, a special memorial to Edward. Gervase, in the charter already quoted, gave the corrody of Ailmar "for the good of his soul and for the soul of King Edward, as well as for all his successors"; and the same purpose is given by Flete in his account of the foundation. At the time of the canonization of Edward, the nuns of Kilburn are given a confirmation of their benefits (Flete, p. 94). It should also be noted that when Edward III in 1353 grants the nuns of Kilburn exemption from all taxes, he calls their house "of

position came from his reconciliation of the English elements of the nation, and that this was specially furthered by his marriage with a princess of Anglo-Saxon royal blood. William of Malmesbury, in a passage often quoted, tells how the Norman courtiers called the king and queen by English nicknames, and this would seem to suggest English influences at court, and doubtless English persons in attendance there.

(XII) Since Mr. Macaulay accepts the French text as the original version of the *Ancren Riwe*, the question of the date and locality of the English text may not be vitally important for the present hypothesis. However, even if the work were not first written in English, it is highly probable that it was soon translated, and at the original anchorage. The fact that the English text found in N retains the personal details of the work—which so many later copies omit—would seem to show that it was made before changes in the conditions described had made these details uninteresting. It would be likely that the place of the translation would be Kilburn itself, where the serving maidens—to whom the last section was to be read weekly—would, it might seem, need such a text,⁴⁶ and the example

the foundation of the king's progenitors" (*Patent Rolls*, Edward III, pp. 250, 539). His favor was probably procured by the effort of Simon de Langham, for this "most eminent of all our abbots" had a special affection for Kilburn (see Widmore, pp. 99, 187), and Edward III established a chantry at Kilburn for his soul (Thorpe, *loc. cit.*).

* Though they are not formally described as lay-sisters they are evidently given over to their superiors much as if they were such. In the first settlement at Sempringham the seven maidens were at first waited on by village women, until William, the first abbot of Rievaulx (founded 1131), persuaded Gilbert to add lay-sisters who should be under a rule. When the Gilbertine rule was drawn up, the part for the lay-brothers merely copied the Cistercians, and in general the special development of the lay-brothers seems one of the

of the use of the vernacular for lay religious (sometime in the twelfth century) by the Cistercians—who were the most potent influence of the day—must be remembered in connection with the English text of the *Riwele*, as well as the long tradition for vernacular religious instruction in Anglo-Saxon England.

Since, therefore, it is highly probable that the English text, even if not the original, should be written at Kilburn,⁴⁷ it is important to localize the dialect of the English

contributions of the Cistercians at this time, though these were, of course, not their invention (see E. Hoffmann, *Das Konverseninstitut des Cisterzienserordens*, Freiburg, 1905). It was apparently a part of the unusually humane and successful treatment of the lay-brothers by the Cistercians that the sermons of St. Bernard were translated into the vernacular for their use—so early that there has been some discussion as to whether the French text might not be the original (see L. Bourgain, *La Chaire française au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1879, pp. 187 ff.; Vacandard, I, p. 459). M. Demimuid in his *Pierre le Vénérable* (Paris, 1876, p. 269) notes the influence of the lay-brothers on the rise of vernacular literature.—It should be noted that at this time when lay members made an important element in so many orders, it was sometimes difficult to keep this part of the community contented. The order of Grandmont, already mentioned as *inclusi*, was nearly wrecked in the middle of the twelfth century by a resurrection of the lay-brothers, and the Gilbertines had serious trouble with a similar insurrection (see Walter Map, *loc. cit.*). The latter did not generally work with their laymen, as did the Cistercians, but it has been thought to be on account of offense to the lay-sisters that the nuns were forbidden to speak Latin. Peter the Venerable took care about the instruction of the lay-brothers of Cluny (Bourgain, p. 185).

"Heuser declares that no manuscript of the work can be localized at Tarente, where its composition was traditionally placed, and R. Jordan (*Die mittlenglischen Mundarten, Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, II, p. 128) agrees, as does also F. Weick (*Aussterben des Präfizes ge- im Englischen*, Darmstadt, 1911, p. 93), who is led by the partial loss of the sense for the *ge-*, manifested in the *Riwele*, to decide that it must have had a "Mercische Urform," which had been the conclusion of Heuser. Jordan comes near the truth (as shown by the present hypothesis) when he conjectures that the trea-

version. Mr. Macaulay, who is the only writer who has had the advantage of knowing all the manuscripts of the work, writes of them as follows: "B, C, and G constitute a group resembling one another closely in forms of language, and belonging to that particular development of the Southern dialect, on the borders of the Midland region, which is exemplified in the early lives of St. Katherine and St. Juliana,⁴⁸ the purest form of this appearing in B, which is also distinctly the earliest in time of our manuscripts. . . . T has as its basis a text of the same kind, but was evidently written by a North Midland scribe" (p. 148). The latter is the copy which, next to N, best preserves the original details of the anchorage. N, which, as we have seen, presents the original form of the text better than any other whatsoever, is "distinguished from all those that have been mentioned by features characteristic in this period of the purely Southwestern dialect" (p. 149). It is significant that the two copies most alien in dialect are those most out of touch with the later development of the text.

The facts just reviewed would make it appear that the composition of the English version took place in the

tise was composed in Oxfordshire.—It is a fortunate circumstance that we have in the *Poema Morale* (put for its place-names very securely in Hampshire, and by its manuscripts no less surely before 1170) an excellent touchstone for the locality of the English text of the *Riwle*, if written at Tarente. It is probably the decisive factor actuating the opinions just quoted against a Dorset origin for the treatise. It ought also to be remembered when the traditional dating of the work after 1200 is considered.

"A thorough study of the language of the "Katherine group" has been made by H. Stodte (*Ueber die Sprache und Heimat des Katherine-Gruppe*, Göttingen, 1896). It is interesting that he notes one point of phonology found in the Group as also peculiar to London (p. 27), and a syntactical peculiarity is noted by the editor of the legends as like the usage of the "modern dialects of Middlesex and Wilshire" (E. Einenkel, *E. E. T. S.*, No. 80, p. 135).

Southern dialect region, on the border of the Midland, which was the home of three of the thirteenth-century manuscripts, and of the parent of the fourth. In exactly this region London was included at the time of the Proclamation of Henry III of 1258 (which is approximately that of the writing of our manuscripts), as an analysis of that document has shown;⁴⁹ though earlier it had doubtless spoken a pure Southern dialect, and later the influence of the neighboring Midlands and of its cosmopolitan position (already active in 1258) was to make its speech almost consistently Midland.⁵⁰

* Morsbach calls it "einen im ganzen südlichen Dialekt, der vom Mittellande beeinflusst ist" (*Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache*, Heilbronn, 1888, p. 162), and Sir James Murray "more southern than anything else, with a slight midland admixture" (*Encyclo. Brit.*, art. English Language, p. 594). E. Dölle has extended the study of the London dialect behind the period treated by Morsbach (*Morsbach's Studien*, xxxii, *Zur Sprache Londons vor Chaucer*), and E. Neufeldt makes a study equally interesting for our purposes in his *Zur Sprache des Urkundenbuches von Westminster*, Rostock dissertation, 1907 (this is the manuscript Faustina A III, from which Dugdale prints the Kilburn charters). All of Neufeldt's material is much earlier than our period, and Dölle's either much later or much earlier, except Group VII—charters of the time of Archbishop Theobald, 1142-60.—A peculiarity of the Westminster charters noted by Neufeldt (pp. 44, 92) is the almost consistent use of *a*-forms for the verb *habban*. They seem to predominate in the *Rivole*.

* Considering the early date of the material used, it is not strange that the Midland influence seen in the Proclamation and in the *Rivole* (which, though composed earlier, only exists in manuscripts written after 1230) is not yet visible in the documents examined by Dölle (p. 88). It should also be noted that the *Rivole*, in the use of *u* for A.-S. *y*, shows a more Western speech than the London dialect, as shown in the legal documents (Dölle, p. 26). However, cases are found in the Westminster charters (Neufeldt, p. 52), and in the Proclamation (Morsbach, p. 161-2), and the truth is that the cosmopolitan position of the city (which was ultimately strong enough to shift its dialect entirely) must have brought in an unusual number of speech mixtures. It is interesting to note in this

The age of the dialect of the *Riwe* would not appear to be a valid obstacle to the present hypothesis, even if the origin of the English version be put a very few years after that of the original (which would thus become very nearly the earliest piece of French prose extant). The date of the foundation of Kilburn is generally put, as we have seen, at 1134; but it is evident that the treatise is not written at once on the retirement of the three sisters, since their virtue as anchoresses seems to have been thoroughly tested at the time of writing, and the author remarks that they have often asked him for a rule. Therefore the composition of the work could probably be put several years after 1134. A long circulation before the writing of the extant copies would inevitably bring serious changes in the language, yet it would appear that we have several touchstones which may be used to test its date, though none perhaps is quite perfect. The Peterborough Chronicle, which

connection that Heuser declares that the dialect of the *Riwe* is such a mixture that the title "South-Mercian" would suit it better than "Southern," since so many exceptions have to be made if the latter title is used (p. 113). Morsbach, in listing the peculiarities of all the Middle English dialects in his *Grammatik* (Halle, 1896, I, p. 9), says: "Die Katherine-gruppe bildet eine gruppe für sich." It is possible that the mixture of dialect which does not appear in the earliest London legal documents, would be visible in literary performances of the same time. It is also barely possible that anything written at Kilburn (which, though so near the city, was at this time a very rustic situation) might show more of the local Middlesex peculiarities of speech—though our ignorance as to the origins of the scribes, author, and public of the treatise (even when we are sure of the place of its composition) must make any such hypothesis uncertain, especially since our only copies date from so long after the original copy.—It should be noted that Father MacNabb, in the article already mentioned, quotes from a letter of Mr. Macaulay (p. 5 n.), in which the original dialect is spoken of as "Southwestern, with a tinge of Midland." It would appear from Mr. Macaulay's statement made in his article and already quoted, that "Southwestern" here must be a scribal error for "Southern."

is securely dated, belongs to another dialect, and is, moreover, deliberately archaising;⁵¹ most of the manuscripts written in the middle of the twelfth century contain transcripts of older works, and are therefore obviously no fairer standard for the speech of their own time,⁵² than the *Ancren Riwe* is for the speech of the early thirteenth century, if, in spite of the thirteenth-century manuscripts, it turns out to have been composed in the middle of the twelfth. Altogether, however, in spite of the lack of English literature accepted as composed in the first half of the twelfth century, the characteristics of late dialect found in the *Riwe*—so far as they can be observed without an exhaustive study and collation of the manuscripts—can be all found at times in the various manuscripts and legal documents which have been considered our only basis for the study of English of this period.⁵³

⁵¹ See O. P. Behm, *The Language of the Later Part of the Peterborough Chronicle*, Göteborg, 1884, pp. v, 19, 20, 24, 57, 66; H. Meyer, *Zur Sprache der jüngeren Teile der Chronik von Peterborough*, Jena, 1889.

⁵² For example, most of the contents of Bodl. ms. 343 (*History of the Holy Rood Tree*, E. E. T. S., No. ciii, ed. Napier, p. ix).

⁵³ The phonological changes in the *Riwe* are briefly summarized by E. Buck, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1865, "The Grammatical Forms of Southern English (A. D., 1220-30) occurring in the *Ancren Riwe*," p. 166. In addition to the philological works already cited, the following may be mentioned as giving valuable comparative data and full bibliographical references: *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Old English Glosses*, Oxford, 1900, and *Some Points of English Orthography in the Twelfth Century*, *Academy*, 1890, pp. 133 ff., both by Napier (the latter lists manuscripts transcribed in the twelfth century); W. Schlemilch, *Beiträge zur Sprache und Orthographie Spätmittelengl. Sprachdenkmäler der Übergangszeit* (1000-1150), *Morsbach's Studien*, xxxiv (a very useful study for the present purposes, summarizing the results of most of the other philological investigations here noted). The study by R. A. Williams (*Anglia*, xxv, pp. 393 ff.) of the speech of the *Codex Wintonensis*, drawn up in the bishopric of Henry of Blois (1130-50), later to be mentioned

Though the dialect of the English *Riwe* can doubtless be fitted sufficiently well both to the time and place that is here proposed for it, yet this subject should not be concluded without an influence being mentioned which would give sufficient explanation for any deviations in the *Riwe* from the forms occasionally found in documents written in London at the time of the settlement of Kilburn. Local usage may sometimes war with convention in any documents of the time, with inconsistent results; for the use of a "Schriftsprache" seems proved for this period by the existence of West-Saxon legal documents written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the North.⁵⁴ With this fact should be connected the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis, of a slightly later date, where, after declaring that the Southern English of his day (especially towards

as a person of interest for the *Riwe* (infra, pp. 526 f.), is also useful for its summaries of other contemporary dialects. It should be noted that Group VII of Dölle's study (written in the time of Archbishop Theobald, who is also of interest for the *Riwe*—see infra, p. 535 a.) shows (pp. 5, 54, etc.), the French influence on the orthography very strongly (*ch* for *c*, etc.), which is such a characteristic of the *Riwe*, and is cited occasionally in the dissertations. Group VII only once (p. 43) substitutes *i-* for the prefix *3e-* (a sign of late dialect found consistently in the *Riwe*). Dölle notes, however, that legal documents are naturally conservative (p. 45), and the *i-* is found in some twelfth-century MSS. (*Academy*, pp. 133 f.), and it even appears in the eleventh-century glosses (*Anecdota*, p. xxviii, in the work of a Kentish scribe). The Peterborough Chronicle derives much of its archaic appearance from its use of the prefix *3e-*—as a matter of fact it does not make such difficult translation as the *Riwe*—but it alternates this with entire loss of the prefix, according to the Northern custom (Meyer, p. 86), and altogether the form of the prefix seems a matter determined more by the locality of composition than by the date. Liebermann prints a short original charter written before 1128 in the North, which shows traces of Anglo-French orthography and of Middle English forms and the use of the "W.-S. Schriftsprache" (*Archiv*, cxi, p. 284).

⁵⁴ For references see Schlemilch, p. 69.

Devon) was more "incomposita," and at the same time more archaic than that of the North, he goes on to add: "Originalis linguæ proprietatem et antiquum loquendi modum magis observat. Cujus etiam rei non solum argumentum, sed et certitudinem inde habere potes, quod omnes libros Anglicos Bedæ, Rabani, regis Æluredi vel aliorum quorumlibet, sub hujus idiomatis proprietate scriptos invenies." ⁵⁵

This statement might seem to imply that in Giraldus's day the continuity of English composition from Anglo-Saxon times had never been broken, and this impression is borne out when he says that the English, "like the Welsh," use alliteration "in omni sermone exquisito" (p. 187). It is here of interest to compare the statement of Mr. Macaulay that "in a certain part of the Southern dialect-region the language of the 'Katherine-group' seems to have attained for the time almost to the position of a literary standard" (p. 150). The Katherine-group is written in alliteration, and it may therefore be that this Southern and alliterative literature represents the very same development in English literary history as that of which Giraldus is speaking—and may even make part of the work he had in mind. The fact that the *Ancren Riwele*, which is no less "elegant" than the Katherine-group, is not written in

⁵⁵ *Opera, Rolls Series*, 1868, vi, pp. 177-8. I have pointed out in an article in the *Romanic Review*, ix, pp. 154 ff., which supplements the present one at many points, that our conception of the position of English at this time has been influenced by the fact that Giraldus, who speaks thus impersonally of English, was a Welshman, and that the fact that he and two others of the most outstanding writers of the time were Welsh probably had its influence in hampering the development of English as a medium for literature.—A use of *isaid* (showing the *ge-* worn down to *i-*) occurs in an English proverb quoted by Giraldus at p. 187. Part of one of his proverbs occurs in the *Riwele* (p. 268), and makes difficulty for the theory of a French original.

alliteration, is perhaps due to the original's having been French. Other alliterative works of the Southern dialect region existing in manuscripts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century are the ecstatic rhapsodies so often connected with the *Riwe* by similarity of spirit as well as of form.⁵⁶ It is of interest that one of these has been shown to be a translation of a poem by Marbodius of Rheims, who had addressed another poem to "good Queen Maud."⁵⁷

Whether or no the Middle English composition still extant from the earliest period can be identified with that which is referred to by Giraldus, it is evident that his statements would assist any hypothesis putting English composition in the twelfth century, and some other facts should be noted in this connection. It may be that the extreme conservatism as to inflections, which has been noted as a striking characteristic of the Southern dialect of the earliest period, by comparison with Northern and Midland,⁵⁸ is due in part to the fact that Southern works have been dated too late. Just what Giraldus means when he calls the Southern dialect "incomposita" is not clear, but it is just possible that we should connect with this remark a phenomenon of the Southern dialect which gives a contrast to its syntactical conservatism, namely its abundance of Romance words. This characteristic is most marked in the *Ancren Riwe*, and for this fact the present hypothesis, by connecting the work with the court circle,

⁵⁶ See my article already mentioned, pp. 186 ff. Attempts have been made to attribute all these pieces to the same author—according to Einkenkel, *loc. cit.*, and in *Anglia*, v, pp. 265 ff., a woman (perhaps one of the three anchoresses).

⁵⁷ See W. Vollhardt, *Einfluss der lateinischen geistlichen Literatur . . .*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 19. He refutes Einkenkel's theory of the origin of these pieces.

⁵⁸ See Morsbach, *Grammatik*, I, pp. 9, *et passim*.

where the French influence was strong even before the Conquest, would give a reason.⁵⁹

In general, it is probable that many of the Middle English characteristics of the language of the earliest monuments after the Conquest existed before that time in spoken speech, and only appeared when they did in literature, because the discontinuance of schooling in English had torn away "the veil which literary conservatism had thrown over the changes of the spoken tongue."⁶⁰ The fact that this earliest Middle English, affected by French orthography, has been thought to show in its phonology the influence of the large element in the population of England after the Conquest who did not know English, would support assigning it to an early date; for, as I have shown in an earlier article,⁶¹ the aliens of the Conquest seem to have been assimilated by the latter part of the twelfth century. The fact that the present hypothesis would put in the twelfth century a large part of the English compositions usually ascribed to the thirteenth need not alter our conclusion; for, as I have shown in the earlier article, though the thirteenth century was a time when English was probably more strongly entrenched in familiar use than ever before, this was also the period of the international use of French in literature, due to the international influence of the University of Paris. This was a time when English composition was much less likely to flourish than in the years immediately following the English revival in the

⁵⁹ R. Mattig (*Die französischen Elemente im Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen*, Marburg, 1910, p. 79) shows that half of the romance loan-words found in Middle English from 800 to 1258 are contributed by the *Ancren Riwe*.

⁶⁰ See the valuable article by Mr. Henry Bradley in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 436 ff.

⁶¹ *Romanic Review*, *loc. cit.*, p. 173.

time of Henry I; for, in the latter period, the continuity with Anglo-Saxon culture was not yet lost, and the court was less cosmopolitan than in the days of the Angevins. The very breadth of the Angevin Empire must have been an influence operating to extinguish local usages, especially since the international ideal was animating the intellectual world at that time. It would be natural that revival of composition in English could not be more than a flash in the pan until the international ideal had passed its zenith. The conditions making for the use of a universal vernacular were too easy in England in these years to be neglected when the desire for such an institution was in the air all over Europe.

(XIII) The *Ancren Riwle* shows special and even minute reminiscences of the preoccupations of the decade of the foundation of Kilburn. One of the strongest links connecting the *Riwle* with Kilburn is the relation which that work can be proved to bear to the controversy between the Cistercians and the older Benedictines, which was one of the most outstanding incidents of this time. In this connection the *Riwle* is always to be found on the side of the older Benedictines, as would be natural to a treatise written for the cell of a Benedictine house.

Vincent of Beauvais, in the *Mirror of History* which became the standard reference book of the Middle Ages, notes for the period with which we are here concerned the rise of the new orders as a striking characteristic of the time (27, vii). Most of these new orders made settlements in England during the last years of the reign of Henry I, and in the reign of Stephen William of Newburgh tells us that "many more monasteries were built in that short time than in the hundred years previous." He

compares the strength thus manifested by the Heavenly King, with the weakness of the earthly sovereign.⁶²

We have already seen that the enthusiasm of the time for rules and orders was such that, for the sake of a settled connection, many old houses at just this period were assuming the Augustinian rule, and that even the Pope was recommending such action. The eagerness for a rule which the author of the *Ancren Riwe* tells us that the sisters of the anchorage have shown, is a similar sign of the times, as is also the identical desire which St. Aelred met from his recluse sister. Many of the new orders had developed from hermitages, and we can see the contemporary expectation in the fact that the three ladies of the anchorage are receiving enquiries from others as to "of hwat ordre" they are (p. 8). The author, as we shall see, belonged to a liberal minority in his generation who took a very spiritualized view of orders and of the differences in material usages on which they were built up, and he therefore gives the anchoresses the ironical reference to the "order of St. James," with which to meet their enquirers. Nevertheless, he proceeds to give—in his own spiritualized form—a rule for the anchorage, though he has denied them an order. Perhaps he does this because he recognizes the very real paucity of rules for women, which is noted by Heloise

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 45. Reyner (*Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Douai, 1626, pp. 159-60) says that the order of Arrouaise came to England in 1112, that of Tyron in 1126, that of Savigny in 1124, the Premonstratensians (who were in Scotland in 1125) to England in 1146. The first Cistercian house was built in 1128, but the real strength of the Cistercian order began with the settlement of Rievaulx directly from Clairvaux in 1131 (see Miss Cook's most valuable account of the Cistercian Settlement in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, *loc. cit.*). The founders of Fontevraud, Tyron, Savigny, and Arrouaise had all been hermits.

when, in this very decade, she writes to Abelard for a rule for the Paraclete.⁶³

At the time of the foundation of Kilburn the most aggressive and successful order in Christendom was the Cistercian, which, to use the words of William of Malmesbury (p. 380), then seemed the "surest way to heaven." It had originated in a secession from the monastery of Molême by monks who had come under condemnation of conscience because the Benedictine rule was no longer observed in minute accuracy.⁶⁴ The essence, therefore, of the Cistercian idea was the meticulous observance of the Rule, and the assumption of superiority that it carried with it aroused the ire of the older Benedictines, who were especially irritated because the Cistercians had changed the black Benedictine habit for a white one.⁶⁵ When in 1122 Peter the Venerable became Abbot of Cluny, a quarrel was raging between his house and the Cistercians because of one Robert (a monk whom both claimed), a relative of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, who had written the young man a miraculous letter condemning the laxness of Cluny, which he had dictated—"in medio imbre sine imbre"—to the Englishman William, already mentioned

⁶³ Migne, CLXXVIII, c. 213. For the dates of Heloise's letters see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

⁶⁴ A useful contemporary account of the Cistercians for our purposes is that of Ordericus Vitalis, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, ed. A. Le Prevost, *Société de l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1845, III, p. 434 ff. Ordericus is a "black monk," a Benedictine under the influence of Cluny, who gives, therefore, a somewhat sarcastic account of the "white monks."

⁶⁵ The question of the color of the habit was a burning one at the time. The monks of Bec also assumed white, though the date is not known (Porée, I, p. 505), and the Premonstratensians wore it (explaining their choice by a miracle, Dugdale, VII, p. 859). The Gilbertines showed their complex origin by combining the two colors (Graham, p. 70). The author of the *Riwle* did the same (see MacNabb, p. 4).

as the first abbot of Rievaulx.⁶⁶ Peter, who was the great peacemaker of his generation, entered the controversy with a letter to the Cistercians soon after his accession in 1122. This letter echoes the argument in terms similar to those found in the *Ancren Riwe*: since the treatise uses a metaphor strikingly employed by Peter, it would appear that his letter was known to the author, at least by hearsay. In any case it gives the best possible setting forth of the older Benedictine side of the controversy, and will be summarized here very briefly on that account.

After a discussion of many particular observances—many of them matters of costume—in which the Cistercians make a great point of differing from the Cluniacs, the abbot sarcastically describes the scorn felt by the black monk for the white, and *vice versa*, and he condemns the puerility of the procedure. “Corporalis exercitatio ad modicum utilis est” (I Tim. iv, 8; c. 151); it was the very essence of the Rule of St. Benedict to leave matters such as food, drink, clothing, to be decided according to time, place, manners, and other accidents (c. 126). “Hoc tamen reducere ad mentem charitas vestra debet quod divina mandata, partim mobilia, partim sunt immobilia. . . . De immobilium numero dicimus esse . . . illud maximum et primum dilectionis Dei mandatum, secundum quoque huic simile de proximi dilectione; sed et humilitatis, castitatis, et veritatis præcepta” (c. 148). He repeats

⁶⁶ Ep. I.—It was put first in Bernard’s collected letters because of the miracle connected with its composition, and a chapel existed on the site of the event, until after the Reformation. See Vacandard, I, Chap. vi, Demimuid, *op. cit.*, etc. Barnard gave an *Apologia* for his attack on Cluny, which is really a second onslaught. It is dated by various scholars at dates ranging from 1119 to 1127 (the latter is that given by Miss Cooke, who gives an excellent summary of the causes of the Cistercian separation from the older Benedictines).

several times over the words of St. Augustine: "Habe charitatem, et fac quidquid vis." "Haec est quæ plenitudo legis et finis præcepti est (Rom. XIII, 10) . . . diversis temporibus per diversos sanctos diversa loquens, ipsa non varia, non divisa, non multiplex, sed simplex, stabilis, inconcussa, semper eadem perduravit. Ut enim materfamilias, tota domus propriæ utilitati intenta, quosdam famulorum ad bobus exercendam, quosdam ad fodiendam vineam, alios in silvam ad ligna cædenda mittit . . . ipsa (charitas) tamen, quamvis diversa sint quæ præcipit, diversa non efficitur, nec diversitas jussionis diversitatem facit utilitatis, quoniam ad unum quiddam et simplex, hoc est ad domum utilitatem, omnis illa officiorum varietas se colligit, et illud unum innumera ministeria operantur" (c. 154).

In the introduction to the *Riwle* the scheme is laid down for the whole work, and it seems to echo the ideal expressed by Peter the Venerable. There are two kinds of rule which the author will describe. The one is the rule of charity, the other that concerning material observances,—all of which may be changed for good reason, provided the rule of charity be preserved. Charity is the "Lady Rule" who makes "all things smooth"—to whom the other is only the "hand-maiden." This general scheme is again mentioned just before the summary (p. 410). The three crucial texts used by Peter above quoted, appear prominently in the *Riwle* (pp. 4, 386). The appearance (pp. 2-6) of some sentences in Latin would seem to show that the author is using some definite source, which we may hope to trace when manuscripts can be investigated.

Other echoes of the famous controversy appear in the *Ancren Riwle*, and some of them seem to show the direct influence of Peter the Venerable's interpretation of the quarrel in the letter already quoted. He remarks in that

letter "Nam quid aliud in professione quam stabilitas, conversio morum et obedientia a monacho promittitur (c. 135)?" The author of the *Riwle* writes: "Non ancre bi mine read ne schal makien professiun, þet is, bihoten ase hest, bute þreo þinges, þet is, obedience, chastete, & studesta-þeluestnesse (p. 6). Þe þinges þet ich write her of ðe vttre riwle . . . nullich nout þet 3e bihoten ham ase heste to holden; for also ofte also 3e þerefter breken eni of ham hit wolde to swuþe hurten ower heorte & makien ou so offered þet 3e muhten sone uallen . . . in desperaunce, þet is, in unhope & in unbileau forte beon iboruwen" (p. 8).

These words are given special point by an incident that happened in England in 1132, and must have resounded through the monastic world. In that year some monks of St. Mary's Abbey, York, were attacked by "prick of conscience,"⁶⁷ because they were not observing the Rule of St. Benedict in meticulous accuracy. Their case was decided at a meeting called by Thurstan, the archbishop, to which both sides had summoned learned men from all over England. The meeting ended in physical violence, but the archbishop took the seceding monks under his protection and established them at Fountains. The Abbey was not, however, received into the Cistercian order till 1135, the year after that when Kilburn is supposed to have been founded.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ This early use of the phrase is noteworthy. In my article on the Authorship of the *Prick of Conscience* I was not able to carry it back of Bonaventura (*Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 15, p. 128).

⁶⁸ We have Thurstan's own narrative of the incident (*Memorials of Fountains*, Surtees Society, 1863, pp. 11 ff.). He was originally from St. Paul's, and was a special counsellor of religious women—as of Adela of Blois (whom he accompanied when she took the vows at Marcigny in 1120), and of Christina of Markyate (*D. N. B.*, and the *De Gestis*, p. 100).

As we have seen, the extreme wing, at least, of the Cistercians⁶⁹ made cardinal points of material regulations, and particularly of certain modes of costume. Peter the Venerable, while upholding at length the usages of his order, declares that these questions are of no intrinsic importance. It is, therefore, quite in keeping with the most liberal opinion among the older monks of the time that the author of the *Riwele*, in setting up his new institution, seeks, as it were, to show the good faith of his liberality by refusing to saddle his *protégées* with the distinctive title of either of the two warring parties, though in so doing, he shows us, if we understand the contemporary references, what his opinion was of the "new Pharisees" discussed by Abbot Peter:

Gif eni unweote acseð ou of hwat ordre 3e beon alse sum deð, alse 3e telleð me, þe isihð þene gnet & swoluweð þe vli3e, onawerieð & siggeð þe, 3e beoð of seint Iames ordre . . . He seið hwat is religiun & hwuch is riht ordre: Religio munda etc. . . þus þe apostle seint Iame descriueð religiun & ordre: nouþer hwit ne blac ne nemneð he in his ordre, ase moni þet isihð þene gnet & swoluweð þe vli3e, þet is, makeð muchel strence þer as is lutel. Powel þe erest ancre . . . & monie oðre swuche weopmen & wummen mid hore greate maten & hore herde heren, neren heo of gode ordre? & hwiðer hwite oþer blake, alse unwise askeð ou, þet weneð þet ordre sitte iðe kurtel oþer iþe kuuele, God hit wot; noþeas heo weren wel beoðe: naut tauh onont clodes . . . o þisse wise answerieð to þeo þet askeð ou of ower ordre, & hweðer hwite oþer blake; siggeð þet 3e beoð boðe þurh þe

⁶⁹ We should probably not judge them all by the "new Pharisees" of Peter's letters, any more than we should judge all his own monks by the torpid Cluniacs sleeping against a wall all day, whom he also pictures (in his reformed statutes for Cluny, dated 1146, in which he begins by an eloquent discussion of the "movable" and "immovable" ordinances, *Opera*, cc. 1025 ff.). Bernard of Clairvaux, some time between 1131 and 1143 (*Histoire littéraire*, xii, p. 205), wrote his *De Praecepto et Dispensatione*, in which he also lays down the distinction between the two sorts of ordinances, much as Peter might Peter's arguments.—See also Peter's letters, c. 418 f., for abuses at Cluny.

grace of God, & of seint Iames ordre, . . . þet ich er seide, wrom þe worlde witen him clene & unwemmed; her inne is religiun & nout iþe wide hod, ne iþe blake, ne iþe hwhite, ne iþe greȝe kuuele; ȝer also moni beoȝ igedered togederes, þereuore mid onrednesse me schal makien strenȝe of onnesse of cloþes & of oȝer hwat of vttre þinges, þet te onnesse wiȝuten bitocnie þe onnesse of o luue & of o wil, þet heo alle habbeȝ imene wiȝinnen hore abit . . . loke þet heo ne lizen; þus hit is i kuuent, auh hwarse wummon liueȝ oȝer mon bi him one, eremite oȝer ancre, of þinges wiȝuten hwarof scandele ne kume, nis nout mucche strenȝe . . . (pp. 8-12).—For the French reading see *infra*, p. 525 n.

The account already given of Peter the Venerable's letter will have shown the significance of the discussion in the *Riwe* of "black" and "white." Other reminiscences of the differences between the two orders appear in the passage just quoted. The phrase "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel" was used commonly in this controversy. Peter applies it (c. 124) to the Cistercians in his letter already quoted, and he says elsewhere of his beloved Carthusians that they do not "strain at the gnat," etc. (*Opera*, c. 412). Bernard of Clairvaux, on the other side, applies it to the Cluniacs in his *Apologia*.⁷⁰ In the same epistle (c. 913) Bernard mentions (to refute) what are almost the words of the *Ancren Riwe*: "Cæterum in habitu, inquis, non est religio, sed in corde. Bene. At tu quando cucullam empturus lustras urbes, etc." However, his epistle to Robert will show how naturally his generation, as it seems, chose this saying for meeting his arguments. In this epistle he attacks many petty details of the life at Cluny, as the following quotation will show (the italics are mine and mark details referred to in the *Riwe*):

"Si *pellificiæ* lenes et calidæ, si panni subtiles et pretiosi, si *longæ maniciæ* et *amplum caputium*, si opertorium silvestre et molle *stamineum* sanctorum faciunt; quid moror et ego quod te non sequor? Sed hæc infirmantium sunt fomenta, non arma pugnantium (c. 77).

⁷⁰ Migne, CLXXXII, c. 906.

"Frocci" (generously made as to materials, with wide hoods, and sleeves),⁷¹ furs and "stamins," were some of the luxuries which the Cistercians discarded, but the anchoress is told that her sin is the same, "however her kirtle be shaped or colored" (p. 200). The argument that raged during this generation as to the shape, size, material, and color of monastic garments certainly echoed in every phase of the declaration of the *Riwle* that "religion is not in the kirtle or the cowl, or in the wide hood, or in the white, black or grey cowl." The "grey cowl" is probably a reference to the order of Savigny: their founder and his monks had been received into the fraternity of Westminster, and their greatest house, Furness, had been founded by Stephen of Blois in 1126. The Middle English "Winteneý Rule" (Cistercian) rejects "cowls" for "kirtles."⁷²

Peter the Venerable, in the letter already quoted, gives us a hint that the Cistercian quarrel was with the size of garments, as well as with the color (*grossitudo et color*). But he proves that the Cistercians are here the innovators: St. Martin did not go "in albo et *curto* (the italics are mine), sed quod nigro et pendulo pallio" (c. 116).⁷³ He discusses at length the inhumanity of the Cistercians in refusing to allow their monks to wear furs (cc. 120 ff.),

⁷¹ See Newman's *Lives of the English Saints*, London, 1845, No. 1 (Stephen Harding), p. 54, for a discussion of the "frock" and the "cowl," and Migne's note on the letter to Robert.

⁷² See *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 27. Almost half of the houses of Savigny were in England (Cooke, p. 669). For their habit, see Dugdale, v, p. 246.—See *Die Winteneý Version der Regula S. Benedicti*, ed. Schröer, Halle, 1888, p. 111.

⁷³ He remarks on the shortness and scantiness of the Carthusian garments (c. 944). The number of the Cistercian garments was also restricted; see William of Malmesbury (p. 382), and Peter's second letter (c. 328). So were their kinds of bed coverings (*ibid.*, p. 113).

and his statutes show that his monks wore stamins after their reformation (c. 1043). The anchoresses (like St. Aelred's sister, c. 1458, who here received a grudging concession) are allowed both stamins and furs and (unlike the Cistercians) given as many garments as they need (p. 418). The matter of their clothing is shortly disposed of: "Uorði þet no mon ne i-sihð ou, ne 3e i-seoð nenne mon, wel mei don of ower cloðes, beon heo hwite, beon heo blake: bute þet heo beon unorne & warme, & wel i-wrouhte—uelles wel i-tawed; & habbeð ase monie ou to-neodeð, to bedde and eke to rugge" ⁷⁴ (p. 418).

A last echo of the contemporary discussion as to garments, occurs in the following: "Nu cumeð forð a feble mon, & halt him þauh heihliche, 3if he haueð enne widne hod & one ilokene cope, & wule iseon 3unge ancren . . . & seið þat heo mei iseon baldeliche holi men; 3e nomeliche swuche ase he is, uor his wide sleuen" (p. 56).

Here we have again the wide hood, and sleeves which might from their width appear "long," and the older Benedictine costume may be in question: the Cluniacs, as we have seen, according to Peter the Venerable do not appear to have developed novelties in their costume. At Westminster, according to the Customary (pp. 140, 146 f.), frocks, cowls, stamins, and furs were all worn. The "close cope" was required of all religious persons. It is very possible, therefore, that the author is here in a playful manner elsewhere used directly referring to the monks of Westminster, who, as we know, at a later date

"Vacandard observes: "A l'inverse de saint Bernard, Pierre le Vénérable se montre sérieusement préoccupé de la santé de ses moines (cp. Lib. I, ep. 28). Volontiers il prendrait pour devise ce mot du poète: *Mens sana in corpore sano*" (I, p. 129). Peter shows here another striking likeness to the author of the *Riwole* (cp. p. 422).

probably made a great deal of trouble by trying to see the nuns of Kilburn.⁷⁵

⁷⁵See E. Bishop, "The Origin of the Cope as a Church Vestment," *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1897, p. 24. A "cope" was generally the particular mark of a Canon—see Clark, p. lxxix, and Ordericus Vitalis, III, p. 369; "Clerici et episcopi nigris cappis induti erant. Monachi quoque et abbates nigris nihilominus cucullis amicti erant." Like all the costumes in question, it was also, however, worn by all classes, and at an earlier date, at any rate, was the term regularly used in some other countries where the French used "cowl."—Matthew Paris in 1258 notes the arrival of eight ecclesiastics in England "in copes,"—"videlicet, quinque clausis, et quinque manicatis" (v. Ducange, *Cappa*). Rock (*Church of Our Fathers*, ed. Frere and Hart, London, 1905, II, p. 41) quotes from Chaucer as to knowing a canon because "his cloke was sewed to his hood."—It is very possible that we have in the *Riwe* itself proof that the author used "cowl" and "cope" interchangeably, as we have seen was sometimes done (most of these terms of costume seem to be sometimes interchanged, as examination of Ducange will show). At p. 420, l. 6 the English text reads: "ȝif ȝe muwen beon wimpel-leas, beoð bi warme keppen and þeruppon blake ueiles." "Keppen" in this passage has been taken to refer to head-coverings by Mr. Macaulay (p. 68), though Morton translates "capas." I believe the latter may be preferable. We really have the same word as in "copes," and an examination of the French text seems to show that we here may have it used in the same sense: "Si vous poez estre sanz wimpel, seez od chaudes kuueles qe len appelle kappes & par desus cel les noires veilz" (f. 68v.). Now "kuueles" is the word which we have used in the English text at p. 10, already quoted (*supra*, pp. 521 f.), where it is translated "cowl." Since the "cowl" had a hood, a black veil could be worn over that, in lieu of a wimple.—Robert of Arbrissel also decrees for his nuns "ut guimpae albae earum nunquam apparent; velis eas operientibus" (Migne, CLXII, c. 1079). The following from the Chaucerian *Romance of the Rose* has been quoted in this connection:

Werynge a fayle in-stede of wymple,
As nonnys don in her abbey (l. 3865).

—The French text corresponding to the English at p. 11 is hardly legible: nothing can be recovered as to the "wide hood," or the colors of the "cowl." However, the latter word is partly visible, in the same form here found in the English and at f. 68v in the French (. . . ouele, f. 3v). The French abridges the reference to

The Cistercians have been described as the "Puritans of the Middle Ages,"⁷⁶ and their controversy with Peter bears out this title. He, on the other hand, seems to have found the finest "Via Media" of his generation. It would appear that his eloquence must have made him the spokesman for the "black monks" in general; for the older usages scorned by the Cistercians seem to be those of all older Benedictines, who were all "black monks." The division between Cluniac and other Benedictine houses was so purely a political one, that in England, at any rate, Cluniac monks were constantly presiding over Benedictine houses,⁷⁷ and when Henry I made his great foundation at Reading, he settled it with Cluniac monks, though the house was counted Benedictine.⁷⁸ It is of great interest

costume at p. 10 and omits the "kirtle or the cowl," as follows: ". . . & le quel blank ou noir sicome nounsauanz vous demandent, qe quident qe ordre sietē (?) en la cote."—I regret that I have not the French text at p. 56.—The French also uses "cotes" for the lay-sisters' garb at p. 424: "Lour cotes soient par desus closes pardeuant la poitrine sanz fermail" (f. 60). N here uses "heamel," but B and C "cop" (Macaulay, p. 331). It would appear that the "ilokene cope" at p. 56 might not differ from the "cote close" of the lay-sister at p. 424 (as given in the French): thus, as directed (*ibid.*), her costume showed her dedication. "Cote" in the French often translates "kirtle" (as p. 362). Ducange gives instances showing "cotta" in monastic use, and one from 1298: "In decenti habitu, scilicet, in cappa clausa, vel cotta."—The interpretation of such terms in the present treatise is specially difficult because we have two versions, dating from two widely separated periods.

⁷⁶ G. G. Coulton, *Mediaeval Studies*, 1st Series, 2nd ed., London, 1915, p. 40.

⁷⁷ Henry of Blois (nephew of the king and the dominating figure in the kingdom after the accession of his brother Stephen) was a monk of Cluny and one of its greatest benefactors. He became abbot of Glastonbury in 1126, Gilbert Foliot, Prior of Cluny, became abbot of Gloucester in 1139, the 12th abbot of Ramsey in 1176 became the 14th of Cluny, etc.

⁷⁸ There were three degrees of dependence on Cluny (see Pignot, *ii*, p. 313 f.). Hugh, the first Abbot of Reading, was called there

to the present hypothesis that Peter the Venerable visited England in 1130,⁷⁹ and, considering that the difference in political organization did not separate the English Benedictines from Cluny, we may feel certain that he came to Westminster, and that discussion of the great differences of usage and of spirit between the "black" and "white" monks took place during his stay there. The monks of Westminster would be able to sympathize with the stand he had taken in the controversy, because the distinction between the "movable and immovable" ordinances, on which it was founded, was to be found in brief but complete form in the statutes which had been drawn up by Lanfranc for the monks of Canterbury,⁸⁰ and this work we find used later in the Westminster Customary.⁸¹ Since Peter took

from the Cluniac house of Lewes. He collaborated with Osbert of Clare in establishing the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (on which Peter was skeptical, see Demimuid, p. 207), and, as Archbishop of Rouen, was at the death bed of Henry I. He was a relative of Peter's intimate friend, Cardinal Matthew (the reforming prior of Cluny), who as Papal legate in France came into constant conflict with the Cistercians (see *Revue Bénédictine*, xviii, 1901, p. 129).

⁷⁹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that he was received everywhere with great honor (ed. Thorpe, Rolls Series, 1861, i, p. 380). See also Reyner, *App.*, pp. 140 ff. Peter mentions in his letters two visits to England, the last of which was certainly after 1141, when he went to Spain (cc. 661, 671). He writes an undated letter to Henry of Blois in which he says he spent much time in England the previous year, almost constantly in Henry's company (c. 204). The position of this letter in the series would seem to refer it to the earlier visit. The *Histoire littéraire* says that Peter's second visit took place c. 1145 (xii, p. 355). It should be noted that the great basilica of Cluny, so important for the history of architecture, was dedicated in 1131, and for this Henry I had been the principal benefactor. Peter writes to the Empress Matilda that her father had been a better friend to Cluny than any king for three hundred years (see Duckett, *Record Evidences among Archives of the Ancient Abbey of Cluny*, privately printed, 1886, p. 42).

⁸⁰ Migne, CL., c. 443.

⁸¹ See p. ix, n.

an intense interest in the nunnery of Marcigny (which included anchoresses), there may have been discussion of plans for Kilburn.⁸²

The events which immediately followed Peter's visit were such as to have enhanced the interest of his defence of the "black monks." In 1132 he reformed his order, somewhat along the lines of St. Bernard's criticism, though the bitterness between the two orders was not assuaged in consequence, and in his famous second letter on the controversy, written in 1143, the "black" and "white" monks are still described as turning the other way when they met.⁸³ In England in 1132, as we have seen, some monks seceded from a Benedictine house to found Fountains Abbey, and the enormous development of the Cistercian power in England had begun. Henceforth, for the next two decades, the material success of the Cistercians in

⁸² He once writes to Henry of Blois (c. 319) a begging letter for Marcigny, where the mothers of both had been nuns. Again he complains to Henry that the English visit Marcigny, and pass by Cluny (c. 231). He writes to one Robert who is apparently at Reading, and about to take the vows at Cluny, bringing with him a sister to enter Marcigny (c. 282). Marcigny had a dependent nunnery in the diocese of Salisbury (Pignot, II, p. 41), but not even its name is known.—For Peter's love for Marcigny see cc. 208 f., 350, 457, 889.

⁸³ The controversy was alive after the death both of Bernard and of Peter, as is shown by the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem Monachum et Cisterciensem*, written from the Cistercian point of view between 1154 and 1174 (see Martène et Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717, v, cc. 1569 ff.). This work is an elaborate discussion of each point in question between the two orders, and probably other details of the *Rhôle* besides those mentioned are framed with reference to these arguments. For example, the Cistercians made a great point of saying matins at day-break (c. 1604), and then not going again to bed. Bernard taunts Robert with the "sweet morning sleep" at Cluny. The anchoresses may say matins "by night in winter" (p. 20). The *Dialogus* discusses the question of monasteries assuming control over religious women (on which the orders differ, cc. 1633 f.).

England must have kept their controversy with the older Benedictines very much alive.

Two landmarks of the literature that the controversy must have produced in England can be pointed out and grouped with the *Ancren Riwe*, and doubtless others can be found in manuscripts. One of these is the work of St. Aelred, one of the greatest English Cistercians. He had been brought up in the family of the brother of "good Queen Maud" (who lived at the English court till 1124), and he was called in by the abbot of Westminster to revise for the canonization the life of Edward the Confessor (which had been prepared by Osbert of Clare),⁸⁴ as he had been called in by Gilbert of Sempringham to advise as to the affairs of the Gilbertine order. Aelred was a central figure in the life of his time, and it is therefore not surprising that just as his letter for recluses⁸⁵ parallels both the *Riwe* and an epistle of Peter's, so now another work parallels both our treatise and the epistle of the abbot now under consideration. St. Aelred *Spe-*

⁸⁴ See *Romania*, XL, p. 745.

⁸⁵ It is impossible to read the letter of St. Aelred without recognizing that some relation must exist to the *Riwe*. It has always been supposed that the latter was the borrower, because of the late date which it was given, and because of one citation "as Saint Aelred wrote to his sister" (Morton, p. 368, French, f. 59v). But any citation may be added by the scribe. We know that T and the Latin copy give extra texts (Morton, p. 184 f., Macaulay, p. 75), but Mr. Macaulay does not collate citations. In any case what is quoted is only the general sense of a section of the letter (c. 1460), and the mention of Aelred's name is therefore all the more likely to be simply the vague remembrance of a scribe. Aelred says (c. 1451) that he has no experience of the recluse's life, and writes from the works of "doctors."—Some of the similarities found in the two works may be simply echoes of contemporary discussions. For example, the injunction against "gathering" is surely such (v. *supra*, p. 482 n.); and that against keeping a school, found in both treatises, may be a reminiscence of episcopal decrees; for it is quoted from "the

culum Charitatis was written at Rievaulx (under the rule of William, the scribe of the epistle of St. Bernard to Robert), between the years 1140 and 1142-3,⁸⁰ and he devotes one chapter of this work to combating a letter "cujusdam" which has declared that the ultimate essential which makes a monk (c. 608) is only the three-fold vow. "Quid mihi, inquit, de Regula objicis? Habe charitatem, et fac quicquid vis" (c. 612). The quotation, "Habe charitatem" (used in the *Rivle* and three times by Peter in his letter already quoted) is not the only *locus communis* which this work shares with the epistle, but the letter which is here combated (and quoted *verbatim*) is not Peter's.

Council of Rouen" in the same manuscript in which occurs Abelard's Rule for the Paraclete (Migne, *op. cit.*, c. 322). I regret that I cannot trace its origin. The same excerpt forbids the reception of treasures for safe-keeping (also found in the *Rivle*). Both regulations are directed to "black nuns," and the editor believes that they represent a compilation made by Heloise. Several councils of Rouen are listed from this period, but their decisions do not seem to be on record in the books accessible to me.—The fact that the gossip spread at anchorages, mentioned by both treatises, appears in a proverb quoted by the *Rivle* (p. 88) seems to show that this subject is not original with either writer. Probably St. Aelred's letter was not an early work, for his sister was old (v. cc. 1454-1457).—It is probable that the injunction against gay needle-work, found in the *Rivle*, originated in conditions which the author had observed. We know at least that Christina of Markyate did fine needlework "to gain friends by," as the anchoresses are told not to do (p. 420): for she helped the abbot of St. Alban's by sending some of her work to Pope Adrian IV (therefore after 1154).—B adds that needlework may be done for pay, if the master permit, and need require, and C, in adding the same by later correction, adds that this should be arranged secretly (Macaulay, p. 331).

⁸⁰ Migne, cxcv. He refers to being Master of the Novices (c. 562), and he left this position to lead out the house of Revesby in 1142-3. The work was instigated by the Abbot of Louth Park, which was not settled till 1140 (Cooke, pp. 662, 660).

The other similar echo of the spirit of the times—it should probably be given no more explicit title—occurs in the great *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury, written during his residence (1150–61) at Canterbury. In his chapter on hypocrites (Lib. VII, cap. xxiii) he declares “Regula namque verissima est, quod de radice caritatis non oriuntur mala, et de cupiditatis planta nequaquam bona provenient.”⁸⁷ He recognizes the virtue that can be found in every variety of religion, even in his own estate as a secular clerk, and he quotes St. Jerome (p. 184), “vestis nequaquam religionis differentiam faciat.” His conclusion is that of the author of the *Riwe*: “Novi tamen regulam veritatis, qua mihi constat, quia religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et patrem, haec est, visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum, et immaculatum se custodire ab hoc seculo. Haec autem politicorum omnium est: et bene cum istis agitur, si eam fideliter servant” (p. 185). It is evident that the “order of St. James” of the middle of the twelfth century numbered others besides the anchoresses. Peter of Blois (Archdeacon of Bath), the pupil of John of Salisbury, should also be included, for he also repeats the text from St. James in the same context, preceding it by the saying: “regnum Dei intra vos est, non in exteriori vestitu.”⁸⁸ Peter of Blois carried his intolerance of the forms of religion so far that he would not even take priests’ orders.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ *Opera*, ed. J. A. Giles, London, 1848, iv, p. 182.

⁸⁸ *Opera*, II, app., p. xcii (in an answer to a detractor, who is a canon who has left his convent to live as an anchorite, p. lxxxix).

⁸⁹ See his refusal sent to the Bishop of London, Ep. 123 (I, p. 371). He makes much here of the fact that the Carthusians do not celebrate mass frequently (p. 373).—It is possible that the suggestion made to the anchoresses (p. 286) to “vren lease worte reden more” (noted by Mr. Macaulay, p. 73, as unusual) shows the Carthusian influence elsewhere apparent in the *Riwe*. The Carthusians were famous for

John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois, secular clerks living at courts, and Peter the Venerable, abbot of the most sumptuous order in Christendom, may appear unexpected spiritual relatives for the anchoresses of the *Ancren Riwele*; but the relationship does not appear so surprising when we observe that John and his pupil,⁹⁰ like the abbot,

their love of books, and Guigo in his Customs says that almost all are scribes (c. 694).—"Aux yeux du Clunisien, le moine était avant tout l'homme de la prière, presque uniquement l'homme de la prière liturgique" (*Rev. Bénédict.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 285). The Cistercians reacted in favor of manual labor against the numerous masses of Cluny, but they of course made little of learning, and seem to have set prayer above reading. The *Riwele* may, by "vren," mean saying extra hours (left to the choice of the anchoresses, p. 44). Peter was influenced by the Cistercians in reviving manual labor for the monks of Cluny, but for the anchorite Gilbert (cc. 97-98) he seems, by his praise of the copying of books, to show the Carthusian influence.—Another reference in the *Riwele* is certainly a contemporary echo. The anchoresses are told to keep silence at meals: "vor 3if oðre religiuse doð hit, ase 3e wel wuteð, 3e owen biuoren alle" (p. 68). Guigo (c. 738) says that Carthusians should be taught by the Cistercian example to keep silence at meals. Peter the Venerable in his Statutes (c. 1032) says that the monks of Cluny ought to keep silence at meals "because all others do so." (This is an instance which shows the truth—in spite of reaction against their influence in some regards—of the saying of William of Malmesbury that the Cistercians were in his time "a model for all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the indolent.")

* The former opens the chapter already quoted from by the sentence, "Hypocritarum autem nomen et notam cautissime et fidelissime declinant Carthusienses" (p. 180).—His admiration for their lack of avarice leads him to dilate on those who "beg in order to get rich" (p. 185), and again shows the stock character of the injunctions on this point given to the anchoresses.—For Peter of Blois's admiration for the Carthusians, see *op. cit.*, I, pp. 259 ff., 304 ff. (Eps. 86 and 97), III, p. 47 (his dissatisfaction with most monks of his time appears *ibid.*, pp. 25, 31, etc., 57).—Peter the Venerable's predilection for the Carthusians above all other orders is many times expressed in his letters (v. cc. 371, 412, 429, 478), and he visited them generally every year (c. 28). He also visited the group of hermits in subjection to Cluny (cc. 360 ff.), of whom Gilbert

express an extreme admiration for the Carthusians, who follow a mode of life very similar in ideal to that described in the *Riwle* (which can be proved to have been known to the author of that treatise). We have again evidence that the present hypothesis puts the *Ancren Riwle* in the right environment. At the middle of the twelfth century—in religion, philosophy, and the arts, one of the most creative periods in history—the liberal party of the church evidently combined an unusual elasticity as to the forms of religious life with a most intense concern to avoid hypocrisy (which also appears in the *Riwle*, v. *supra*, p. 522). Consequently the forms of monasticism that gained its special affection were those, like the life of a Carthusian or of an anchorite, in which, according to the phrase of the time, the members lived “in a sepulchre.” This somewhat unusual combination of ideals appears in the *Riwle*. To understand the full contemporary meaning of that work, we must read the letters of Peter the Venerable; and we must read the *Ancren Riwle* to understand the spirit that actuated Abbot Herebert to bestow the goods of his abbey to perpetuity, on persons of the other sex who did not even come under the title of his own order. The sectarianism common to all ages was for a moment in abeyance, for the unspiritual importance attached to differences in usage in that age of the rise of many orders had stimulated the liberals of that generation to special magnanimity.

Some details may be briefly mentioned which might serve as obstacles to the early date here given to the *Riwle*.

(to whom he wrote the epistle on the Solitary Life) apparently made one, and it must be remembered that Marcigny, the house of women in which he took such an intense interest (where he also often stayed) included anchoresses. It is evident that the knowledge of the Carthusians was spread all over Europe long before the establishment of the first English house in 1174, and Guigo's Customs would doubtless also be known (by the instrumentality of Peter the Venerable, if no other way).

The most conspicuous obstacle comes from the fact that St. Bernard (either with or without the "saint") is quoted thirteen times. As has been stated above (p. 529 n.) citations cannot certainly be taken as original: in any case the author was a contemporary of Bernard, and the names may have been added later, during the circulation of the work for nearly a century. An anonymous work would inevitably gather such accretions. Quotations from early writers are in any case greatly in the majority.

An obstacle may seem to exist in the apparent references (Morton, pp. 16, 32, 268) to the elevation at mass, since this has been said to have come into England at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Father Thurston, however, in his epoch-making analysis of the development of the later elevation from an earlier (always made), declares that the passages in the *Riwle* do not give certain information whether the earlier or later elevation is referred to,⁹¹ and one seems to imply the earlier.

Another liturgical practise found in the *Riwle* that may appear to be of late introduction is the hanging of the Sacrament over the altar (p. 16). This, however, can be carried back to the time of the *Riwle*, because the breaking of the chain which suspended the pyx over the altar was one of the ill omens at King Stephen's mass at Lincoln in 1140.⁹²

Still another usage found in the *Riwle* that has been said to belong to the early thirteenth century is the frequent use in private devotions of the *Ave Maria*,⁹³ but

⁹¹ See the *Tablet*, 1907, Oct. 19, 26, Nov. 2.

⁹² See Father Bridgett's *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, new edition by Father Thurston, London, 1908, p. 182; Henry of Huntingdon, *Opera*, Rolls Series, 1879, p. 271.

⁹³ See Rock, III, pp. 258 n. ff., and Bridgett (*Our Lady's Dowry*,

later research has shown that among ascetics this custom goes back very far.⁹⁴

p. 176 f.), who combats Rock on its late introduction. H. Leclercq (*Histoire des Concoiles*, Paris, 1913, v, 2nd part, App. iv) gives a very complete article on the *Ave Maria*, treating its use by the Dominicans, etc. He notes one Aybert (d. 1140) who used it constantly. This man (in Hainault) was first a hermit, then a Benedictine monk, then a recluse visited from near and far (see *Acta Sanctorum*, April, i, pp. 627 ff.).—The use of the *Ave Maria* in the present case would certainly cause no difficulty, for *Aves* make part of the devotion of the "Five Psalms of the Virgin," pp. 38 ff., first pointed out in the treatise by Father MacNabb (p. 3), and this devotion can be carried back to the middle of the twelfth century with the *Aves* as it is found in the *Ancren Riwe* (the form used by Jordan of Saxony, noted by Father MacNabb, does not contain the *Aves*; see *Monumenta Ord. Frat. Praedic. Hist.*, Louvain, 1896, i, p. 118). In one case we are told that the monk, on whose death (in 1163) a miracle followed connected with this devotion, was taught the custom of saying the psalms by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, when he once stopped at St. Bertin's Abbey, St. Omer, on his way home from Rome.—Theobald went to Rome for his *pallium* in Jan. 1139, and this journey may be in question (see Ward, *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum*, London, 1893, ii, p. 633).—He said he had heard in Italy that the custom was practised in Jerusalem. In this case it may have been brought home by any traveller. It should be noted that the daughter-in-law of "good Queen Maud" (later Abbess of Fontevraud) was the daughter of the King of Jerusalem, and that Marcigny had a daughter-house there (Cucherat, *Oluny au XI^e siècle*, Autun, 1873, p. 92 n.). The church of the Holy City had its own liturgy, which was at some points very advanced in development (see J. Wickham Legg, *Essays Liturgical and Historical*, "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," London, 1917, pp. 157 ff.). Jerusalem and crusading customs were doubtless of great interest at the time of the foundation of Kilburn.—A child is not taught the *Ave* in the time of the *Riwe* (see p. 210.—Cp. Rock, *loc. cit.*).

*Several writers note how unsafe it is, in the case of devotional practises, to date the original use of a custom at the time it first appears in the documents. In this connection should be quoted the letter of Dr. Frere already mentioned: "The general character of the services seems to me to point rather to the 13th century than to the 12th, but this is not really cogent, because one knows very

The present paper can be only a preliminary statement of the theory which is here suggested, and the general historical relations which make it so interesting cannot be more than touched on here. Since, however, in another article⁹⁵ I have hinted at some of them, I must briefly return to the subject.

We have evidence from the historical side of a religious revival in England during the reign of Stephen, of which the spirit expressed in the mystical English works earlier grouped together (*supra*, p. 513) is exactly characteristic. Passages quoted in my earlier article in which St. Aelred describes the devotion of Gilbertine nuns should be put side by side with the "Katherine group," or the ecstatic rhapsodies, for example, to show how likely it is that these pieces—also strongly mystical and specially concerned with the devotion of women—should have emanated from the same environment.⁹⁶ The most actively germinating

much less of the services of the 12th century than those either of the 11th or 13th." I wish to thank Dr. Frere both for his kind letter, and for permission to use it here. He wishes me to make clear that he gives "only hasty impressions." He makes no conclusion.

"That in the *Romanic Review*, already mentioned, in which I group together the mystical works found in England in all three languages, and connect them with the historical evidence available which would seem to give hints as to their origin.

"It should be noted that Kilburn by the foundation charter was to pray for the abbey of Fécamp, and it had been the Abbot of Fécamp of an earlier time who had circulated Anselm's meditations (see my earlier article, p. 184 n.). A female recluse of Fécamp signs the mortuary roll (1122) of Vital of Savigny (*Rouleau des Morts*, ed. L. Delisle, *Société de l'Histoire de la France*, 1866, p. 296, 281 ff.). Fécamp was to the dukes of Normandy much what Westminster was to the kings of England. Edward the Confessor spent his exile here, and a close relation with England was kept up because this was the port of embarkation for England. Abbot John of Fécamp translated his interest in mysticism into practice, for he helped establish two monks as anchorites (L. Fallue, *Histoire de Fécamp*, Rouen, 1841, pp. 105, 120, *et passim*).

element in the England of Stephen was monasticism, and it would be very likely that it expressed itself in literature. Since, as we have seen, the Southern dialect at this time was used as a literary standard, it may be that some of the English mystical works written in Southern speech originated in the Gilbertine houses of the North Midlands.⁹⁷ Perhaps they were written by Gilbert himself, who, as we are told by his contemporary biographer, "wrote books" (p. x). From the historical side, therefore, the reign of Stephen would be a most likely time to put the mystical works in question, and the mystical rhapsodies in any case bear a very close relation to our treatise.⁹⁸ The "Katherine group," like the *Ancren Riwe*, shows a mixture of late and early forms.⁹⁹

It must never be forgotten that the chronicle of Gaimar, which was written in the decade here suggested for the composition of the *Ancren Riwe*,¹⁰⁰ is preserved in only one manuscript which is as early as several in which the *Riwe* is found. The *De Nugis Curialium* of Walter Map exists in a unique manuscript written two hundred years after the composition of the work. There is therefore no reason why the *Ancren Riwe* cannot be put back to the reign of Stephen, in spite of the lack of manuscripts of that period, if the evidence to do so is sufficiently strong. It is the purpose of the present paper to show an

⁹⁷ This, we must remember, was the home of the scribe of T, which, as we should also remember, contained others of the mystical pieces (see Mühe, *Ueber den im MS. Cotton Titus D XVIII erhaltenen Text der Ancren Riwe*, Göttingen, 1901). The *Riwe* in T is adapted for both sexes (Mühe, pp. 48, 50).

⁹⁸ Some sentences are identical in both works (v. Vollhardt)—which presents difficulties for the theory of a French original for the *Riwe*.

⁹⁹ *E. E. T. S.*, No. 80, p. xvi.

¹⁰⁰ It is placed between 1135 and 1147 (see edition in the *Rolls Series*, 1888, II, introd., I, p. xviii).

accumulation of coincidences that will localize the time of composition of the work as strongly as would the mention in the text of an author whose date is beyond question. I believe that the connection of the *Ancren Riwle* with Kilburn is supported by a range of evidence surprisingly exact and complete, when the remote period of history is considered with which we are dealing. The treatise was composed in the most important circles of its day, and we find our problem of tracing its connections made easy for us in consequence. The history and connections of Kilburn can be followed during a long period, and they agree so strikingly with the history and influences indicated for the anchorage of the *Riwle*, that it would seem impossible that two establishments could present such a series of parallels, sustained throughout such a term of years. Many questions connected with the history of the *Riwle* have been touched on in the preceding study, but they are all subordinate to the identification of the anchorage of the treatise with the hermitage of Kilburn. That identification stands and falls solely on the strength and peculiarity of the parallels drawn from the specific statements of the treatise, on the one hand, and from the historical records of Kilburn on the other. No conjectural evidence whatever enters the discussion at this point, which is the cardinal one of the whole investigation.

APPENDIX

The present section will comment on the article by the Rev. Vincent MacNabb, O. P., in the *Modern Language Review*, xi, pp. 1 ff., which seeks to ascribe the *Ancren Riwle* to the authorship of Robert Bacon, O. P. The earlier claims to the authorship made for Simon de Ghent and for Richard Poore have been conclusively refuted, as

Mr. Macaulay makes clear (pp. 77-8): Simon de Ghent is apparently the author of the Latin version, and the connection with Tarente, on which the conjecture as to Poore's authorship is entirely founded, belongs only to this form of the work.¹⁰¹ Many of Father MacNabb's arguments have already been either matched or refuted, but others require some special mention.

The basis of Father MacNabb's whole article is the two passages (Morton, pp. 24, 412) in which the anchoresses are given the usages of "our lay-brothers." Since the directions given almost—not entirely—coincide with Dominican practise, Father MacNabb concludes that the author was a Dominican. His hypothesis therefore loses its foundation, when we discover that the passages in question must certainly be interpolations, perhaps due to a Dominican scribe.¹⁰²

The reference to the lay brothers on p. 24, in which the

¹⁰¹ Mr. Macaulay implies (p. 473) that the "anchorite sisters" of Ghent for whom he made this version could not belong to the house of Tarente, which was Cistercian. But the fact that anchorites lived under the protection of religious houses must be taken into account, and it may be that the term "apud Tarente" refers to residence near the Abbey in some such capacity.—It is interesting that Bec, in the abbacy of Anselm (who was their special friend), took under its protection three women who lived as recluses outside the cloister 1079-99. Two of these were great ladies retired from the world, of whom one was the mother of Abbot Crispin of Westminster (see le Chanoine Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, Evreux, 1901, I, pp. 182-3). One may wonder whether the corrody of Gilbert may not have been given to the ladies of Kiburn in memory of the earlier trio, of whom his mother had been one. It will be recalled that Abbot Herebert has been thought to have come from Bec with Crispin.—There were regular Dominican recluses (see Clay, p. 78).

¹⁰² The part relating to the lay-brothers is lacking in the Westminster Customary as we have it, and the hours given in the related Customary of Canterbury (p. 281) are not those of the *Riwle*.—The author of the *Riwle* says (p. 6) that the unlearned must say their hours "in other wise."

anchoresses are told to say their hours by *Pater Nosters*, like these illiterate persons, is absurdly out of keeping with the rest of the work; for the sisters have already been told (p. 20) to "say their hours as they have been written," and it is very evident that they are able to read both Latin and the vernacular. If it be urged that the directions in question are intended for the serving maidens, it can be answered that they are then superfluous and contradictory; for these have been already provided for in the hours to be used by the sick and the illiterate (p. ne con oðer uhtsong, oðer ne mei hit siggen. . . . p. 46,—Ki ne siet altre matines ou ne les puit dire. . . . f. 8v.) The number of *Pater Nosters* here arranged for differs entirely from those of "our lay-brethren," and they, rather than the latter, seem referred to for the lay-sisters in the concluding summary; "Si ele ne siet rien deliure, die par pater nostres et par auez ses heures" (f. 69, Morton, p. 424); the latter contain no *Aves*, whereas these bear an important part in the former.

A further fact lessens the authority of the passage. It is found only in N, and though, as we have seen, this copy at p. 192 gives a unique text which we believe to be the original, the two cases differ entirely. The authority of the earlier divergence is upheld by the partial agreement of other manuscripts, and by evidence found in other parts of the work, whereas in the present instance the omission of the passage from all other copies is the least suspicious detail in its connection.

The passage, it should be noted, gains in continuity by the omission of the reference to the lay-brothers. The sentence, "In this manner you may say, if you will, your *Pater Nosters*" then applies to the elaborate series of *Pater Nosters* which follows—three for the Trinity, five for the Five Wounds, etc.—and this complicated devotion

is a way of "saying your *Pater Nosters*" very suitable to the cultivated anchoresses. The French text seems to make this application certain, for it makes of the sentence a heading parallel to many in this text: "Coment vous devez dire voz pater nostres en lonourance de la trinitee. Dieu tout puissant," etc. (f. 5v).

The second reference to the lay-brothers can be as decisively disposed of as the other on the basis of the French text, which here omits the reference (though Mr. Macaulay has neglected to note the fact) as follows: "A queux jours vous devez estre accommunez (rubric). Len tient le miens de la chose qe len ad souent, pur ceo ne devez vous estre (the English here introduces "bute ase ure leawude breðren beoð," p. 412) acuminez dedenz lan fors quinze foiz" (f. 67). In the ensuing list of dates the more precise "Ascension Day," "Christmas," and "le jour seint Johan le Baptiste" are substituted for the "Holy Thursday," "Midwinter Day," and "Midsummer" of the English copies.¹⁰⁸ All the circumstances would make it appear that the French here offers the original text, and its virtue is again proved.

The "connection with Salisbury diocese" brought by

¹⁰⁸ On the identity of these terms see the Oxford Dictionary.—To match Father MacNabb's reference to the special devotion to Mary Magdalen evident in this passage, see St. Anselm's veneration of this saint, noted in my former article (p. 188 n.). The connection which Father MacNabb seeks to make between the use of the term "the order of St. James" and the title "Jacobitae" given to the Dominicans, is surely unnecessary, since the author has given his own explanation of the phrase. If a cult of St. James is needed with which Kilburn can be connected, it can be found at Reading Abbey, where one of wide patronage developed on Henry I's presenting the house with a relic of St. James the Great in 1125, or thereabouts. See the history of the Abbey by J. B. Hurry, London, 1901, pp. 95, 130, 163. It was St. James the Great whose name is given to the Dominicans (v. Ducange), but the epistle which gives the title to the anchoresses belongs to St. James the Less.

Father MacNabb into his argument (p. 5) belongs, as has already been noted, only to the Latin text. It should be pointed out, however, that the present hypothesis, by connecting the work with Westminster, offers a perfect explanation for the interest shown in the work by the anchoresses of Tarente, especially if attached to the nunnery. This house was taken under the special protection of Henry III, the rebuilders of Westminster; the king's sister was buried there, and Richard Poore bequeathed his interest in Tarente to Queen Eleanor. It would be very likely, considering the special interest of the king in both abbeys in the time of Simon de Ghent, that the women at Tarente would learn of the treatise written for the only house of women connected with Westminster. It may be that we have here a case of the propagation of the *Riwle*, like those referred to in B.¹⁰⁴

Father MacNabb refers (p. 6) to the *Mirror* of St. Edmund as written for women, but it is addressed in the first line to men, and was written for the monks of Pontigny.¹⁰⁵

Some of the points made by Father MacNabb can be turned to the account of the present hypothesis. This is true of his reference (p. 5) to the mention of the house addressed in the additions of B, as "the cloister over which Jesus Christ is high Prior"—of interest because Kilburn was by this time called a Priory.¹⁰⁶ His finding

¹⁰⁴ See Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1866, II, pp. 397, 405, Dugdale, v. pp. 619 ff. The place came to be known—even in charter—as "Locus Reginae super Tarent."

¹⁰⁵ See W. Wallace, *Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury*, London, 1893, p. 352. The interest in the religious education of women in the thirteenth century was surely not so remarkable as that in the twelfth. This will be discussed in a later paper.

¹⁰⁶ This passage may represent a real habit of thought of the house. The Virgin was considered to be the head of Marcigny, and her seat

support for his theory (p. 4) in the mention of friars by B is surely a boomerang, for if the work were written by a friar, or in the time of friars, it is very strange that they are not once mentioned in the original text.

A group of details connected by Father MacNabb with Dominican influence can be shown to be of general use in the church. He refers to "venia" (p. 4) as a "technical phrase used daily by Dominicans," but a reference to Ducange will show that it was in constant use by all religious orders. In the blood-letting four times a year (p. 3) also, the Dominicans were not peculiar, since the Cistercians did the same: moreover both these orders set seasons, whereas the *Riwle*, the Benedictines and the Cluniacs did not.¹⁰⁷ The blessing of a drink taken between meals (*ibid.*) would seem too natural to need mention, were it not that we are told in connection with Wulfstan of Worcester, the last of the Old English bishops (who always practised it), that it was specially characteristic of the English.¹⁰⁸ His chaplain (on the death of the bishop in 1095) became a monk at Westminster, where he lived for twenty years—as we are told by Osbert of Clare.¹⁰⁹

The directions to the sisters to sit and stand alternately

and portion were always provided (Pignot, II, p. 35). It may be that the Carthusians sometimes took Christ for their head in the same fashion, for John of Salisbury mentions that they call no saint their founder, and adds: "Alii Basilium, alii Benedictum, hi Augustinum, at isti singularem magistrum habent, dominum Jesum Christum" (*Opera*, IV, p. 183).—The use of "distinctions" and of interpretations of Hebrew names, connected by Father MacNabb with Dominican influence (pp. 3, 6), means no more than a scholastic training in the author. This point will be discussed in a later paper.

¹⁰⁷ See J. W. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. lxvi.

¹⁰⁸ *Chronicle of Abingdon*, Rolls Series, 1858, I, p. 49, II, p. 464.

¹⁰⁹ *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 31. It is perhaps a sign of the English character of the convent that the Westminster Customary uses the old English habit of holding a cup (p. 127).

during psalmody, to rise and bow at the *Gloria Patri*, and to sit at *Placebo* till the *Magnificat* (MacNabb, p. 3) find precedent in the customs of Augustinian canons, who divided their convent into two choirs, rising and sitting alternately, and bowing "choir to choir" at *Gloria Patri*. They sat at *Placebo*, except at certain psalms, of which the first was *Magnificat*.¹¹⁰ It is significant that the question of saving the religious person from over-great fatigue from long-standing was one much under consideration at the time of the composition of the *Riwle*.¹¹¹

In conclusion, Father MacNabb compares (p. 6) the passages in the *Riwle* describing the austerities practised by a friend of the author, with similar ascetic practises attributed to Edmund Rich by Robert Bacon. This analogy can be shown to be neither exact nor peculiar.

The use of austerities like those in question was extremely common among the more ascetic persons of the twelfth century, as reference to Miss Clay's *Hermits and Anchorites* will show, and earlier they had made part of the special message of Peter Damian. An example can be quoted from approximately the same time and environment as the first ladies of Kilburn, which fits the description of the *Riwle* more closely than that given by Father MacNabb.

William de Lacie, the hermit who, with Ernisius chap-

¹¹⁰ See Clark, pp. 82, 98. The part which would treat this subject is missing from the Westminster Customary. The division into alternate choirs seems to have been a general monastic custom (Martène, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, Lyons, 1690, pp. 26 ff.).

¹¹¹ Peter the Venerable makes some alleviation in this regard in his reformed statutes of Cluny (c. 1043), and the Rule of the Temple criticizes the immoderate standing that had been practised (p. 26). These relaxations perhaps represent a reaction from the ideal of the eleventh century, which may be seen in Peter Damian. He views with the greatest horror the sitting during divine service which he had witnessed in France (*op. cit.*, cc. 641 ff.).

lain of "good Queen Maud," founded Lanthony Priory, wore articles which may be quoted side by side with those mentioned in the *Riwle*, and those ascribed to St. Edmund:¹¹²

Edmund:	<i>A. R.</i> (p. 382):	Lacie:
Lorica	"Brunie"	Lorica
Cilicium	"Here"	Cilicium
Funiculum	Iron bands around	Funiculum
triplice	middle	
Scapulare plumbum	Thick bands around arms	Close, heavy binding for lorica. ¹¹³

Since the *lorica* had sleeves, the binding of Lacie's costume may duplicate all the "bands" of the *Riwle*. It should also be noted that he wears all these instruments continuously, as also seems to be true of the person described in the *Riwle*, whereas St. Edmund wears some of his only during Lent and Advent.¹¹⁴ Since the person described in the *Riwle* also "fasts, wakes and labors," it

¹¹² They are mentioned in a chronicle written in the late twelfth century, printed in Dugdale, vi, pp. 128 ff.

¹¹³ Lacie wore "ferri pondus non modicum; nam loricam . . . sibi strictissime circumdedit" (p. 129). Peter Damian is always describing the feats of one "Dominicus Loricatus." We can be certain that this man's *lorica* was fastened much like that described in the *Riwle*: "Duobus autem ferreis circulis in corpore cingitur, duobus item per brachiorum arcos arctatur" (c. 747). The austerities described by Peter make us understand the reaction manifested by the author of the *Riwle* against such forms of holiness.—As an example of the familiar relations kept up with the court by Lacie and Ernisius, we are told that "good Queen Maud" once by a trick slipped a purse between Lacie's *lorica* and haircloth, when she could not get him to take it any other way. The first church at Lanthony had been dedicated in 1108, and Lacie had led a hermit's life many years before.

¹¹⁴ Father MacNabb implies (p. 6) that the woman whose austerities

is natural to suppose that he must be someone quite free from the occupations of the active life.

It would appear that the theory of Bacon's authorship can be refuted as conclusively as the two earlier on the field. When we reject the references to the lay-brothers, it loses its basis: nevertheless, Father MacNabb, by pointing out significant details in the *Rivle* hitherto unnoticed, has made a permanent contribution to the study of the treatise.

HOPE EMILY ALLEN.

are referred to may be Rich's mother, but it is a part of his theory to see Dominican influence in the *Rivle* (which puts it after 1221), the reference is made in the present, and Mabel Rich died about 1203 (Wallace, p. 69).

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XIX.—THE DRAGON AND HIS LAIR IN *BEOWULF*

Rather less attention has been paid to the later portion of *Beowulf* than to the earlier adventures; Grendel and his dam have, as it were, been more beloved of the commentators than has the dragon. There is every reason, however, why the fight with the dragon should receive careful attention. It is, despite some damaged and illegible passages, of great poetic beauty, with a dignity and a brooding atmosphere of impending fate which are quite its own. And it stands greatly in need of critical as well as of appreciative examination; for there is much which presents difficulty in the interpretation of the text, and in larger problems for the solution of which textual study is necessary.

The long digressions, narrating the feuds between the Geatas and the Swedes, while highly interesting and important, have little bearing on the matter in hand, and are best treated by themselves. Consequently they will not be discussed here at all. I propose rather to consider the nature of the dragon himself; the circumstances which

led to the plundering of the hoard, and thus brought upon the people the dragon's ravages; the varying accounts of the way in which the treasure was placed in the earth in the beginning, before the dragon sought it out; the curse which lay upon the gold, and which fell upon Beowulf; and finally the descriptions of the dragon's lair, an ancient burial-mound, set amid picturesque scenery upon a rocky sea-coast.

Investigation of other early tales of combats with dragons is, to my mind, better reserved for another occasion. There are no known Scandinavian analogs which throw light upon this adventure in the same way that the *Grettissaga* or the *Hrólfs saga Kraka* illuminate the earlier adventures with Grendel and his dam. The *Beowulf* dragon-episode, in a late Scandinavian form, representing many years of independent development after the age of our epic, may possibly have had a slight influence upon the *Hrólfs saga*, but this is uncertain, and a matter of little importance, since the influence, if any, is slight.¹ Dragons

¹ See an article by the present writer, *Disputed questions in Beowulf-criticism*, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XXIV (1909), pp. 220 ff., esp. pp. 237 ff. These relationships have been recently discussed in a dissertation by O. L. Olson, *The Relation of the Hrólfs saga kraka and the Bjarkarmur to Beowulf*, in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, Urbana, Illinois*, 1916. I do not find my conclusions altered by a reading of this dissertation, and I think it impossible, as stated in the article above, to reach definite results with such scanty and elusive evidence. When Dr. Olson has worked with these problems a little longer I think he may become less dogmatic.

The resemblances between the fight with the dragon in Beowulf and Frotho's dragon-fight in Saxo, pointed out by Sievers, appear to be commonplaces of dragon story, and not proof of a common origin of the two episodes. This position has been stated at length and convincingly by Olrik, *Danmarks Helteedigtning*, Copenhagen, 1903, vol. I, pp. 307-315. Those who do not read Danish easily will be interested in a forthcoming translation of the *Helteedigtning*, to be issued by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York City.

were very common in early story; they were clearly as prolific as jack-rabbits, and they ran off into strange breeds. When the task of placing the *Beowulf* dragon correctly in this medieval menagerie is undertaken, a careful study of its habitat and its story will be of the first importance. This it is the aim of the present paper to provide, at least in part.

The dragon in *Beowulf* does not appear to be a strange or unusual type. Panzer, who has collected and classified various dragon-märchen, remarks on the close resemblance which these afford to the narrative in the epic, not only in larger outlines and general significance, but in matters of detail as well.² The physical characteristics of Beowulf's adversary may be gathered from various passages in the last adventure. This dragon was fifty feet long (3042); he was propelled by his own fires, *fýre gefýsed* (2309); he spewed out coals, *glēdum*, as he flew through the air (2312), burning the dwelling-places of men, and even the royal hall in which Beowulf dwelt (2325). He was not, however, proof against his own fires in death (3041), any more than the dragon slain by Sigemund (897). His breath was poisonous (2523), he blew out steam (2557, 2661); a burning stream issued from his lair (2545, cf. p. 570, note). In various ways he resembles Grendel and Grendel's dam: his raids upon the country were made at night (2303, 2320, 2833), and he had to get back before daybreak (2320); he was invulnerable to ordinary swords, Nægling broke, and only the *eald sweord etonisc* of Wiglaf (2617), a famous weapon, availed to pierce his hide, though after he had received his death-wound, Beowulf cut him in two with his short

* F. Panzer, *Beowulf*, Munich, 1910; pp. 296 ff.; esp. p. 305. The generalizations of this author must be treated with some reserve; he is better as collector than as critic.

sword, or *wæll-seax* (2703). Beowulf disdained to meet him with a troop of men (2345), and would gladly have dispensed with the sword altogether if he had had the dragon's methods of fighting at his command (2518). While quiescent until disturbed, the dragon took pleasure in his feud with mankind (2298).

Elsewhere we are told that the dragon had brooded over the treasure for three hundred years (2278). The treasure itself, the "heathen gold," had lain in the earth for a thousand years (3050). The monster had, apparently, not molested the Geatas hitherto. It portended no good to see him flying through the air, even though he were not spewing out fire; the people of Northumbria, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* informs us, beheld dragons in the air in the year 793, and dire misfortunes followed. The epic gives some information also in regard to the habits of dragons in general. "It is the dragon's nature to seek out treasure in the earth, where he, old in winters, guardeth heathen gold; he profiteth naught thereby" (2275 ff.). The *Gnomic Verses* in the Cotton ms. give a similar description: "The dragon's place is on the grave-mound (*on hlæwe*), old, exultant in treasure" (26). And it was in this way that the *Beowulf* dragon fulfilled his destiny: "The old twilight-scather found the joy-bringing hoard standing open, the naked, hateful, fiery dragon, which seeketh the (grave)-mounds, and flieth by night encompassed by fire; him dwellers upon earth fear exceedingly" (2270 ff.).

The comparison of the fight with Beowulf to related or similar stories may be left to other investigators, and the further classifications of dragons to future Topsells.³ Our

³ Edward Topsell's *History of Serpents*, London, 1608, etc., abounds in quaint quasi-scientific observations. Topsell classified dragons after the fashion of a Buffon or a Cuvier: Class I has wings and

present tasks are quite different; but it will be found, I believe, that they yield results of considerable significance.⁴

I

THE PLUNDERING OF THE HOARD

The circumstances which led to the rifling of the dragon's treasure are not very clear; they do not seem to have been generally understood, even in the broadest outlines. A wide-spread misunderstanding, due to a doubtful conjectural emendation, has gained currency, and the more simple and natural explanation of the episode has been overlooked. Perhaps it will be clearest to paraphrase the situation in the poem, as I conceive it, in the beginning, and then compare this paraphrase with the text itself.

In a few words, the story appears to be as follows: A warrior (not a slave), having committed a grievous crime, was forced to flee from the court of which he was a member, in order to escape the vengeance of the man whom he had injured, or his kinsmen. He therefore plundered the dragon's hoard, so that he might get objects of value by means of which to compose the feud. The rings were apparently used as atonement for the crime, while the cup was given to the ruler who arranged the settlement. It appears probable that this ruler was Beowulf himself, since he came into possession of the precious vessel, and according to one version of the tale, at least, later met his

no feet; Class II has both wings and feet; Class III has neither wings nor feet; and so forth. Illustrations from Topsell are reproduced in *Shakespeare's England*, London, 1916, vol. I, p. 497.

⁴ The text of Wyatt and Chambers, Cambridge, 1914, has been used. The reader should also consult Dr. Chambers's forthcoming *Introduction to the Study of Beowulf*.

death in consequence of the curse resting upon it. But it may be that the cup only later came into Beowulf's keeping; that it was not given to him in the beginning. The whole narrative is so allusive and indefinite that certainty in details is impossible.

These events are set forth, in the main, in two passages: 2214-2231, and 2278-2293. We will consider the second and better preserved passage first.

- 2278 So the plager of the people for three hundred winters
 guarded in the earth a treasure-hall,
 2280 enormously strong, until there angered him
 a certain man, who bore unto his chief
 a golden cup, begging for peace
 at the hands of his lord. So the hoard was plundered,
 a store of rings borne off; his boon was granted
 2285 to that wretched man. For the first time
 did the ruler gaze upon the ancient handiwork of men.
 Then the dragon awoke; strife was enkindled;
 he sniffed along the wall; ferocious, he discovered
 the footprints of his foe, who had crept up,
 2290 with secret cunning, nigh the dragon's head.
 So an undoomed man may easily endure
 woe and exile, who rendereth obedience
 to the Ruler on high.

We are informed later that Beowulf knew of this theft, which caused the enmity of the dragon, and that he was himself the possessor of the stolen cup.

- 2401 [Beowulf] advanced, one of twelve, swollen with rage,
 the lord of the Geatas, to look upon the dragon.
 He had learned whence the feud arose,
 hostility against men; into his possession had come
 2405 the famous treasure-cup from the hand of its finder.⁵
 The thirteenth man of the band was he
 who had caused the beginning of the strife.
 Captive, gloomy at heart, humiliated, he was forced
 to point out the place. Against his will he went,

⁵ The word *meldan* is ambiguous; it may mean either "informer" or "finder."

- 2410 until he perceived a hall beneath the ground,
 a mound covered with earth close to the breakers,
 the dashing of the waves. It was filled within
 with treasures and ornaments. The monster warder,
 the watchful warrior, guarded the treasures of gold,
 2415 old beneath the earth; to get them was no easy task
 for any man.

The other passage narrating the circumstances which led to the stealing of the dragon's treasure (2214-2231) is unfortunately so damaged that the meaning of many lines is hopelessly lost. One might as well give up the attempt to translate, excepting for 2221-2226. What can be recovered from the rest appears to add little to what the passage first quoted revealed; the gist of the thought seems to be that a man, *niða nāt-hwylc* (2215), enters while the dragon sleeps and plunders the hoard. There is mention of the cup, *sinc-fæt* (2231), and of the anger of the dragon, manifesting itself in revenge upon the people (2219 f.). Six consecutive lines are, however, fairly well preserved, and of importance. Here the Anglo-Saxon must be given:

- 2221 Nealles mid gewealdum wýrm-hord ábræc
 sylfes willum, sē ƿe him sære gesceōd;
 ac for þræa-nēdlaŋ þ * * * nāt-hwylces
 hæleða bearna hete-swengeas flēah,
 2225 [ærnes] þearfa, ond ƿær inne fealh,
 secg syn-býsig.

The *him* (2222) is ambiguous; it may refer to the dragon, though this is unlikely, it may refer to the man himself, "he who injured himself sorely" (Clark Hall), or,—and this seems to me most probable—the antecedent may be [*bū*]-*folc beorna* (2220). The consequences of the theft were, in point of fact, not so much visited upon the man himself as upon the Geat people. The line following presents greater difficulties. Chambers reads *þ[ēow]nāt-*

hwylces, with this comment upon *þ[ēow]*: "the last three letters are now quite illegible, and even Thorpe, who made a careful collation of the ms. in 1830, three years before Kemble's first edition, leaves a blank. As *þegn* (read by Kemble, Zupitza, Holthausen, and Schücking) seems from the whole context to be an unlikely term for the *fēa-sceaftum men* (l. 2285), I read *þēow*, following Grundtvig [1861, p. 76]. [So Sedgefield.] "

This suggestion of Grundtvig's that *þēow*, "slave," be adopted as the reading, has gained such wide acceptance that it is often assumed without question that we here have to do with a theft by a runaway slave. So Chadwick, paraphrasing the plot of the poem, says: "a fire-spitting dragon . . . has had its lair robbed by a runaway slave." ⁶ Sedgefield, in his second edition, informs us that "a runaway slave accidentally (how does he know this?) discovered the cave," ⁷ and Gering makes a similar statement: "By chance an outlawed (*geächteter*) slave got into the lair." ⁸

There is every reason, it seems to me, for banishing this fugitive slave forever from the pages of *Beowulf*. No one can tell what the missing word in the ms. was, but *þegn* is surely better than *þēow*.⁹ I think it will be clear, from an examination of the action, that we are not dealing with the escape of a slave, but with a feud in which a freeman was involved. Chambers's objection that *þegn* "seems from the whole context to be an unlikely term for the *fēa-sceaftum men*" seems weakened, as far as the phrase itself goes, by the fact that the adjective *fēa-sceaft* is applied to Scyld (7), to Eadgils, a royal prince (2393),

* *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. I, p. 26.

⁷ *Beowulf*, Manchester, 1913, p. xxv.

⁸ *Beowulf*, Heidelberg, 1906, p. 116.

⁹ Clark Hall, *Beowulf*, London, 1901, p. 113. See also Bugge, Paul and Braune, *Beiträge*, vol. XII, pp. 370-1.

and to the Geatas who were trying to persuade Beowulf to accept the throne (2373). Even scholars who have read the word as *þegn*, however, have apparently failed to understand the situation in its entirety. Thus Clark Hall says: "The outlaw seizes a precious goblet and buys the favor of his lord therewith."¹⁰ There is more to the tale than this.

The unfortunate man did not steal the cup "of his own accord or desire";¹¹ he "fled the blows of hate" (*heteswengeas*), and acted "from dire necessity" (*þrēa-nēðlan*). This points to something more serious than a fall from the favor of his lord, something more than a venial offence; it indicates that the thief had committed some act which threatened to bring down violence upon his head. It was serious enough to make him an outcast from the court ([*ærnes*] *þearfa*, 2225), if the commonly accepted reading of the text is correct. Deprivation of the joys of the hall and of the protection and favor of the chief was one of the heaviest misfortunes which could befall a man, as the *Wanderer* so vividly brings out. After this particular outcast had gained treasure from the dragon's store, he returned to the court and begged his lord that a peace-settlement (*frioðo-wære*, 2282) be made. His petition was granted. By this means he had bought

¹⁰ There are other choices than these two words for the missing letters. We might read *þrece* or *þrym*, for instance, and translate "but for dire need fled the violence of some one of the children of men, his blows of hate." It will be noticed that there is no evidence as to the rest of the word in the MS. as it stands at present. "The last three letters are now quite illegible" (Chambers). Kemble read *þegn*, and Zupitza thought that the traces of letters justified that reading. According to the Zupitza autotype, there does not appear to be room for a word of more than four letters.

¹¹ As Schücking notes, *mid gewældum* (2221) is parallel to *sylfes willan*, and similar in meaning (Vocabulary, ed. of 1910).

off the private vengeance of the injured man or his kinsman, and settled up the feud.

This was of course a very common procedure in early Germanic justice. The payment of money by the offending party in settlement of an injury was a far more economical process for society than the long-continued feuds to which private revenge inevitably led. In such settlements the chief, though not himself an offended party, nor even ruler of the country where the crime was committed, might act as intermediary. Thus Hrothgar settled a blood-feud in which Ecgtheow, the father of Beowulf, found himself involved. Ecgtheow had slain Heatholaf the Wylfing, so that the Geatas dared not allow him to remain longer in their midst, for fear of Wylfing vengeance. Thereupon Ecgtheow fled to the Danish court, where Hrothgar settled the business by a money payment, which was sent to the Wylfings, while Ecgtheow took an oath to keep the peace (459-472).

In the present episode, there is not enough direct evidence to furnish details. Such a kingdom as Beowulf's was, of course, made up of various tribes, each with its chief and his thanes, and it may have been one of these chieftains, rather than Beowulf himself, who first received the cup. Or Beowulf may have acted as mediator for the thane of a subordinate chief. If the conjectural reading *þegn nāt-hwylces* be adopted, such conclusions as these will seem plausible. It looks, as already noted, as though the feud were settled by rings plundered from the hoard, *onboren bēaga hord, bēne getiðad fēa-sceaftum men* (2284-5), while the mediator retained the cup, *him tō bearme cwōm mādþum-fæt mære* (2404-5). But here again the evidence is scanty. The simplest view seems to be to make Beowulf the lord who composed the feud. He was the ruler of the country, and his age, power, and wisdom would

make such a settlement doubly authoritative. Upon him descended the curse which went with the stolen cup. It was an ill-starred affair altogether. The unlucky thief raised a far greater feud than the one which had been settled,—for it is in terms of feud that the hostility of the dragon is expressed (2403). To this man was due the great misfortune which fell upon the Geatas. The last glimpse which we have of him is his second journey to the dragon's lair, leading the band of warriors, with Beowulf as their leader. He was a captive, gloomy at heart, humiliated. And the poet remarks, with delightful restraint, "he went against his will." Anyone who had once come to close quarters with the dragon had no taste for more of him.

I believe that the foregoing explanation, which is certainly in full accord with Germanic tradition, is far more plausible than the introduction of a "runaway slave" upon the scene. The poet of *Beowulf* was not interested in slaves; they are never mentioned in the poem. The word *þēow* occurs nowhere in the text. Is it not better to allow this fleeing thrall to take himself out of the epic completely?

II

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TREASURE

How the dragon's hoard first came to be placed in the earth is set forth in a long passage (2231-2270), some thirty lines after the beginning of the adventure with the dragon. This passage relates that a warrior, the last survivor of a noble race, deposited the treasure in a grave-mound, and that he lived on awhile thereafter, until death put an end to his grief. In a lyric outburst, quoted in direct discourse, this solitary warrior recalls the past glories of his kin, and bewails his own misfortune. The

whole passage has been justly admired for its poetic beauty, and has generally been accepted as representing the evidence of the poem in regard to the early history of the hoard. Thus Bugge attempted to show that the episode was derived from early Scandinavian tradition, by comparing it with a modern Danish popular tale, "*Røvernen ved Gråsten*," while Axel Olrik, though not denying that there might be some connection between the two, dissented from Bugge's conclusions. Olrik made the passage in *Beowulf* the basis for a new and very interesting suggestion,—that in an earlier form of the tale, the dragon was the lamenting warrior himself, who, like Fafnir, had been transformed from a man into a monster. This hypothesis he supported by apt citations from Scandinavian literature, early and late, to show the frequency of such metamorphoses. In the poem as it stands, the dragon is not connected at all with the aged warrior, but this separation was explained by Olrik as due to late Christian influence. Olrik expressed himself cautiously, but his theory has been accepted without question by Panzer, who makes it the basis of far-reaching generalizations.¹²

¹² Consult *Dania*, vol. I, pp. 233 ff.: "*Røvernen ved Gråsten og Beowulf*," I af Sophus Bugge; II af Axel Olrik. Panzer's discussion will be found on pp. 308 ff. of his *Beowulf*, Munich, 1910 (see p. 549 above).

The Danish popular tale cited by Bugge is short; it may be given entire in translation.

"Once upon a time there was a robbers' cave near Greystone. In it dwelt twelve thieves, who employed the device of stretching a cord across the road, so that when travellers came by, a bell rang in the cave. But since they were well concealed, it happened that one after another of them died [a natural death], so that finally only the twelfth remained. He was very old and had a long grey beard. At the very end of his life, he was walking through the woods, when he met a man to whom he promised to give a big chest, full of gold and many precious things, provided he would bury him when his time came. But the robber stipulated that the chest should

All this is very ingenious, but Bugge, Olrik, and Panzer, like most scholars, seem to have overlooked the fact that there is in *Beowulf* another and quite different account of the way that the treasure was deposited in the earth.¹³ This account (3047-3075) is introduced rather unobtrusively near the end of the adventure. It says nothing of the single surviving warrior, but relates that the treasure was deposited in the earth by illustrious chiefs (*þeodnas*

not be opened nor anything taken out, before the man got across the water.

"It happened to be winter-time when the old robber died and the man buried him, so that the chest had to be hauled over the ice. And, as is customary, the men who were dragging the treasure were cautioned to be silent and not to speak a word, until they got the chest to land. But as they were pulling hardest, one of those who were drawing the chest forgot to hold his tongue, and immediately the treasure sank down through the ice. Now one can only feel the chest, when one searches for it with a pole at that place."

Bugge remarked that if the connection which he believed he had established between the passage in *Beowulf* and this tale were correct, "the explanation may be that this episode, like so many others in *Beowulf*, rests on an old Danish narrative [en dansk oldsagn] (p. 235). Olrik finds that the resemblances pointed out by Bugge are matters of detail, and that the essentials of the two narratives are not in agreement,—much the same sort of argument, it will be observed, as he used in refuting Sievers' parallel between the dragon in *Beowulf* and the Frotho dragon in Saxo. Nor does Olrik believe the "*Røvernen ved Gråsten*" necessarily the development of an ancient traditional tale; the hero is elsewhere unknown, the nameless champion in *Beowulf* does not prove his existence, and a traditional tale preserving so many details in modern Danish, would have been more individual [enestående]. (241)

"Stjerna (see note to p. 579 below) took account of both these narratives, and perceived their discrepancies. He regarded the elegiac passage, 2231 ff., as late in its present form, because "a collection of such magnitude as is described in *Beowulf*, and consisting of objects of the kind specified in the poem, can evidently not have been concealed by a solitary person" (p. 143), thus confusing poetic imagination with archæological fact. Although his argument is wrong, his conclusion appears to be right, for other reasons than he perceived.

mære 3070), who laid a curse upon the man who should disturb the place. Stylistically, too, these lines are very different from the elegiac passage just cited. They appear to me, after a careful examination of all the evidence, to represent a much earlier conception of the deposition of the treasure. I do not think there are sufficient grounds for deciding whether or not this conception is of Scandinavian origin, but I do believe that the episode with which Bugge, Olrik, and Panzer operated is in all probability a late native English development, not Scandinavian at all. If this is true, the arguments of these scholars must be radically modified, if indeed they can be regarded as valid.

The chief importance of an investigation of this matter is not the refutation of the hypothesis of other scholars, however brilliant these may be, but rather the reaching of a clearer perception of the relations which the two contrasting passages bear to each other. Upon such study further conclusions in regard to the origin and development of the dragon-material in *Beowulf* must in part depend. The two passages in question must first be examined with some care, in order that their larger significance may not be obscured by failure to understand details of the text. For one place in particular, which presents great difficulty and has been much discussed, I venture to offer a new explanation. The second passage, which appears to me to embody more primitive material, may be taken first.

The poet has just described the dragon as lying stark in death, singed by his own infernal fires. He now continues:

- 3047 Beside [the dragon] were heaped chalices and flagons,
flat vessels lay there, and a precious sword
eaten through by rust, which for a thousand winters
3050 had been there in the bosom of the earth.
For that heritage was huge in amount,
the gold of men of yore, protected by a spell,
that the hall of rings might be disturbed

3074 næfne (MS. næs) hē gold-hwæt ²⁵ (MS. hwæte) gearwor hæfde
 Agendes ēst ær gescēawod.

The *hē* refers most naturally to the *sē* of the line preceding, continuing the thought thus: the man who ventured to touch the treasure would be damned by the curse resting upon it,—unless he, despite the pride of his possessions, were strong in the fear of the Lord, in which case he might be delivered. The poet is shy of allowing heathen powers their full potency; he is quick to qualify such powers by the superior might of the Christian God. Some twenty lines above, in the passage already quoted, he makes exactly the same kind of qualification. The gold was bound by a spell so that no one could touch it,—unless the True King of Glories should decree that the hoard be

4th edition of his *Beowulf*, Part I, p. 99 (Heidelberg and New York, 1914). I have been unable to procure a copy of Part II of the same edition, and the New York publishers inform me that it has not yet been issued. Consequently I am unable to say how far the rendering suggested above represents Holthausen's understanding of the passage. I imagine, however, from Holthausen's reading *goldhwæte[s]* that he does not take *āgendes* to mean God, which gives a very different sense from the reading here proposed.

²⁵ The meaning of the phrase *gold-hwæt* is difficult to render in modern English. It combines the significance of "active, keen, bold" (See Chambers, Glossary, sub *hwæt*) with the idea of the possession of gold. Perhaps the word "prosperous" might come near the meaning: I have rendered it here "rich in gold" in order to keep the double significance of the phrase. It is quite in place as applying to the *secg* of 3071, who might plunder the hoard. * Cf. *fyrd-hwæt* (1641 and 2476), applied to the Geatas who accompanied Beowulf to Heorot, and to the sons of Ongentheow. The rendering "greedy for gold," favored by some editors, seems to me to read into the phrase a meaning which does not belong to it, although it might assist the interpretation of 3074-5 suggested above, as pointing with added sharpness the antithesis between the man's possessions and his piety. The MS. reading *gold-hwæte* may be retained, if preferred, and the word understood adverbially, as by Holthausen in his third edition. It seems to me more in accord with Anglo-Saxon idiom to make it an adjective.

rified. The possession of gold was accounted dangerous; it was likely to lead a man into excessive self-confidence (2764-2766). But piety, bringing the favor of the Lord, gives a man great practical advantages, "one who putteth his trust in the Creator can prevail over woe and exile" (2291). The reluctance of the poet not to allow full power to heathen charms not only explains these qualifying phrases about the superior might of God (3054 ff. and 3074 f.), but also makes clear why the curse-motive is so much subordinated. In earlier versions, this motive, as leading to Beowulf's death, would probably have been still plainer; although it is really obvious enough on a close reading of the text as it stands. The fact that the very pious hero falls a victim to the curse is one of the inconsistencies into which the poet was led in a retelling of the old pagan tale with a new motivation. The Christian God was superior to spells, and the Christian hero was the one who ought to be saved by the Christian God, on account of his piety; but the story made him die, and so there was nothing for the poet to do but to leave to the old charms and the dragon power enough to kill him off.

The other account of the deposition of the treasures in the earth must now be examined. The thief is plundering the hoard, and, so far as may be judged from the very damaged lines, just laying hands upon the fatal cup.

2231

There were many such objects

In the cavern, treasures of old,
the mighty heritage of a noble race,
which, in years gone by, a man—I know not who—

2235

prudently concealed in this spot,
precious treasures. Death had claimed his kin
in days gone by, and this one survivor
of the tried warriors of the folk, the last of them all,
a treasure-keeper mourning for friends, was awaiting a
like fate,—

2240

that he but for a little time might enjoy

- the treasures of old. A barrow all finished
 stood on the flat ground near to the waves,
 new beside the ness, secure in its fastening;
 and into this did the shepherd of the rings
 2245 bear a precious deal of the treasures of noble men,
 massive gold, and he spoke a few words:
 "Hold thou now, O Earth, since heroes cannot,
 the possessions of noble warriors. Lo, from thy bosom in
 days of old
 good men obtained it; war-death hath claimed them,
 2250 fearful life-bale, all the men
 of my people; they have given up this life,
 they have looked their last upon the joys of the hall.
 I have no sword-attendant,
 no one to polish the cup with its golden patines,
 the precious vessel; the warriors have departed.
 2255 The doughty helmet, adorned with gold,
 must lose its plates; the attendants sleep in death,
 whose office was to brighten the battle-mask;
 the coat of mail, which in battle survived
 the biting of swords when the shields were crashing,
 2260 crumbles like its wearer; the ring-locked byrny
 cannot, since the war-lord is dead, fare afar
 on the hero's shoulders. Now there is no joy of the harp,
 no cheer of the glee-wood, no good hawk
 swoopeth through the hall, nor doth the courser swift
 2265 strike the courtyard with his hoofs. Death hath indeed
 claimed many of the race of men."
 Thus, sad at heart, gave utterance to sorrow
 the survivor of his race, sadly wandered about
 day and night, until the surging of death
 2270 struck at his soul.

All this is obviously very different from the account of the placing of the hoard in the earth which has just been analyzed. There is here no mention of a curse on the treasure. It is buried in the ground by a solitary man, the last survivor of his race, while in the other account this was done by "illustrious chiefs" (3070). There is also a great difference in the style and literary flavor of the two passages. The lines quoted earlier are grim, they emphasize the curse, the retribution that overtook the

dragon, the fate of Beowulf. They are only softened by references to the Christian God. The narrative above, on the other hand, is melancholy, deliberate, elegiac. Its lyrical quality arises not only from its general insistence upon the *ubi sunt* theme, but also from the spoken lament of the unhappy warrior who mourns the glories of his departed kinsmen.

The retention of two or more dissimilar conceptions of the same scene is by no means unusual in *Beowulf*. This matter has been discussed at some length in another article, in connection with the Haunted Mere.¹⁶ In some cases, we may have to do with traditional oral versions of the story, utilized by the *Beowulf*-poet for his epic, not, of course, by any mechanical process of dove-tailing or stitching, but in free composition. In other cases, it appears that native English imagination has been at work; that certain passages are not due to tradition, but to the creative power of the poet who put *Beowulf* into its present shape. What is the situation here?

The most plausible hypothesis appears to me this: that the earlier form of the dragon-story told that the treasure had been deposited by men who placed a curse upon it; that in due course of time a dragon found the treasure, and proceeded to guard it; and that Beowulf, in receiving the stolen cup, fell under the power of the curse, which caused his death. This is all in the poem, as clear as day (3051 ff.; 3065 ff.). With the introduction of Christianity, however, it was felt that the power of the curse was incompatible with the might of the Christian God, and so references to the superior powers of the Lord were inserted (3054 ff.; 3074 ff.), and the "curse-motive" dwindled in

* *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxvii (1912), pp. 222 ff.

importance. But the placing of the treasure in the earth and the weakening of the earlier motivation suggested to the *Beowulf*-poet an opportunity for a new development of the tale, of a sort which found high favor among Northumbrian bards. He made the situation the excuse for a long elegiac passage, introducing a single solitary warrior depositing the gold, and mourning, in the approved Northumbrian fashion, the glories of his departed race. This situation is very characteristic of the Northumbrian lyrics, which almost without exception deal with the emotions of a single individual placed in difficult and pathetic circumstances,—a wanderer, a seafarer, a lover, a banished wife, a forsaken woman. The somewhat inconsistent “curse-passage” was retained indeed—the *Beowulf*-poet never minded inconsistencies—but in so inconspicuous a way that its significance has escaped even the gimlet eyes of scholars.

If this hypothesis is correct, Olrik's theory that the solitary hero was metamorphosed into the dragon, like Fafnir, will obviously not hold water. There is no hint of any such metamorphosis in the poem; if it ever was in the *Beowulf*-story it has completely disappeared. Moreover, there is no need to fly to such a transformation to explain the origin of the dragon. All dragons are not metamorphosed men. The epic, indeed, states categorically that it is the dragon's nature *to seek out treasure in the earth and guard it* (*Hē gesēcean sceall [ho]r[d on] hrūsan, þær hē hēðen gold warað wintrum frōð*, 2275 ff.). And it states equally definitely that this particular dragon found the hoard standing open, and guarded the treasure three hundred winters (2270 ff.). It is the dragon's nature to dwell in grave-mounds, as the Cotton Gnostic verses remind us, but not because the monster is a metamorphosis of the man buried there, but because treasure

was hidden in these mounds.¹⁷ Belief in the presence of dragons in burial-mounds persisted very late. In 1344, according to Thomas of Walsingham, a dragon guarding the barrow of Wormelow near Ludlow was overcome by the spells of a Saracen physician, and a vast deal of gold recovered. Most dragon-stories, unfortunately, are concerned with other things than explanations of the origin of the monster. This very fact seems to argue the rarity rather than the prevalence of the Fafnir-type.¹⁸

It will be noted that the elegiac episode is distinctively English; it does not suggest material of Scandinavian origin, worked up later in native verse. Its leisurely, reflective, melancholy character is in striking contrast to the more passionate Scandinavian verse. The qualities which are observable in it reappear as the distinctive characteristics of native English lyric, when this emerges in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁹ This is no special pleading on the part of the present writer; we have, curiously enough, the testimony of Axel Olrik himself, who said, in a significant little note, "Can we, in any case, accept the composition of *Beowulf* as a part of the poem's northern foundation? . . . Even the old hero, nameless and not much individualized, with his complaint for vanished glories, is typical for English poetry, and does not remind us of the characters in Scandinavian poetry."²⁰

There are striking similarities, which have of course been observed already, between this elegiac passage and the *Wanderer*, both in situation and treatment. The *Wanderer* is too familiar to need citation; it need hardly

¹⁷ See below, p. 570.

¹⁸ See Panzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

¹⁹ Cf. Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, London, 1907, p. 282.

²⁰ *Dania*, vol. I, p. 271.

be pointed out that in that lyric, as in this passage in *Beowulf*, a lonely man, surrounded by the decaying ruins of the past glories of a departed race, soliloquizes gloomily upon the ruin wrought by time, and finally bursts out into a lyrical lament, quoted in direct discourse, bewailing the lost warriors and the joys of the hall. Even the horse pawing the courtyard, to which the warrior in *Beowulf* refers, reappears in the *Wanderer's* lament. The verbal similarities and the correspondences of the details of the poetical "machinery" are not of chief importance, however. We are not to conclude that the man who wrote the *Wanderer* was imitating *Beowulf*, or vice versa, but rather that the two passages, composed at about the same time and in the same part of England, reflect the literary characteristics of the same school of poetry. The date of the *Wanderer* is uncertain, and its author is unknown. The same may be said of the final form of the *Beowulf*, and of the *Beowulf*-poet. But it seems reasonable to conclude that both the *Wanderer* and *Beowulf* were composed in the northern part of England, in the late seventh or the eighth century. Both passages under discussion are, in mood and treatment, very like the other "Northumbrian lyrics,"—the *Seafarer*, the *Banished Wife's Lament*, the *Ruin*, etc. A happy chance has preserved these admirable productions to the present day. They are among the finest specimens of Anglo-Saxon verse, far outranking in poetic beauty, as it seems to me, the work of Cædmon and Cynewulf. In them are manifest what appear to be genuine native tendencies of Northumbrian verse, setting it sharply apart from foreign work, either in the learned or in the vulgar tongues.

To save Olrik's theory, we must assume that the episode in which the solitary warrior deposits treasure is not modern, but very old, so old that all traces of the early

form, in which the warrior was changed into a dragon, have disappeared. No one can prove that such a lay, whether with elegiac coloring or not, did not exist in early Anglian poetry. But we have also to remember that the reasons for assuming the existence of this are very slight. Everything in the present form of the poem contradicts the theory that the dragon is a metamorphosed warrior, and it is not necessary to explain the dragon's origin in that way. It therefore seems simpler to adopt the view that this episode is a special late development on English soil; that it is not a bit of the ancient bone and sinew of the poem, but an elaboration, dating from the latest days of its development.

III

THE DRAGON'S LAIR

The Cotton Gnostic verses, as has already been noted, tell us that the proper place for a dragon was in a graveyard, brooding over treasure,—*Draca sceal on hlāwe, frōd, frætsum wlauc*. And that was just where the treasure conquered by Beowulf had been placed in early times. A *hlāw* (Goth. *hlaiw*, a grave, tomb; O. Sax. *hlēwe* [dat.] grave; O. H. Ger. *hlaeo*, mausoleum)²¹ is the dragon's dwelling in *Beowulf* (2296; 2411; 2773). The hoard had in the beginning been deposited in a *beorh*.

2241

Beorh eall gearo

wunode on wonge wæter-ȳðum nēah,

niwe be nasse, nearo-cræftum fæst.

A *beorh* may be either a natural hill or elevation, or an artificial mound or tumulus. Here the *beorh* is clearly of the artificial variety; it was "new" and "strengthened

²¹ See Bosworth-Toller, under *hlāw*.

with cunning art,"—rising around the *hlāw*.²² Grave-mounds were good places to look for treasure in, whether the seeker were a dragon or a robber. Even in Anglo-Saxon days, plunderings of the hoards in these mounds were common; indeed, legal restrictions upon searching for objects of value in barrows may be studied from the time of Theodoric to that of Henry VIII.²³ In the present case, the dragon got ahead of the robber.

²² The *hlāw* seems properly to denote the grave-chamber of stone within (cf. *hlāw under hrūsan*, 2411), but is often used loosely of the whole structure (cf. 3169). There is an elaborate discussion of the term *beorh*, *hlāw*, *stān-boga*, etc., in Schücking's *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache*, Heidelberg, 1915. Most of the conclusions seems to me untenable, however. Schücking takes as his point of departure the theories of Stjerna, which I am not at all concerned to defend, but it is a little difficult to separate Schücking's constructive argument from his criticism of the Swedish scholar. Schücking's main thesis is that we are not dealing with a grave-mound at all, but with a natural cave in a hill. He argues that *beorh* sometimes means a height, not a cairn, which no one will deny, but he does not meet the objection that it sometimes just as clearly means a barrow, as a glance at Bosworth-Toller will show. He admits that it is difficult to reconcile the adjectives *eall-gearo* and *nīwe* with a natural hill or mound; that they seem rather to indicate an artificial elevation. So he takes refuge in dogmatic assertion: "*nīwe* means 'unused.'" But what evidence is there for this? He thinks that a stream could not issue from a grave-mound, and that this is further proof that the mound is not artificial. But the stream is not an ordinary brook; it is a part of the supernatural "machinery" of the dragon, as the phrase "hot with battle-fires" shows. We need not examine too closely into these effluvia from the physiological point of view, but if the reader will let his imagination play about the situation a bit, I do not think he will find anything strange about it. Schücking's theory gets him into further difficulties in connection with 2718-19; see below, p. 575, note 31.

Since the main part of this article was written, I have noticed that Holthausen, in the second volume of the third edition of his *Beowulf* (1913), reproduces two illustrations of Danish burial-mounds from Müller's *Vor Oldtid*; see also his notes, p. 150.

²³ See Thurman, *Archæologia*, vol. XLII (1869), p. 202, and note b.

2270

Hord-wynne fond

eald ūt-sceaða opene standan,
 s̅s ̅te byrnende biorgas s̅ce̅s̅.

Finding the barrow open,²⁴ the dragon settled down in the mound, and enjoyed his ownership, as it appears, quite undisturbed, for three hundred years.

Burial in a grave-mound or barrow was of course a custom of high antiquity, reaching back into the Stone Age, and continuing in modified forms even after the introduction of Christianity. Ancient megalithic barrows of the Stone Age may still be observed, both in the Scandinavian countries and in the British Isles, as well as in Germany, France, and other parts of Western Europe.²⁵ They must have been familiar objects both to the men who developed the earlier lays about Beowulf in Scandinavian territory, and to the *Beowulf*-poet, writing in the British Isles at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. It is no wonder that the men of his age marvelled at these ancient mounds, cunningly constructed of heavy blocks of stone, and filled with strange treasures of olden time, as well as with dead men's bones. They might well fancy that these barrows were the works of the giants (*enta geweorc*, 2717), habited by dragons, and protected by spells.²⁶

²⁴ See below, p. 577.

²⁵ On this general subject, consult for Sweden, O. Montelius, *Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, trsl. F. H. Woods, London, 1888; for Denmark, Sophus Müller, *Vor Oldtid*, Copenhagen, 1897; for France, P. de Mortillet, *Origine du Culte des Morts; les Sépultures Préhistoriques*, Paris, 1914; for Great Britain, Thurnam as above, and in general L. Reinhardt, *Der Mensch zur Eiszeit in Europa*, Munich, 1908, and J. Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments in All Countries; Their Age and Uses*, London, 1872. For further bibliography, see Müller, p. 194.

²⁶ "In the great chambered tumulus of Maeshow in Orkney, which, from the Runic inscriptions on its walls, seems to have contained

It is possible, I believe, by piecing together the scattered allusions in the poem, to get a definite picture of the barrow, and form a correct idea of the archaeological type to which it belongs. It is also possible to visualize its location, and the relation of this location to the events of the epic, somewhat more clearly than has hitherto been done. By this I do not mean that the poem affords a description of the very barrow in which a treasure was found, or with which the story was traditionally connected, nor that it describes the scenery in the vicinity of the court of the Geatas.

Everyone knows that such landscapes are not geographically correct; that they are imaginary, and depend for their characteristic features upon the country in which the poetic material took shape, not upon that in which the action takes place. Since the story of *Beowulf* developed in various localities, beginning in Scandinavia, and reaching final form in England, such pieces of description in the epic are occasionally glaringly inconsistent. Thus the passages dealing with the Haunted Mere are really quite irreconcilable with each other. The original conception of a waterfall, preserved in the *Grettissaga*, and characteristic of Scandinavian mountain scenery, has been blurred and overlaid in the Anglo-Saxon by descriptive touches added by those to whom such waterfall scenery was unfamiliar.²⁷ There are no such inconsistencies in the description of the barrow in *Beowulf*, perhaps because megalithic graves were much the same in England as in Scandinavia. So it is really impossible to tell just where and when the descriptive passages arose, and how far they

much treasure, there is actually the figure of a dragon drawn with much art and archaic skill" (Thurnam, p. 204).

²⁷See an article by the present writer in these *Publications*, vol. xxvii; esp. pp. 240 ff.

may represent a fusing of different traditions. There are, indeed, slight differences between the Scandinavian and the English barrow-graves, and we shall later on have to consider with some care how far there are indications of anything specifically English in the dragon's barrow. The main point to remember at present is that there appears to be nothing in the Anglo-Saxon epic which makes it impossible to accept the different descriptions of the dragon's lair as applying to a single type of sepulchre.

We may, in the first place, consider the different varieties of burial places of the Stone Age in Scandinavia, which may be observed in actual survivals at the present day, and which have been carefully compared and studied by archæologists. Barrows of a later date, such as the one in which Beowulf was interred, were obviously developments of those of the Stone Age, and are best understood by an examination of earlier conditions.

Graves of the earliest type, the so-called "dolmens" ²⁸ (Swed. *stendösar*) are enclosed chambers formed of huge stones set up on end, with, in general, a single covering stone forming the roof. They were not buried beneath a mound. The second type, the "passage-graves" or "giants' chambers" (Swed. *gånggrifter*, Dan. *gangbygninger*, *jættestuer*), are more elaborate affairs. These consist of a central chamber, similar in a general way to the "dolmen," but completely or partially covered with a mound of earth, and having a long passage constructed of stones in much the same fashion as the central chamber, leading from it to the surface of the mound outside. A third type of grave is the "stone cist" (Swed. *hällkist*), "a large, oblong, and four-sided grave; in point of size

²⁸ Usually explained as Breton *töl*, "table" and *men*, "stone," but this etymology is not wholly satisfactory. See the *New English Dictionary*.

and construction it is much like the chamber of a passage-grave, except that it has no passage, and is usually built of thinner stones. The lower part is surrounded by a small barrow of earth or stones, but the upper part is often bare. These graves are highly interesting as representing an intermediate form between the passage-graves and the great stone cists of the early Bronze Age, which are entirely covered with a barrow."²⁹ It must, of course, be remembered that it is not possible to draw hard and fast lines between the different types, which show many variations. This caution is particularly necessary when we take a wider view, and attempt to generalize in regard to conditions in several different countries. It must also be recollected that there is often difficulty in determining certain points, like the shape of the tumulus, which may have been altered by the ravages of the weather, and the gradual covering of the barrow with fresh earth or drifting sand.

There can be no doubt as to which of these three types the dragon's barrow in *Beowulf* belongs,—it is a megalithic passage grave.³⁰ It is covered by a mound or tumulus of earth, hence it is called *eorðsele* (2410, 2515), *eorðhūs* (2232) *eorðreced* (2719), etc. It has overhead arches of stone, *stānbogan*, resting on pillars or supporting stones, *stapulas*. This interior construction, at the end of the passage, is visible from the exterior, as in many tombs still extant.³¹ The passage in which Wiglaf is described

²⁹ Montelius, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

³⁰ This was recognized by Thurnam: "In the very early Anglo-Saxon poem of *Beowulf* there is notice of what was evidently a chambered tumulus." The context shows clearly that Thurnam had the passage tumulus, not the cist-type, in mind (*Archæologia*, *loc. cit.*, p. 202).

³¹ See illustrations in works cited above, especially the discussion by Thurnam in *Archæologia*. Schücking has a good deal to say of

as coming to the aid of the dying Beowulf is particularly in point.

2717 seah on enta geweorc
hū ðā stān-bogan stapulum fæste
ēce eorð-reced innan healde.

Earlier still, Beowulf, on first approaching the lair of the dragon

2542 Geseah ðā þe wealle, sē ðe worna fela,
gum-cystum gōð, gūða gedigde,
.
sto[n]dan stān-bogan, strēam út þonan
brecan of beorge; wæs þære burnan wælm
heaðo-fýrum hāt.

Elsewhere there are frequent mentions of the stones of the barrow, as is to be expected in a megalithic tomb; *under hārne stān* (2553, 2744), *stānbeorh* (2213); *æfter stāne* (2288); *under stānċleofu* (2540); *cwōm oruð āglācan ūt of stāne* (2557), etc. The great age of the mound is frequently mentioned; the dragon has brooded over the

the phrase *stán-boga* in connection with his theories about the *beorh*, commented upon above, p. 570, note 22. In reply to his uneasiness about the construction of 2718-19, one may quote the excellent note by Chambers: "No change is necessary. For the tense cf. ll. 1923, 1928, 2486; and for the sg. verb with plu. subject in a subordinate clause cf. l. 2164, . . . Further I do not see why *eorð-reced* should not be the subject: 'How the earth-hall contained within itself the arches. . . .' There is really no difficulty here. But the phrase *enta geweorc* (2717) is difficult to reconcile with Schücking's theory that *beorh* is a natural hill, and the lair of the dragon a cave. So he explains *enta geweorc* as referring, not to the construction of the chamber in which the treasures lie hid, but to the treasures themselves. He does not give a translation of the passage as he conceives it should be read, and I confess it puzzles me to understand how it can be construed as he wishes. As a test of the validity of Schücking's theory, let any one read these three lines, translating *enta geweorc* as "giants' gold," or something of the sort, and see how he comes out.

goes in advance, carrying a light (3125). It is possible, of course, that the phrase *stīg under læg* (2113) may refer to a path leading up to the height upon which the barrow was constructed. The word *under* is clearly used, on occasion, to signify position beside precipitous or even sloping elevations, as in *bāt under beorge* (211), *under mīst-hleoðum* (710) and *flōd under foldan* (1361).³⁴ Note also *biorn under beorge* (2559), where Beowulf is apparently in front of the mound, but not, strictly speaking, underneath the tumulus. The entrances to these passage-graves seem to have been closed with one or more stone blocks, or "doors," sometimes in the side walls of the chamber, sometimes at the end of the passage in the surface of the mound, or in other parts of the passages.³⁵ I take the statement that the dragon found the grave "open" (2271) to mean that the stones closing the entrance to this ancient tomb had fallen, giving access to the interior. The monster then entered to brood over and guard the gold; going and coming through the open doorway as he chose.

Megalithic passage-graves in the British Isles show some differences from those in Denmark and southern Sweden. There is a tendency to multiply the number of burial chambers within the mound, or, to put it in another way, to cut up the single chamber into connecting rooms. This has affected the shape of the mound covering the chambers, which takes a long oval form. The ceiling of the chambers is usually different in construction; instead of the flat roof, often formed of a single stone, a kind of vaulted ceiling is obtained by laying stones horizontally which

³⁴ See discussion of the phrase in the article on the Haunted Mere just referred to, pp. 213 ff.

³⁵ Müller, *Vor Oldtid*, p. 80. Müller is of course particularly concerned with Danish tombs, but these seem to have been essentially the same as those in Sweden.

project beyond each other. This is no doubt to be regarded as a late development, not characteristic of the earliest type of stone grave-chambers within a mound.³⁶

Is there anything specifically English about the dragon's barrow? Nothing is said of the interior which would lead to the conclusion that there was more than one chamber within the mound. Of course single-chamber tumuli are found in England, as for example at West Kennet, Wilts.³⁷ The shape of the mound itself is not described. May the phrase "stone arches," *stānbogan*, describe the peculiarity in the construction of the ceilings of English grave-chambers just mentioned? It will be noted that in both cases in which the phrase occurs, 2717 ff. and 2542 ff., quoted above,³⁸ the observer, Wiglaf

³⁶ For a summary of these differences, see Müller, *loc. cit.*, p. 86. The following description from Thurnam, pp. 212 f., gives a more extended account of British conditions: "The central avenue or gallery is situate at the broad end of the tumulus, and, like the side chambers often opening out from it, is formed of two rows of stones set on edge, supporting others laid horizontally across, and having interstices between filled up with horizontal walling, similar to that described as supporting the base of most of these mounds. In the finest examples of chambered barrows, as those of Uley, Stoney Littleton, and Nempnet, the entrance to the avenue is, or was, by a well-built doorway, formed of two standing and one transverse or horizontal stones, which three stones (*trilithon*) are, for the most part, of larger and more massive proportions than any of the others entering into the composition of the chambers. This doorway is found several feet within the skirt or general base-line of the tumulus. . . . The entrance, varying from two and a half to four feet in height, was closed by a large stone on the outside, which could be rolled away as required, and was itself covered with the rubble-stone and earth of which the barrow in general was formed." An understanding of these conditions will be much aided by an examination of the plates in Thurnam's essay. For conditions in Scandinavia, see especially Müller's illustrations, pp. 72, 74, 75, 79, 82 ff.; Montelius, pp. 30 ff., and Reinhardt, esp. p. 572.

³⁷ See Thurnam, plate to face p. 212.

³⁸ See p. 575 above.

in one instance, Beowulf in the other, is standing outside the mound, so that he can see presumably only the outer portal of the passage, or at most a little way inside. Yet the *innan* (2719) points clearly to the construction within. It seems conceivable that *stānbogan* may indicate the arches of overlapping stones, but I do not think this a necessary conclusion. It might equally well be applied to the heavy cross-pieces of stone set upon the uprights, *stapulas*, which formed the entrance to the passage, and, particularly in Scandinavian tombs, gave an accurate key to the structure of the interior.³⁹

Stjerna, who has examined the descriptions of the dragon's barrow with great care, if not with satisfactory results, draws far-reaching conclusions from the term *wong*. This, he says, commenting upon *sē ðone wong strude* (3073), "cannot be applied to a grave-mound, but rather to a large open space."⁴⁰ He uses this to support

³⁹ See illustrations of the barrow at Uley, Thurnam, p. 213, and cf. the mound at Uby in Zealand, reproduced by Reinhardt, p. 572.

⁴⁰ K. Stjerna, *Essays on Questions connected with the old English Poem of Beowulf*, translated and cited by J. R. C. Hall, London, 1912, p. 140. Stjerna's long article on the Dragon's Hoard is, I think, wholly astray in its main conclusions, though it provides some interesting descriptions and illustrations of archæological remains. It does not seem necessary to criticise his work in detail here, but the nature of its errors may be briefly indicated. Some of these are pointed out in the notes provided by Dr. Hall. Stjerna's understanding of Anglo-Saxon is very often at fault, as in the phrases cited above. Another article in the volume, "The Double Burial," is founded upon such a misapprehension; see Hall's note, p. 171. Stjerna is too much inclined to take statements in the poem literally, forgetting that we cannot treat the decorative passages as if they were a museum catalog, from which their age and period might be determined, and he regards poetic fiction as if it gave trustworthy information about the origin of the treasure. Thus he says, p. 143: "A collection of such magnitude as is described in *Beowulf*, and consisting of objects of the kind specified in the poem, can evidently not have been concealed by a solitary person." In short, this work,

his contention that "there are thus exhibited side by side in *Beowulf* two different conceptions of the place which contained the dragon's hoard. According to the first the treasure was deposited in a covered grave-chamber, and according to the other in an open field, an *eorðsele*." Of course *eorðsele* does not mean "open field," but "earth-chamber," referring to the sepulchral chamber of stone covered with a mound of earth. And the word *wong* is not inconsistent with the rest of the description of the barrow in the poem. It is used of the flat ground upon which the barrow was built, *beorh eall gearo urnode on wonge* (2241), or the floor of the chamber within the mound (3073), or the flat ground outside, where *Beowulf* lay in his dying *hotr* (2786). According to the Bosworth-Toller *Lexicon*, the word *wong*, "which is almost confined to poetry, may be rendered by words denoting the surface of the ground taken in their most general sense." Barrows were constructed upon the natural level of the earth; only occasionally do they seem to have been excavated inside, and then probably for the sake of reaching a firmer soil to serve as a floor. The untouched natural soil was thus generally left within the chamber; in some cases it was covered with a layer of a harder material. But in any of these cases, the term *wong* would have been quite in point.

Finally we have to consider the situation of the dragon's barrow, and its relation to the rest of the landscape. The barrow was erected beside or upon a ness or headland jutting out into the sea.

though conscientious and learned, and sometimes very suggestive, is likely to prove misleading unless constantly checked up and corrected. Stjerna sometimes builds arguments upon hypotheses discussed earlier in the book, which he regards as proved.

2241 Beorh eall gearo

wunode on wonge wæter-ȝōum nēah,
niwe be næsse, nearo-cræftum fæst,

2411 hlāw under hrūsan holme-wylme nēh,
ȝō-gewinne.

We even are told the name of the cliff, *Earna-næs* (3031). It was a desolate place, *wēstennē* (2298). Before the fight Beowulf sat down on the headland, *on næsse* (2417); and after the fight was over he remained on the flat ground, *wong-stede* (2786), presumably on the top of the cliff. The dragon fell near the hoard, *hord-ærne nēah* (2831, cf. 3047), opposite (*wiðer-ræhtes*) the spot where Beowulf lay dead (3039). This must have been at the top of the cliff, or at all events at some height above the water, since the dragon was pushed off the cliff into the sea, where the water was deep enough to bear him away (3131). The cowardly thanes take refuge during the fight in a nearby wood (2596 ff.); then they go *under Earna-næs* (3031), and find Beowulf *on sande*. This might conceivably be the shore at the base of the cliff; but *under* may refer to the path which they took to reach the top of the cliff, and *sande* the barren flat surface at or near the top where the mound stood. The wood where the army was waiting was apparently at the summit of another headland (2892 f.), but it might nevertheless be necessary to descend this before the Eagles' Ness could be gained. Or *under*, which we have already seen to be a vaguer word than in modern English,⁴¹ may mean that the mound, while located at the top of the ness, was overhung by some projecting part of it, and was not at the summit. The actual position of many extant mounds, however, favors the conclusion that the barrow crowned the pinnacle of the cliff.

⁴¹ See above, p. 577.

According to Thurnam, "chambered long barrows do not occur in groups as do the circular barrows of the bronze period, but are for the most part a considerable distance apart. . . . They occur on jutting promontories or on the summits of hills, with a prospect over the surrounding country in almost every direction, and often to a great extent."⁴² The barrow of Beowulf was built on a neighboring headland, the Whales' Ness, and Beowulf desires it placed in this conspicuous position in order that mariners may see it (2802 ff.). His barrow was apparently placed at the very edge of the cluff, *æt brimes nōsan* (2803).

Whatever the exact details, the landscape, in its main features, is vivid as well as picturesque. And it is in keeping with the spirit of the story. For the lair of the mysterious and evil creature which broods over ancient

⁴² *Loc. cit.*, p. 208. It is unfortunate that 2212 cannot afford assistance in deciding these questions; the line is hopelessly obscured in the manuscript. Chambers conjectures *sē ðe on hēa[um hope] hord beweotode*, and comments as follows: "Sedgefield reads *hēaum hāpe*, 'on the high heath'; but *hāp* is feminine; *hēpe* was also read by Sievers in 1870-1 [P. B. B., xxxvi, p. 418], so this is probably to be taken as the ms. reading. However to me it looks more like *hēaum hope*, 'on the high hollow.' The word *hop* survives in Northern English *hope*, 'a hollow among the hills,' as, for example, in Forsyth, *Beauties of Scotland*: 'The hills are everywhere intersected by small streams called *burns*. These, flowing in a deep bed, form glens or hollows, provincially called *hopes*.' Although by the sea, the mound may have stood in such a hollow or *hope*: cf. the mention of the *burn* in ll. 2545-6."—This conjecture does not seem to fit the location of the barrow, as our examination of the poem has revealed it. And the stream, "hot with battle-fires," is surely a kind of supernatural dragonish outflow, not an ordinary brook. The context makes it clear that the *beorg* out of which it runs is the grave-mound itself, in which the dragon lurks. This is what might be expected if the stream is an outflow of the dragon's superfluous energies; it would be very strange to have a burn of the ordinary sort flowing out of a sepulchral mound.

treasure, and for the last resting-place of the hero who slays it, these wild cliffs, battered by the sea, and dedicated to the eagle and the whale, are indeed appropriate. The poem closes in no mood of tranquillity or peace. Future troubles will come upon the Geatas, so it is prophesied, bitter strife with the Franks and Frisians. No warrior will display the bright gold that Beowulf has won, and no maiden adorn herself from its store; their doom must be war and exile, the eagle and the raven shall scream above the slain. So it is decided that the gold of the dragon shall be consumed on Beowulf's funeral pyre. In point of fact it is not burnt, but interred with the smoking brands in the barrow. Perhaps, in an earlier version of the story, this disposition of the treasure, which Beowulf vainly thought would benefit his people, was for the sake of freeing the Geatas from the curse resting upon the gold. But in the poem as we now have it, the cause of future wars and the misfortunes destined to fall upon the nation is not the gold, but rather the death of the mighty hero who had been the "shepherd of his people" for more than fifty years.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE.

XX.—A DEFINITION OF THE LYRIC

I

It is a commonplace of literary history that no great outburst of poetic energy has been unattended by the lyric. Not only may we fairly say that its vitality is an index of the vitality of the deeper poetic energies, but we may add that it endures when other forms seem dormant or moribund, and that when it is wholly extinguished, true poetry is practically at an end. It would, therefore, seem that an examination of the lyric, and a definition of its peculiar qualities, would be likely to throw light on the nature of poetry itself. We all recognize lyrics when we see them, but we are also conscious that not every poem which wears the outward semblance of a lyric is essentially so; yet it is not always easy to give a precise and satisfactory statement of what constitutes the essence of the lyric form.

When we seek light on the matter in the pronouncements of the past, we perceive that two forces have stood in the way of the framing of such a definition. One is the fact that the really vital periods have been too busy with actual production to pause for an examination of its grounds; accepting the lyric as a spontaneous vehicle, needing no justification, they have left us great works, and many suggestive remarks, but no independent body of theory. When the full tide of Provençal was restoring the vernacular lyric to European literature, we find Peire Vidal¹ expressing himself to this effect:

¹ The original text is accessible in Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie* (3d ed., 1907), p. 194.

All peoples, Christians, Jews, and Saracens, emperors, kings, princes, dukes, viscounts, barons, clerks, burgesses, villeins, small and great continually set their minds on composing and singing, whether they wish themselves to compose, or to understand, or to recite, or to listen; so that scarcely can you be in a place so private or so solitary that you will not hear one or another, or all together, sing; for even the shepherds of the mountain have their greatest solace in singing. All the bad and the good in the world are kept in remembrance by poets, and you cannot find a word, be it well said or ill said, which is not held in remembrance, if once a poet has put it into rime; and poetry and song are the movers of all valorous deeds.

So Dante, not long afterwards, wastes no time asking whether sonnet and canzone have a right to exist, but, accepting the work of his predecessors as justified, tho imperfect, shows wherein it must be bettered if the forms are to attain the full measure of their perfection. So, in Elizabethan England, Daniel, in that *Defense of Rime* which is the most truly critical document of its age, rests his case on the universal acceptance of rime and its attendant verse-forms in the vernaculars of all Europe, wherever curious reformers have not tried to restore a semblance of classical prosody.

This attitude, tho it is assuredly healthy, and justified of its works, does not carry us far into the domain of analysis and speculation. But if we turn to the periods of a more critical and speculative cast, we are confronted by a far graver obstacle—the fact that these periods not only cared little for the lyric, but tended actively to ignore it. Aristotle, we recall, has little to say of the lyric, Horace scarcely more; and by consequence their followers in the Renaissance concentrated their attention on tragedy and the epic. Nor were thinkers who owed no allegiance to Aristotle more hospitable. In England, Bacon, despite his apparently suggestive reference of poetry to the imagination, restricts it to narrative, representative, and

allusive;² Hobbes flatly declares³ that lyrics "are but essays and parts of an entire poem." The results of this state of mind in the later seventeenth century, and thruout the eighteenth, need no insistence.

Thus the most creative periods of poetry offer us an abundance of lyrical production, but little general theory; the periods of reflection do not profess to offer us either, and further complicate the matter by arbitrary and misleading notions as to the real nature of poetry itself. It is this conflict which justifies us in making a fresh approach to the important problem, with some hope of reaching a tenable solution if we accept the casual but stimulating remarks of the creative periods, and draw from the speculations of those who ignored the lyric salutary warnings as to what to avoid.

For conscious literary theory, as it took shape during the Renaissance, is not only a curious chapter in the aberrations of human thought, but a bequeather to later times of several misleading ideas. If, in Professor Neilson's phrase, true classicism results from the dominance of the reason, the neo-classic or pseudo-classic periods may be said to result from the dominance of the fallacy. Infinite pains were devoted to framing in advance the abstract specifications of the perfect tragedy, the perfect epic; but when attempts were made to translate the resulting formulas into concrete works, some of the dreariest abortions to be found in literature were the melancholy outcome. Along with this inverted theorizing went a zealous concoction of arbitrary literary history, at first taking the form of superfluous demonstrations that poetry was of divine origin,

² See Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, vol. I, pp. 5-9. Bacon's general doctrine of the imagination, of course, is another matter, and contains much that is sound and suggestive.

³ *Answer to D'Avenant* (Spingarn, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 55-56).

and the repository of recondite allegorical mysteries. When this phase had passed, the facts of sound tradition and of such vital production as still continued were ignored in the interest of an imaginary development which suited the accepted canons. We recall, for instance, how the orthodox view of English poetry from the Restoration down derived all its virtues from Waller and Denham, blandly disregarding whatever had preceded them. Dr. Johnson, in his sober moments, knew better—"the Poets of Elizabeth had attained an art of modulation which was afterwards neglected or forgotten"⁴—but in the main he upheld orthodoxy, here as elsewhere: "After about half a century of forced thoughts and rugged metre, some advances toward nature and harmony had been already made by Waller and Denham."⁵ All this could not fail to bring about a narrowing of the literary field—usually, as we saw, by neglect or exclusion of the lyric—and a false idea of the true continuity and real value of tradition.

Equally pernicious was another neo-classic fallacy—the close association, and ultimate confusion, of poetry and eloquence. This idea, which can claim the respectable authority of Cicero, is in him natural, and largely acceptable; for he regarded oratory as the freest type of prose, allowing full scope to all the faculties, even including the imagination, as it was then understood. But in the Renaissance, when oratory had lost all connection with or influence on affairs, and had sunk to a mere vehicle for fulsome panegyric or professional invective, the blending of such a form with that of true poetry could only be disastrous to the latter, and was in fact one of the main causes of the fall of the lyric, thru the destruction of personal sincerity.⁶

⁴ *Life of Waller.*

⁵ *Life of Dryden.*

⁶ See the admirable analysis of this by Vossler, in his *Poetische Theorien in der ital. Frührenaissance* (Berlin, 1900), especially pp. 69, 79, and 80.

None the less, it was accepted by Italian theorists, passed on by them to the Pléiade in France, and in general received as a commonplace of criticism. Yet it is significant that in Elizabethan England, which retained a greater sanity in such matters, certain writers, despite their debt to Italy, declined to take this notion at its face value. Thus Sidney, in his *Apology*:

But what? methinks I deserve to be pounded for straying from Poetry to oratory: but both have such an affinity in this wordish consideration, that I think this digression will make my meaning receive the fuller understanding.¹

Again Webb, in his *Discourse of English Poetry*:

Whereby (I take it) began this difference: that they which handled in the audience of the people grave and necessary matters were called wise or eloquent men, which they ment by *Vates*; and the rest which sang of love matters, or other lighter devices alluring unto pleasure and delight, were called *poetae* or Makers—²

a distinction which he did not derive from Minturno. And finally Daniel, in the *Defense of Rime*, sums up the matter with characteristic quiet decision:

And if Tully would have his orator skilled in all the knowledge appertaining to God and man, what should they have who would be a degree above orators?³

If, then, the intrusion of eloquence saps the vitality of poetry, the revival of a truer conception may well be attended by a protest against the intruder. Thus, John Stuart Mill's distinction, in 1833, between oratory as heard and poetry as overheard, is practically contemporary with the rise of Tennyson and Browning; and later, in France, Verlaine proffered the revolutionary advice "Take eloquence and wring its neck!" to a generation that

¹ Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 231.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 379.

profited by the admonition. In both these cases, as it happens, the result was a new vigor in the handling of the lyric.

From these scattered historical data (which a fuller discussion would, I think, only substantiate) we may conclude that the fallacious identification of poetry and eloquence, when neither term meant anything vital, confused men's views of poetry itself; and further, that the re-assertion of the lyric tends to subdue the emphasis on rhetorical effect, and the diversion of poetry to non-poetical purposes. Thus we may feel all the more assured that the lyric has an intimate association with the essence of poetry, and that the surest road to a true definition is an analysis of this intimacy.

II

In the present confused state of opinion, a discussion of the determining constituents of poetry must either grapple with many questions of detail, or be content with categorical affirmations. It is clear that the priority of verse over prose as an artistic vehicle led critics in the past to think that whatever was found in poetry was *peculiar* to it, whether or not that was actually the case. It is clear, also, that the boundaries of prose have of late been steadily enlarged, so that many things which lay wholly beyond the ken of medieval or Renaissance critic have now been realized. Artistic narrative, for instance, was for centuries confined to verse; but the restriction no longer holds. To-day, even tho the possibilities of prose, especially as an imaginative medium, have neither been fully recognized nor completely explored, we have at least a far larger body of material on which we may draw, of which it were folly not to avail ourselves. "Now that the times abound with history," says Bacon shrewdly, "the aim is better when

the mark is alive." We shall gain little by emulating the neo-classicist who spends his time shattering clay pigeons in his private critical shooting-gallery.

I proceed, then, to affirm that there exist, in the literary field, an entity called prose, and another called poetry. Wherever the shifting line between them is to be drawn, and to whatever extent intermediate forms may be held to exist, there can be little question that prose rhythm is one thing, and poetic metre another, and that, in the vast majority of cases, we know perfectly well with which we are dealing. Rhythm, when it is sufficiently developed to call attention to itself, is found to present phrases of similar syntactic form, or with accents rhetorically correspondent, but with no consistent approach to an equivalent number of syllables or to a recurrent sequence of accents. Metre, on the other hand, seems to require a fairly close equivalence of syllables, the recurrence of a recognizable rhythmical pattern. When the pattern of prose becomes too obvious, we feel that it is trenching on another province, that it is ceasing to be good prose. Most persons, I think, instinctively feel, if left to themselves, that prose and verse are two separate media.¹⁰

The retention of this feeling is all the more important because no one would to-day maintain that poetry is distinguished from prose by the possession of some inalienable subject-matter. While it may be true that certain feats attempted in the one medium might have been better executed in the other, it is evident that neither differences of material nor, on the whole, differences of process help us to set up a defensible line of demarcation; for poetry

¹⁰ For a good summing-up of the thorny points at issue, see D. S. MacColl, *Rhythm in English Verse, Prose, and Speech*, in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. v (Oxford, 1914), pp. 7-50.

employs several of the forms familiar to us in prose discourse. It can assuredly tell a story; it can assuredly describe the outward aspects of things; it can even be, in a large sense, expository, at least in so far as it assumes a reflective cast. What it cannot very well do is to establish a proposition by elaborate formal argument. We do not readily adjust ourselves to the idea of a metrical discussion of the question, "Should sugar be placed on the free list?" Nor does overt detailed reasoning of any kind suit well with poetry. I should gravely doubt if a poem combining recognized excellence with a continuous train of argument could be cited from any literature. No one denies that the *results* of reasoning may form suitable material for poetry; I am merely insisting that we do not desire to have the process by which those results are reached set forth in metre. If certain cantos of Dante's *Paradiso* be objected, we can answer that their function is to summarize certain accepted beliefs, not to establish them, and that in any case they hardly seem to us the most felicitous parts of the poem. So we read Lucretius, not for his demonstration of the atomic theory, but for the glorious outbursts of poetic energy with which he accompanies the exposition of his creed.¹¹ If we ask why all this should be so, we find the obvious answer in the fact that the actual proof of a proposition involves the presentation of masses of detailed evidence with which the poetic form is not suited to cope.

If we are justified in thus assigning formal argument to the province of prose, we have effected a considerable

¹¹ For an example of the difference of procedure in one and the same writer, we may take a section from St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa*, with its elaborate framework of *videtur quod, praeterea, sed contra est, respondeo dicendum*, and contrast it with the great Corpus Christi hymn. Can one conceive the method of the *Summa* versified?

delimitation of the poetic field. The next step is obviously to inquire what happens when one of the three remaining forms of discourse is treated in verse instead of in prose; and we shall see the result most sharply in the case of narration. It is a familiar fact that many narrative poems seem most poetical when the purely narrative interest is thinnest, or has become a mere pretext. There would seem to be no quality in poetic narrative which distinguishes it, as narrative, from an equally competent prose rendering of the same events; we cannot conceive finer narrative than we find in the best of the Norse sagas. Moreover, continuous poetic narrative seems to demand simple and regular metres—hexameter, rimed couplet, blank verse—and to rebel against an elaborate stanza. The definite stanza of many long narrative poems seems a detriment to their flow, causing them to break up into disconnected episodes; perhaps Chaucer's *Troilus* is the most striking exception that can be cited. This strongly suggests that the full and extensive metrical development which poetry surely admits is an obstacle to successful narrative; and this leads to the further conclusion that the essentially *poetic* quality of a narrative poem need have nothing to do with the narrative element itself.

The case of exposition and description is not dissimilar. Either may be handled in prose or in verse; but if true poetry is to result from the choice of the latter, the material must be selected and concentrated. Description or reflection which would be pleasing enough in a prose essay may become unendurable in verse because of the excess of detail, which prose can absorb indefinitely, but which poetry cannot, since developed rhythm, or metre, tends to squeeze out minor details, leaving only the significant. Argument in verse becomes impossible because the accumulation and sifting of the great body of evidence needed to

support a proposition demand a space and a flexibility of approach which verse cannot supply. A realistic novel in verse is scarcely conceivable; the sheer weight of detail would inevitably shatter the form, as we see it doing in *The Ring and the Book*. Our growing distaste for older narrative poems as wholes is partly due to a clearer sense that a full expression of the capacities of narration is incompatible with the finest verse forms—that one or the other must give way. Elaborate interacting sequences of events, minute and systematic recording of observed items, obtrusive point-by-point reflection, all tend to make verse, as we rightly say, prosaic, or, at best, to offer us promising but unrealized raw material.

It follows, then, that poetry may handle three of the four recognized kinds of prose discourse, but that it does so in a form condensed, as being metrical. In no case, however, is the poetry itself dependent on the kind of discourse; in absolute strictness, we should not speak of descriptive poetry, or narrative poetry, but rather of prose and poetic narrative, prose and poetic description. Since, again, no body of material containing large masses of detail is suited to poetic handling, argument is automatically excluded, and the other three kinds are modified in the fashion we have just reviewed. From these data we proceed to draw an inference which both sums up our previous results and makes the bridge to our especial problem. The inference is that poetry is by its nature peculiarly suited to be the literary vehicle of the imagination.

III

Whatever meaning the term *imagination* may be held to have, we may at least safely assert that it is not, on the one hand, the recording and heaping up of the details of

objective existence, nor, on the other, a step-by-step logical process. Even in its simplest form, when it is concerned with the association and combination of single images, it deals only with such as possess true intensity of suggestion, and has nothing to do with mere playfulness or calculated ingenuity, which are the marks of fancy. It assuredly needs an abundance of material on which to work; but it gives us, of that material, only the most essential aspects, and it does so, in its highest form, by immediate presentation, thus becoming, in Ruskin's admirable epithet, *penetrative*.

This imaginative faculty, to the existence of which the world's greatest literatures bear ample witness, is free to choose either prose or verse as its vehicle; but the latter, because of the traits we have previously noted, will be better suited to its needs. Metrical form, by reason of its smaller capacity for detail and its greater repugnance to purely logical accumulation, adapts itself precisely to the imaginative province. So much so is this the case, indeed, that over-zealous critics have been led to use the terms *poetic* and *imaginative* as if they were interchangeable, thereby breeding abundant confusion. Shelley's alleged *Defense of Poetry*, for instance, is in reality a rhapsodic exaltation of imaginative literature—a very different thing, for poetry is not always “of imagination all compact,” and prose is not condemned to be forever unimaginative.¹²

Two traits will be found to mark every passage, in verse or in prose, which seems to us definitely imaginative. One is a concentration which comes, not from brevity, not from mere close packing, but from an intensity of vision which

¹² Teufelsdröckh's “night-thoughts” in *Sartor Resartus* (Book I, ch. 3) shows us the imagination nobly at work within the confines of prose.

gathers all the relevant details in a concise and serried form. But this is constantly accompanied by a sense of amplitude, of a vast sweep of existence environing the objects contemplated, and endowing them with a significance which mere minuteness of scrutiny could never compass. We may say, then, that the union of concision and amplitude will be the invariable mark of truly imaginative writing. The choice of æsthetic terms must always be in some measure subjective, and better ones might be suggested in this case; nevertheless, I find the pair here used suitable enough to express the essential distinction.

It is further apparent that metrical form is better adapted than prose to secure this union of concision and amplitude. Prose is too tolerant of detail, too subject to the control of other faculties, to allow the imagination undisputed sway. Metre, on the other hand, emphasizes the significant detail, demands the significant word or image, and falls short of its due effect when it is denied them. It is equally true that the lyric is capable of accomodating the greatest pitch of diversity in similarity which a metrical pattern can attain, and that it shows the greatest development of that condensation which the three kinds of writing that poetry admits must, for the attainment of its ends, undergo. Hence it follows that in the pure lyric the imagination is wholly unhampered, wholly unalloyed; and here we have the elements from which our definition may be framed, in the following terms: the lyric is the union of concision and amplitude in a highly developed and recurrent metrical form.

By examining each term of this definition in somewhat greater detail, we shall perceive more clearly just where the boundaries of the lyric lie. Concision means, not mere epigrammatic neatness, but a certain compact filling of the form, an inclusion of much significance in a moderate

compass. Yet this compactness is relieved by the attendant amplitude, felt not only in what is actually said but in all the suggestions implicit in skilfully chosen words, or in the movement of the lines. Concision without amplitude gives us the epigram in the Latin sense, the point secured by a whittling away of material; the Greek epigram remains lyric, in so many cases, just because it slights neither factor. Conversely, the irregular poem which seeks amplitude at the expense of concision evaporates into vagueness, and equally loses the hope of being truly lyric. Likewise, when another faculty than the imaginative is in control, the result, tho it may still be poetry, is no longer lyric poetry. When, for instance, we find reflection without concision and its attendant intensity, we have what may be called the elegiac mood—admitting the occasional flash of imagination, but prevailingly meditative. Again, a descriptive poem which dwells over-fondly on the individual details, or a narrative poem which insists on its story and nothing else, may yield us much pleasure, but never the immediate imaginative revelation in its fulness.

Our next step will be to infer, from the observations just made, that concision and amplitude exercise determining influence on lyric form; concision by demanding a developed metrical pattern, amplitude by demanding a choice and sifted style, their co-operation thus providing the third term of our definition. The metre need not be complex, for a perfect lyric can be written in eight-syllable quatrains; yet it remains true that the simpler patterns, which favor indefinite repetition of the metrical unit, are on the whole adapted to the less intense sorts of poetry. This is obviously true of narrative in verse; it is equally true that reflection or satire appear more at home in couplet, blank verse, or the simplest sort of stanza; and conversely, such a stanza will, in a true lyric, scarcely be

repeated more than three or four times. Blank verse, again, may be kindled into lyric fervor, and exceptionally a true lyric (for instance, *Now sleeps the crimson petal* in Tennyson's *Princess*) may be written in it; but in the main the lyric not only permits but requires some degree of metrical elaboration, and may, as we well know, carry it very far.

Along with this metrical structure, and sometimes replacing it as the chief æsthetic interest, goes an extreme refinement of diction. We must never forget that the apparent simplicity of some lyrics is delusive; the sequence of their syllables, the sound and meaning of their component words, have been adjusted with the nicest accuracy to the imaginative purpose. Every word, in short, must be chosen for its unique and perfect fitness not only in itself but to its surroundings. The language of poetry legitimately differs from that of prose only in so far as the two seek to attain different ends. Phrases suited to the exact and logical requirements of prose jar on us in poetry, because they suggest an inappropriate aim. The subtle and highly refined emotions with which poetry often deals demand for their expression a language correspondingly subtle; the imaginative phrase must seek embodiment in the most expressive words obtainable. The more prose concerns itself with such matters, the more will its vocabulary approximate that of poetry, tho never completely coinciding with it, because the reasoning element will always more strongly survive. The peculiar problem which the strictly poetical use of words involves is that of the difficulties entailed by the close juxtaposition of words in metrical form. Metre, by its power of squeezing out the words which represent unessential details, vastly increases the potency of those which remain; so that not only is their successful combination surpris-

ingly effective, but the presence of a single false note is very dangerous. Very satisfactory prose may be written without any very conspicuous command of purely verbal resources; a certain kind of reflective poetry, even, may stand close to prose in this respect; but a lyric which shows a mediocre choice of words is a sad thing. Lyric diction need not be refulgent or startling, especially in the simpler types; but it must be of the choicest, selected with the utmost desire to secure harmony and suggestiveness.

Thus, in the isolation which the lyric form engenders, we find language at its highest pitch of significance and suggestion, every word, almost, becoming endowed with a mysterious efficacy. As Mallarmé has excellently said of this transfiguring process:

The verse which of several sounds fashions a total word, new, strange to the language and as it were enchanted, achieves this isolation of speech; denying, with a lordly gesture, the mere hazard which remains in terms despite their alternate dipping in sense and in sonority, it causes the surprised sense of never having really heard some ordinary fragment of discourse, at the same time that the recollection of the object named is bathed in a new atmosphere.²³

This revealed potency of the word is what sets poetry apart from all other concerns, and makes it the vehicle of an otherwise incommunicable experience.

It is also a matter of common observation that the diction appropriate to lyric is largely metaphorical; and in the light of what has already been said we can see good reason why it should be so. Since repugnance to excess of detail is a mark of poetry in general, and since the metaphor does not hold detail to any such degree as does the simile, it is obvious that the latter admits a non-imaginative application which the metaphor resists. The simile may tempt a poet to show his cleverness rather than his

²³ *Divagations*, p. 251.

power; we know only too well that an elaborate comparison may be hunted thru all its byways to the weariness of the reader, that even the more excellent similes of poetry are sometimes felt to be a bit parasitic or adventitious. We must distinguish, indeed, between ingenuity as an end in itself and that incidental ingenuity which may be merely a by-product of enthusiasm or extreme tension. Ingenuity of the former kind is the result of that unhappy confusion of poetry and eloquence which we have already condemned. But the metaphor is the very ingrowth of the style to which it belongs; even when it is bad, it is, so to speak, an active badness, not a passive dry-rot; and when it is good, it is the most potent single device that the imagination can wield.

Whatever is true of poetry in general is therefore *a fortiori* true of the lyric. In it reflection becomes imaginative intuition; description, the presentation of essential aspects; narration, the presentation of events at their climax. Conversely, whatever in poetry is prosaic or out of key is utterly destructive of the true lyric mood; the unsuitable choice of a purely reasoning procedure or of phrases suggesting such procedure, an excessive accumulation of details not to be imaginatively unified, will break the spell. The imagination is indeed, as Coleridge finely called it, a "shaping spirit," but it must work on material already prepared for it; it cannot sort out and divide heterogeneous masses as does the reason. It can, however, when the way has been prepared, unify the results which the reason has disentangled, reveal the profound significance of small things, and, in a word, transform perception to insight. All this it can freely do in the lyric—free from the necessity of grouping an abundance of details, of keeping a plot in order, or of adhering to the requirements of a material stage, and maintained, by the neces-

sary concision of the form, at the highest possible pitch of intensity.

I shall scarcely be supposed to be maintaining that imagination in poetry is *restricted* to the lyric; for we know well enough that nothing could be farther from the truth. The most pedestrian poem may have its moment of illumination: the long ode must call in other faculties to sustain its fabric, even tho the imagination dominates the whole. But it remains true that in the pure lyric what is elsewhere exceptional becomes the prevailing; the work of the other faculties is presupposed, and the imagination, freed from whatever might obstruct its activities, concentrates on its material, to burn unfalteringly with its own essential flame.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE.

XXI.—SOME ELEMENTS IN MEDIÆVAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE OTHERWORLD

My chief business in this article is to study the characteristic details in Otherworld descriptions, to see how widely they are used, and to discover any constant traditions in the use. A great deal of work, already done in this field, has made the material accessible;¹ and since my paper is only by way of being a preliminary sketch, I shall frequently use the summaries offered by previous scholars in the case of particular documents. In general, the material with which I shall work is very well known and scarcely subject to any dispute.

I shall include descriptions, whether their authors were conscious or not that the accounts originally depended on what was really an intentional Otherworld scene. Thus it is debatable whether Chrétien knew that the realm of Meleagant was probably based on a transformation of Avalon or Glastonbury. Further, I shall not attempt to distinguish between the Earthly Paradise, heaven, the islands of the blessed, and the Eden from which Adam was ejected,² except to note the details of

¹ I am indebted to such essays as those by Alfred Nutt, in the *Voyage of Bran*, vol. I; A. C. L. Brown, *Yvain*, in *Harvard Studies and Notes*, vol. VIII; E. J. Becker, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899; W. A. Neilson, *The Court of Love*, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, vol. VI; T. Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, London, 1844; Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, Longmans Green, 1914; Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni*, Torino, 1892, vol. I. Professor F. N. Robinson, of Harvard University, has kindly looked over this paper with regard to the Celtic material; Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, in regard to the Oriental documents mentioned.

² Zimmer, *ZDAltth.* XXXIII, pp. 287-8, thinks the Irish Paradise was possibly identical with Adam's lost Paradise.

the individual cases. In other words, I shall not study the development of the theme of Eden as opposed to the theme of an earth-bound Paradise, nor even bother with classifications of that type.

(My method in establishing sources and origins will be to determine if possible the fundamental conceptions of the religions involved and to see whether the details, apparently borrowed by some mediæval document, fit naturally into the conception of any particular religion, or whether they seem merely accidental. To determine the fundamental conceptions of any special religion or mythology, I shall either utilize generally accepted views on the subject or study the earliest extant documents in the field. And I shall aim to arrive at the native form of ~~the~~ the mythology, untampered with by later influences: for example, the Celtic religion before the introduction of Norse or Oriental ideas.

My argument will depend on three axioms:

(1) That only an element essential, not incidental or accidental, to a certain mythology would undergo a widespread adoption in another field or literature. That is to say, if we find only one example of the bird-paradise among the Celts, only the one will not account for a dozen appearances of the theme in European literature. Perhaps there were more among the Celts; but if we do not find them, we are not safe in assuming their having existed. Again, it is of course conceivable that the single occurrence of a theme has been responsible for a later general use in an alien field; but all the force of probability is against it.

(2) That the particular significance attached to a certain element in one religion will not *necessarily* affect its adoption with a different significance in another field; only the physical characteristics will remain unchanged.

I mean that one faith might hold that the garden of the blessed is open only to souls of one type of virtue, to aristocrats say,³ but once the garden found its way into literature (especially of another time and country), such a characteristic would be infinitely less stable than the physical characteristics: a late describer of the scene might easily put the general populace into the garden if he liked. Or, to take another illustration, the soul-bridge of the Orient, intended originally for disembodied spirits, might turn up for the convenience of a living pilgrim in a western vision. Thus details might pass with changing meaning from vision to allegory and from allegory to romance.

(3) That the use of one element with several others of definitely marked origin, or in a story of definitely marked origin, is not conclusive evidence for the origin of that particular element. When one considers the inter-relations of mediæval stories and their details, one will realize that elements were shuffled together like cards. And thus a story with Celtic proper names might represent an originally Oriental tale with a few added details from the German. Finally, I may point out that I am not bound to indicate modes of transmission; they are sufficiently well known and I am perfectly well justified in presupposing an infinite number of them. If I do not succeed in pointing out any particular cases of transmission or borrowing, at least I can establish how widely various themes are used in religions, and so prevent their being cited as evidence for the origin in any one particu-

³ Thus Nutt comments (*Voy. Bran*, I, p. 321, n. 1) on the fact that the Vedic heaven is essentially aristocratic. No deformed person could enter Yima's enclosure in the Avestic heaven. Note also in the Jewish heavens the various realms for various types (*Hebrew Encycl.*, "Paradise," p. 516).

lar field. For the sake of indicating how general is the use of any theme, I shall be forced to use heavy documentation which, after all, is self-justified in almost any case as a tentative bibliography for various topics.

The Otherworld realm is usually quite easy to identify. Its situation is various: on a mountain, perhaps, or on an island, or cut off from the every-day world by some sort of water barrier. The Celts usually put their happy isles far in the west;⁴ the Norse, if they thought of any particular locality for the Otherworld, seem to have held it to be in the north;⁵ the Oriental earthly Paradise was somewhere in the far east.⁶ The other elements, how-

⁴ See Schirmer, *Zur Brendanus-Legende*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 17 ff.; Zimmer, *ZDAlt.* xxxiii, pp. 280 ff. This view is not limited to the Celts: cf. note 6.

⁵ See Helge's journey to the north on the coast of Finmark (Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology*, London, 1889, p. 211); Nutt, *Voy. Bram*, i, pp. 298 ff.; see the voyage north taken by Gorm, Rydberg, pp. 212 ff., and Saxo's *Hist.*, Elton's Trans., pp. 344 ff.; see Elton's intro. to Saxo, p. lxxv: "The dark, fuelless, starless land, seems like a myth built on the facts of the Arctic islands."

⁶ Note the garden "Eastward in Eden," Genesis ii, 8 ff.; travels to the east in the vision of the Monk of Eynsham (Arber's Reprints, no. 18); "The garden of delight lieth on earth in this world in the regions of the east," D'Ancona and Bacci, *Manuale delle letterature Italiana*, i, pp. 437 ff.; Dante enters his garden of Eden from the west; see the scene on the hill Caucasus, Thoms, *Prose Romances*, iii, p. 242; see Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, pp. 251, 253, 255, 257, 258, 525; T. Wright, *St. Pat. Purg.*, p. 94 (opposite the Ganges); (in India) *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesells. der Wiss.*, Leipzig, 1876, viii, p. 123, § 13. See a comparison of Eden with the Babylonian Paradise at Eridu, Jeremias, *Bab. Conc. of Heaven and Hell* (trans. Hutchinson), London, 1902, p. 39; Hibbert Lectures, 1887, Sayce, p. 238; Jastrow, *Hebrew and Bab. Traditions*, N. Y., 1914, pp. 218 and 209. See also Graf, *Miti, Leggende*, vol. i, pp. 1 and 3.

Compare, however, the Egyptian journey with the sun-god to the west, Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization* (trans. McClure), third ed., N. Y., 1897, p. 197; the Greek isles of the Hesperides and the Ely-

ever, are sufficiently fixed: a splendid castle, usually guarded by armed figures;⁷ and a garden, with a beautiful fountain or fair running streams, and trees and remarkable birds. For the people in the story the land is hard to enter, and sometimes it is still more difficult to leave.⁸ If one does succeed in getting away, one is often astonished how much time has slipped by during the sojourn there.⁹ Finally, one is sometimes forbidden to describe the details experienced in this unusual journey.¹⁰ Such are the elements in many accounts of the Otherworld, and their use is exceedingly wide-spread. Although, of course, there is a possibility that actual mediæval gardens, mountains, and islands, or manuscript illuminations of such things, furnished such descriptive details, which would then in no way be based on Otherworld sources, yet in most cases the combination of several

sium (*Od.* iv, ll. 563 ff.); and the Fortunate Isles. Compare also Cockayne—"bi Weste Spaygne," and Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, pp. 525 ff. It is reported as a common saying when a man is killed in the fighting in France to-day that he has "gone west."

⁷ See the two men of copper in *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 4553-4570 and 4715; Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, p. 168; note also the men of copper, *Perlesvaus*, branch xvii, title xiii; the armed figures at the bridge of the Fata Morgana, Bojardo, *Orl. Innam.*, II, vii, 42 ff.

⁸ No foreigner returns from the land of Meleagant in the *Chev. Char.* (see des. of the land, ll. 641 ff.). See also Bojardo, *Orl. Innam.*, II, viii, 39 ff.

⁹ See the *Voy. Bran* (when one man returns to Ireland, he falls into a heap of ashes), Brown, *Yvain*, pp. 58 ff., and Zimmer, *ZDA*, xxxiii, pp. 258 ff.; see the romance of Thomas the Rymer, and that of Ogier the Dane and Morgan the Fay, Child, *Eng. Scot. Pop. Ballads*, I, p. 326; see D'Ancona and Bacci, *Manuale*, I, pp. 437 ff.; Baring-Gould, *Cur. Myths*, p. 546; Campbell, *Pop. Tales*, II, p. 74.

¹⁰ The fée bids her lover not to tell of her in the *Debility of the Ultonian Warriors*, Brown, *Yvain*, pp. 31 ff. (Windisch, *Berichte der Gesells. der Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Classe*, xxxvi, p. 336, and Hull, *Ouchullin Saga*, pp. 97 ff.). The same is true of the fée in the Launfal story, see *Romania* VIII, p. 50.

elements in a familiar manner or certain definite traces of the Otherworld conventions (such as the difficulty of entering or of leaving) have identified the scenes for us with a fair degree of certainty. And sometimes we can trace the story back definitely to an Otherworld adventure.

I

THE MOUNTAIN

The mountain is frequently used as a symbol in the allegorical writings of the middle ages. If this and related points be held as significant,¹¹ we need not go far to establish the tradition of what forms a great part of the scenery in mediæval allegory. For example the mountain appears in the literature of the Court of Love, where the apparently earliest instance, for our purposes, is that in Claudian's *De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*.¹² There the home of Venus is situated in a flat plain on the top of a mountain which man is unable to climb. The region is further protected by a golden wall, it is not subject to storms of rain or snow, and perpetual spring reigns in that beautiful country.¹³ The figure is apparently common: we may note the instance in the fourteenth-century

¹¹See the *Chastel d'Amors*, Neilson, *Court of Love*, p. 28, where no fire is required because love makes perpetual summer. See the four portals in the palace of Andreas Capellanus, Neilson, p. 46, and compare the four portals in Fregoso's *Dialogo di Fortuna*, ed. 1531, cap. XIII-XV, and the similar palace in Prester John's letter, Zarneke, *Abh. der Phil.-hist. Classe der Gesells. der Wiss.*, Leipzig, 1876, vol. 8, pp. 123 ff., §§ 35 ff. (see § 42). And see the constant use of the elements of crystal, the pillars, the garden, the fountain, the river, the streams, the mountain, etc.

¹²Claudian flourished circ. 400 A.D., but may be included in the study as a precursor of the middle ages.

¹³See Claudian, *de Nuptiis*, ll. 49 ff. Summarized by Neilson, pp. 15 f.

German *Minneburg*; ¹⁴ that in Grosseteste's allegory, with his castle on a high and polished rock ¹⁵; Gawain Douglas's Palace of Honour on the top of a hill.¹⁶ Some of the mountains are jewelled or made of a jewel: such is that in Alain Chartier's *Hospital d'Amours* whose foundation is a rock of ruby and whose walls are part crystal; ¹⁷ and that in the *Ospital d'Amours* of René d'Anjou, where the church is founded on a rock of diamond.¹⁸

It will be remembered that the house of Nature in Alanus de Insulis' poem, the *Anticlaudianus*, is situated on a mountain. So too seems to be the house of Fortune in the same poem: ¹⁹

In the midst of the sea, there is a cliff which the water lashes continually and with which the wave disputes and has strife: a cliff beaten in various wise and smitten by continual movement; now wholly buried in the waves, and again rising from the sea, it breathes the upper air. It does not retain its shape. Each moment various change transforms it." It is covered with flowers when Zephyr breathes upon it; again Boreas cruelly destroys all the flowers. Etc.²⁰

¹⁴ Neilson, p. 124. See the summary by G. Ehrisman, *PBB*, xxii, pp. 303 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 137. The English version alone is accessible to me. See the "Castel of Love," published by the Philol. Soc. (Early Eng. volume), edited by Weymouth, 1865, p. 30.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 162. See ed. of Douglas by T. Small, Edinburgh, 1874, vol. i, pp. 51 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁹ The material on the Fortune tradition offered here is taken mainly from the chapter on "Fortune's Dwelling Place" in my as yet unpublished dissertation. There I have made a study of possible sources of this early description in the *Anticlaudianus*, together with a more detailed investigation of other points in this type than I can present here. Other material on the mountain is to be found in Graf, *Miti, Leggende*, pp. 7 ff. See also *Harvard Studies and Notes*, v, p. 174, n. 1 and *passim*.

²⁰ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 210, col. 557 ff., §§ 397. This mountain Jean de Meun took over with the rest of the description into the *Rom*.

In the *Roman de la Poire* Fortune declares one of her habits to be as follows:

L'un met del val el mont et puis le faz cheoir,²¹

and Watriquet de Couvin places a whole city, of which Fortune is porter, on a mountain top:

Quar cil qui au plus haut demeure
Trebusche et chiet en petit d'eure, etc.²²

In the horrible valley below, Death receives the victims. In Nicole de Margivale's *Panthere d'Amours* the foundation of the house of Fortune is a great rock of ice, suggested perhaps by the folklore mountains of crystal, but having the added symbolical value of a lack of durability. This feature reminds us of the foundation of Chaucer's house of Fame.²³

Thomas, Marquis of Saluzzo (1319-1417), incorporated an original version of the figure into his *Chevalier Errante*: The mountain, on which Fortune has her dwelling place, is the highest rock that the eye has ever seen. At its top are two fearful crags and between them sits the

de la Rose ll. 5941 ff., as noted by Langlois, *Orig. Sources*, Paris, 1891, pp. 96 ff. Petrarch apparently refers to the account in Alanus, ed. Mestica, canz. xviii, ll. 77. Again it appears in Taillevant's *Régime de Fortune*, p. 713 (Bal. iv, *Les Oeuvres de Maître Alain Chartier*, ed. du Chesne, Paris, 1617). From the French of the *Roman* the tradition goes to Lydgate's *Disguising at London*, noted by Brotanek, *Eng. Maskenspiele*, pp. 309 ff.

²¹ II, ll. 45-6.

²² *Dis de L'Escharbote*, ed. Scheler, 1868, p. 399 f.

²³ See the *Panthere*, ll. 1958. See Sypherd, *Studies in the HF*, pp. 117 f. He notes the Palace of Mars in the *Teseide* (vii, 32) which is built of ice. Chaucer's house of Fame is restored to Fortune by Sir William Jones in the *Palace of Fortune* (see Koepfel, *Eng. Stud.*, xxviii, pp. 43-53). It was used by Ben Jonson in his *Masque of Queens*, and apparently by Dekker in his *Troia-Nova Triumphans* (see my note, *MLN*, xxxiii, p. 177).

goddess, who causes her victims to be thrown from the height. On the side of the rock traitors of all kinds are drawn and quartered.²⁴ Fregoso's *Dialogo di Fortuna* puts Fortune's palace on a mountain, which is so slippery that one must have a guide to climb it.²⁵ The mountain was evidently very familiar in the Fortune tradition: it is referred to by Jean de Condé,²⁶ and interpreted by Ariosto.²⁷

Somewhat similar use of the theme is found in the mountain of Plutina,²⁸ and the mountain where Palestine, in the tale of *Melusine*, dwells guarding her father's treasure.²⁹

In allegory the figure is employed to express the meaning of inaccessibility—whether to love or to fortune—the difficulties of approach, and the perils of success. This meaning, however, does not affect the point that the mountain almost undoubtedly comes from Otherworld descriptions, especially since it is generally found together with other features of the Otherworld, such as the sumptuous palace, the garden, the fountain, the rivers, and the sea.

One point further: we have noted that the mountains or rocks are often jewelled or crystalline. It may be convenient to note here that crystal is an extremely common

²⁴ See the summary, part two, Gorra, *Studi di Critica Letteraria*, Bologna, 1892, pp. 45 ff.

²⁵ *Dial.*, ed. 1531, cap. XIII ff. For the slipperiness see n. 30 below on the glass mountain.

²⁶ (Baudoin de Condé, ed. Scheler), 3, p. 54, ll. 160.

²⁷ As the wheel of Fortune: *Rime e Satire*, Florence, 1824, p. 207 (Sat. III).

²⁸ Trissino, *Tutt. le Op.*, Verona, 1729, *Ital. Lib.*, II, pp. 78 f. (Lib. XI).

²⁹ Skeat, *EETS*, London, repr., 1899, ll. 4630:

Till some approche and come, of linage our,
To that by mountain by fors and strength he
To ascende an-hye Aboue the hill to see, etc.

(feature in Otherworld accounts in general,³⁰ and so here may be considered as indicating the character of this special tradition of the mountain.

Granting, then, that the mountain does come from

³⁰See the ship of glass in the Celtic story of Connla the Fair, Brown, *Yvain*, p. 29; pillar of silver and glass in the *Serglige Oenoulaind*, *ibid.*, pp. 34 ff.; the sea resembling green glass, *Imram Maelduin*, § 22, Brown, p. 60, Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, ix, pp. 447-495, x, pp. 50-95; the seven crystal walls in the *Fis Adamnain*, § 11 (Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, London, 1908); the tower of glass, Brown, *Roman. Rev.*, 1912, p. 158, n. 28; Lydgate's *Temple of Glass*; the sea of glass like unto crystal in the *Book of Rev.*, also the city of pure gold like unto clear glass, the river of the water of life clear as crystal; the stones of crystal, *Book of Enoch*, xiv, 10, and the building of stones of ice, LXX (I have used the text of Dr. Richard Lawrence's translation, copied by Becker, *Med. Visions*, pp. 22 ff.); the wall of crystal, Monk of Eynsham, *Arber's reprints*, no. 18—see Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 96; the crystal building, Neilson, *Court of Love*, p. 43; the chamber with ceiling of transparent crystal in the *Midrash Konen*, *Hebrew Enc.*, "Paradise," p. 516. See also the Celtic palace of glass, Baring-Gould, *Cur. Myths*, p. 536; the glass mountain in Teutonic mythology, *ibid.*, p. 539 (bears' claws were buried with the dead to assist them in climbing); on the slipperiness, see the four very smooth steps leading to the palace in Giraut de Calanson, Neilson, p. 24; the *Insula Vitrea* or *Isle de Voire*, *Romania* XII, p. 510; Nutt, *Voy. Bran.*, I, pp. 236 ff.; *Romania*, XXIV, p. 502, and XXVII, pp. 529 ff., for the connection with Glastonbury, and see Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 333, 312, and 354. See the walls of crystal in the underground realm of *Sir Orpheo*. See the "erber of crystal walls" as of bright gold within the cumly hill in the fifteenth-century poem quoted by Wright, *St. Pat. Purg.*, p. 85. See the ice bridge in the Breton mystère of Owain, cited by Miss Hibbard, *Rom. Rev.* iv, p. 174, and the bridge of glass in the *Imram Maelduin*. For the glasberg, see *Harvard Stud. and Notes*, v, p. 159, p. 171 and note 3. See the mountains of ice in the Vision of Alberic, Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Also see Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*, ed. Scholl, ll. 12947. Crystal and glass and ice are obviously used everywhere in Otherworld descriptions. For gold in the Otherworld, see Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, pp. 133 ff. See also *Couronnement de Louis*, SATF, Langlois, 1888, ll. 1795-6, l. 1827 (the gold of Avalon).

Otherworld accounts, what in that greater channel of descriptive detail is its particular origin? Beside the field of allegory, it also turns up in the field of Arthurian romance. The Grail castle is often situated on a mountain.³¹ The *fée* in the *Lanzelet* has a castle (underwater, to be sure, but that does not affect the point) built on a splendid crystal mountain.³² Arthur's court itself sometimes seems to be situated on the top of a very lofty mountain which protects it from mortal eyes.³³ All this would suggest that perhaps the conception was originally Celtic.

Such, however, does not appear to be the case. If at any time the Celts did borrow the idea of the Otherworld scene on a mountain top, no evidence that I have discovered shows that the idea itself is natively Celtic. The distinguishing characteristic of the Otherworld according

³¹ See Munsalvaesch. See the striking instance of this in *Der Jüngere Titurel* (*Deutsche National Literatur*, Hoesfische Epik, Piper, Stuttgart, pp. 466 ff.), ll. 319 ff., the mountain all of "onichel." See the learned study *Tannhäuser and the Mountain of Venus*, Barto, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1916, which, however, fails to discriminate carefully in the matter of chronology and tradition.

³² For this I must refer to Miss Paton's *Fairy Mythology*, p. 185: the original is not accessible to me.

³³ See Gervase of Tilbury: "In Sicilia est mons Aetna . . . Hunc montem vulgares mongibel appellant. In hujus deserto narrant indignae Arturum magnum nostris temporibus apparuisse," *Ot. Imp.*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 12; Caesarius of Heisterbach: "In monte Gyber; ibi habet dominus meus Rex Arcturus. Idem mons flammam evomit sicut Vulcanus," *Dial. Mir.*, ed. Strange, Dist. XII, cap. XII. Barto, *Tannhäuser*, p. 16, says that Arthur's court was originally located within the mountain, but that later that idea seemed incomprehensible and the picture of Arthur's court on the mountain top "better fitted the usual conception of the grail-realm." This will obviously not explain the origin of the conception of other courts on top of a mountain. I have a further reference, which I have been unable to verify, to Morgain's castle on Mongibello in Italy, according to the thirteenth century *Florian et Florete*. See further, Barto, *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, xv, pp. 377 ff.

to the Celts was, as we shall see, the situation on a remote island, or—and this is its closest approach to the figure we are studying—the situation *inside of a hill*.³⁴

Let us briefly examine this latter phenomenon and its manifestations in romance. In the *Echtra Nera* the hero left his people at a feast and entered a fairy hill: there he took a wife, had a child, and at length returned to his own people, finding them still engaged in the same feast.³⁵ A similar underground scene is referred to in the *Echtra Condla*.³⁶ The underground realm is perfectly familiar in Celtic folklore,³⁷ and when it appears in romance it seems easily recognizable. In the romance of Thomas the Rhymer, the fairy queen leads Thomas "in at Eldone hill" underneath a "derne lee."³⁸ Sir Orpheo, in the romance of that name, follows the fairy throng into a hill:

In then at the roche the ladies ryde,
He went sone after, he nolde not hyde,
When he was into the roche ygo.³⁹

William of Newbury tells the familiar story of the two green children come from the underground world and found in a hollow at Suffolk.⁴⁰ One remembers also the

³⁴ There are, of course, the underwater realms, the realms cut off from the world by mist, etc. These I shall take up in more detail later. They involve no conflict here. In his study of the Celtic Otherworld Nutt observes two main types: the oversea and the hollow hill (*Voy. Bran*, I, p. 229); so too Zimmer, *ZDAItk.*, XXXIII, p. 277. MacCulloch mentions all four types (*Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, Edinburgh 1911, p. 362).

³⁵ Brown, *Yvain*, p. 59, n. 1; Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, x, pp. 214 ff.

³⁶ Brown, *Yvain*, p. 28; Windisch, *Kurzgefasste Irische Gram.*, pp. 118-120; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, pp. 144 f.; Zimmer, *ZDAItk.*, XXXIII, pp. 261 ff.

³⁷ See also the *Wooring of Etain*, Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, pp. 174 ff.

³⁸ Child, *Eng. Scot. Pop. Ballads*, I, p. 326.

³⁹ Ll. 333. See for a study of the matters in this romance the article by Professor Kittredge, *Amer. Jour. Philol.*, VII, pp. 194 ff.

⁴⁰ *Historia*, lib. I, c. 27.

legend of Herla⁴¹; the mountain of Venus in the *Tannhäuser* legend;⁴² the green mound in *Gawain and the Green Knight*.⁴³ The instances are always clearly distinguished⁴⁴ and they differ essentially from the cases where the Otherworld appears *on* and not *within* the mountain. The whole point of interest in this type of Otherworld for the audience of the story is that it is underground: not that it is vaguely associated with a hill of some kind. Such a point would be sure to survive in at least nine cases out of ten. If the Celtic folklore has made a contribution, then, it appears as if it had to do with only this sort of fairy hill. And one might cavil at this point, urging that the underground fairyland is not restricted to the Celts⁴⁵ and that it appears in the mythology of the Orient. Thus it is found in the Babylonian conception of heaven, where Gilgamesh on his journey to the far country enters the mountain Mashu which is guarded

⁴¹ Mapes, *de Nugis Cur.*, Dist. I, c. 11, Camden Soc., Wright, p. 83.

⁴² See Remy, *Jour. Eng. Ger. Philol.*, XII, pp. 53 ff.; and Barto, *Tannhäuser and the Mountain of Venus*, showing that the Grail was sometimes located inside of a mountain (p. 11); that Arthur's court sometimes was held to be within the mountain (pp. 11 ff.); and that Aetna, on which the Arthurian court was sometimes situated, was also held to be an entrance to Hell (p. 14). On this last point, see Mausser, *die Gesch. vom Höllenberg Walhalla*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 250-8.

⁴³ See Hulbert, *Mod. Philol.* XIII, pp. 73, 127; Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, Cambridge 1916, pp. 119, 142, 198.

⁴⁴ See the article already cited, *Amer. Jour. Philol.*, VII, pp. 194 ff.; Burnham, *PMLA*, XXIII, pp. 406, n. 1, and see the connection suggested between the Hørselberg and Erceldoune, pp. 390 f.; Remy, *JEGPhilol.*, XII, pp. 53 ff.; Wright, *St. Patrick's Purg.*, pp. 83 ff.—note p. 85 f. the poem describing the cumly hill. See Staerk, *Ueber den Ursprung der Grallegende*, 1903, p. 53; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, p. 187; and a later instance in Campbell, *Pop. Tales*, II, p. 74. See also *Harv. Studies and Notes*, V, p. 167.

⁴⁵ As Barto does in his study of the *Tannhäuser* legend.

by wild beasts.⁴⁶ Among the Babylonians, the country of the dead was regularly called the "Underworld."⁴⁷ But even considering Hades and other lower-world realms,⁴⁸ this view is not so extraordinarily common in Oriental eschatology that the Celtic analogues, both from quality and proximity, would not seem to be a sufficient source for the romantic material.

The fact remains, perhaps more clearly evident, that these underground realms of fairy lore do not explain the mountain foundations of Otherworld scenes. The latter seem to be the product of a different sort of fancy or vision. The norm is that of a great rock or impressive mountain which forms the base of a palace or garden, and which in no way suggests having once been inhabited by the fairy throngs. Furthermore it occurs much too often for us to be justified in feeling that it is simply the sophistication of the old figure, that people forgetting the old myth of the underground realm rationalized the story by putting the scene on the top of the mountain. Some further illustrations may serve to show the unlikelihood of this.

⁴⁶ A. Jeremias, *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell* (trans. Hutchinson), London, 1902, see the journey p. 19 and pp. 34 ff.; Mt. Mashu, p. 35. See also M. Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Tradition*, pp. 206 ff. In later times the Persians also held that the dead lived inside the mountain, see *Vendidad*, XIX, 31. Jastrow points out that the gods dwell on the mountain and the dead dwell inside (*The Relig. of Babyl. and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 558).

⁴⁷ Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴⁸ See too the mountains regarded as the abode of the dead, Toy, *Introduction to the Hist. of Relig.*, 1913, § 65; the mountain as the entrance to the underworld, Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, Leipzig 1881, p. 117, § 13, and see Aralu of the Assyrians thus conceived doubly as the foundation and as the edifice itself of the abode of the dead, p. 120. See for the Chaldaeans, Z. A. Ragozin, *The Story of Chaldaea*, N. Y., 1890, p. 276 and p. 153.

Would the underworld theme explain the use of the mountain in Dante's *Purgatory*? That example will suggest many other similar cases which have been cited in relation to that, and among them the fourteenth-century Italian legend:

"The garden of delight lieth on earth in this world in the regions of the East, upon a mountain exceeding high beyond all other mountains and above all the earthly world." The three monks who see this Paradise reach it eventually by climbing a mountain a hundred miles high.⁴⁹

Faustus, in his travels, goes to the hill Caucasus, the highest in all that tropic near the borders of Scythia, and from there he sees the earthly Paradise.⁵⁰ Baring-Gould, in his learned study of Otherworld accounts, refers to a preacher Maffreth who said that Paradise was situated in eastern Asia on the top of a lofty mountain, which was so high that it escaped the deluge.⁵¹

For such mountains as these, Celtic lore seems to afford but slight parallels.⁵² Instead of seeming like fairy hills, they have an individuality of their own, in their smooth and even slippery sides and particularly in their tremendous height, which cannot be explained by stories traceable

⁴⁹ Referred to by Grandgent, *Dante*, N. Y., 1916, p. 205. Printed by D'Ancona and Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, I, pp. 437 ff.

⁵⁰ Thoms, *Prose Romances*, III, p. 242. Referred to by Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 92.

⁵¹ *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 255.

⁵² Brendan climbs a mountain to see in the distance the land of Promise and he remains there three days, Schirmer, *Zur Brendanus-Legende*, Leipzig, 1888; Zimmer, *ZDAIth.*, XXXII, pp. 135 ff. See the mountain of stones which constitutes one island in the *English Voyage of St. Brendan*, Percy Soc., XIV, p. 2. See also the mountain on an island in the *Imran Maiduin*, *Rev. Celt.*, IX, p. 483, and the cliffs which are not dissimilar to those near the house of Fortune in the *Anticlaudianus*. See Brown, *Yvain*, p. 48.

to the Celtic nor by the descriptions of the Celtic Sidh. The proper source was suggested, I think, by Hagen and Staerk in their study of the situation in connection with the Grail.⁵³ The letters of Prester John, which offer so many parallels to details in the Grail stories, also contain much material which may explain this conception of the mountain, and they point for an origin to Oriental mythology. Also the Apochryphal Book of Enoch, filled of course with Oriental lore, has some passages interesting for us here in its description of the Otherworld:

"They carried me to a lofty spot, to a mountain, the top of which reached to heaven." There he sees the stone which supports the corners of the earth and the firmament of heaven; and the stars of heaven are visible "bound together, like great mountains" (xvii). In the west he sees a great and lofty mountain, a strong rock, and "four delightful places. Deep and capacious internally, and very smooth. Here will be collected all the souls of men until the day of judgment" (xxii). He sees a mountain of fire, flashing both by day and by night. He proceeds toward it and sees seven splendid mountains (xxiv). He sees a holy mountain and deep dry valleys. Here shall be collected all who utter unbecoming language against God. He also sees mountains of gold and silver (xxv).⁵⁴

⁵³ Paul Hagen, *Der Gral, QF*, 85, Strassburg, 1900; W. Staerk, *Ueber den Ursprung der Grallegende*, Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903, p. 47. See also Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, Baltimore, p. 196.

⁵⁴ For the text of the Book of Enoch, see selections in Becker, *Med. Vis.*, pp. 22 ff. Note the use of the mountain in Prester John, Zarneke, *Abhandl. der Phil.-hist. Classe der Königl. Sächsisch. Ges. der Wiss.*, Leipzig, 1876, viii, p. 123, § 13: "4 montes, quorum montium cacumina minime videntur. . . . et in cacuminibus montium est paradysus terrena, de qua Adam eiectus est, et non est aliquis qui habeat accessum ad montes illos propter tenebras," etc.; § 16, Thomas buried in the church on a mountain top. See also Abh., vii, p. 839, §§ 23, 28. Note the use of Prester John in Mandeville, Abh., viii, p. 135, §§ 20 ff. It is worth while to note in Prester John the many elements used in romance: the whirling castle (referred to by Hagen, *op. cit.*, p. 13) in Abh., viii, p. 166, § 33: "Et ibi est speciale palacium presbiteri Iohannis et doctorum, ubi tenentur concilia. Et illud potest volvi ad modum rotæ,

And in the *Book of Revelation*, one of the seven angels takes John "to a great and high mountain and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God" (xxi, 10). But such visions,⁵⁵ showing constant association somehow of mountains with the descriptions of the Otherworld, are not the only evidence of the Oriental use.

What is really important is, not that we find mountains occasionally in Oriental religions, but that in the Oriental description of the Otherworld the mountain is often a prime essential as it is not elsewhere. According to the early Persian religion of the Avesta, the heavenly water of life flows down on the summit of the Hara-berezaiti. On that mountain, reaching to heaven, Ahura-Mazda rears a dwelling-place for Mithra, and there too is the garden of Yima.⁵⁶ The Mohammedans put the earthly Paradise on a mountain and Adam, in falling, fell literally from

et est testudinatum ad modum coeli." For the revolving castle in the Otherworld of romance, see: Brown, *Yvain*, p. 79 (Celtic uses); the revolving fiery rampart, *Voy. Maelduin*, Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, x, p. 81; the *Mule sanz Frein* (ed. R. T. Hill, Baltimore, 1911), ll. 440; the *Perlesvaus* (the "Castle of Endeavor" in S. Evans's translation, *The High Hist. of the Holy Grail*, Everyman's Lib., pp. 206 ff.) an episode that seems somehow related to that in the *Mule*; Sypherd, *Studies in the House of Fame*, the use in Chaucer, pp. 144 ff., 173 ff.; Kittredge, *Gaw. and the Green Knight*, p. 245, n. 1.

⁵⁵ See also the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Becker, *Med. Vis.*, pp. 31 f.) where the twelve disciples go up to a mountain and have the vision of heaven. See the mt. of joy in the *Vision of Thurcoill*, § 10 (Becker, p. 98). See the striking use of the mountain figure—a cliff where men and women were hurled down, compelled to climb again, and hurled down—suggesting an Oriental source indirectly for the similar figure in the Fortune tradition—in the *Vision of Alberic*, and in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Becker, pp. 41-2).

⁵⁶ See *Vendidad*, *Fargad* xxi, 20; *Khorda-Avesta*, xxvi, 12; also the *Bundahis*, xx, 1 ff.; Spiegel, *Avesta*, III, LIV; Dillmann, *Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1897), I, p. 109; Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, pp. 112 f.

the garden at its top.⁵⁷ The Babylonians believed in the mountain Mashu which reached to Aralu (Paradise).⁵⁸ The pre-exilic Hebrew God was a God of the Mountain, and sacred mountains are extremely familiar in Hebrew tradition.⁵⁹ To the Chaldaeans, a mountain like a pillar joined heaven and earth and about that the heavenly spheres revolved.⁶⁰ And the Egyptians thought that four mountains upheld the skies.⁶¹ In all these cases the use of the figure is not merely incidental, but it is the unifying, characterizing feature of the Otherworld scene: either the garden of the blessed is situated on the mountain; or, as in the case of Olympus,⁶² the gods dwell on the top and their abode becomes identified with heaven. Here we have the emphasis on height and on the other qualities characteristic of the mountain in the mediæval Otherworld.⁶³ Although in early times such a conception was probably not limited to the Orient,⁶⁴ yet in the various Oriental

⁵⁷ MacDonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1912, p. 289.

⁵⁸ See M. Jastrow, *Relig. of Babyl. and Assy.*, p. 489; Jeremiah, *The Babl. Conc. of Heaven and Hell*, pp. 19, 34 ff. For the doctrine that the dead lived inside of these mountains, see note 46 above.

⁵⁹ Jastrow, *Heb. and Babyl. Trad.*, p. 26 and p. 170. See *Exodus*, xix; II *Esd.* viii, 52. See the Buddhistic figure, E. W. Hopkins, *Relig. of India*, pp. 359, 461, 532.

⁶⁰ See Z. A. Ragozin, *The Story of Chaldea*, N. Y., 1890, pp. 153 and 276.

⁶¹ See G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, (trans. McClure) 3d ed., N. Y. 1897, p. 199.

⁶² Olympus is clearly not to be equated with anything like the Celtic sidh. Cf. Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, pp. 282 f.

⁶³ See note 55.

⁶⁴ See the tradition among the Miztecs of Mexico that the gods once built a sumptuous palace on a mountain and that there the gods first dwelt on earth. This myth is reported (without reference to source) in Bayley's *Lost Language of Symbolism*, London, 1912, II, p. 224. See the myth in West Java of paradise on a mt., E. B. Tyler, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1871, II, p. 55.

faiths, as not in the Teutonic or Celtic, it was extremely prominent or even dominant, and, what is more, it is there clearly at home, fitting naturally into the cosmic scheme conceived in those religions, as it would not fit, apparently, among the Norse or Celts.

Further evidence on all these points will appear later in this study, but from what we have covered I think the conclusion presents itself strikingly that the figure spread from eastern mythology and lore to the west rather than that it sprang up in the west as an independent conception. Coincidences of the latter sort are far from uncommon, but it seems to me that on the face of the great bulk of evidence it is going out of one's way most unnecessarily and even arbitrarily to require them. Why should we have new mountains spring up in a night, as it were, in European literature, when Mahomet and his mountain stood perfectly ready near at hand?

II

THE GARDEN

The enchanting garden of the Otherworld is at once the most definitely marked and the vaguest of the Otherworld features. We always find the lovely meadows, the beautiful flowers with their subtly strange perfumes, the sparkling fountains and streams, and the tree of life. These definite characteristics appear, but in a multitude of varying forms, and it is by examining some of these variations that any attempt to identify the source of any particular element may prove successful.

(a) The streams:

The garden of the Otherworld is watered by a fountain, and from this the inhabitants obtain the water of life. But this feature does not show any constant traits that enable

us to identify it: sometimes there are two fountains, one sweet and one bitter⁶⁵; and sometimes the water induces sleep⁶⁶; but in general it is a universal conception.⁶⁷

* Claudian's *De Nuptiis*, Neilson, p. 15 f. See too the fountain in Apuleius, Neilson, p. 14. Such contrast in qualities, characteristic often of matters which have to do with Fortuna, is found everywhere. See the two fountains (one sweet, one bitter) from which Fionn drank, Nutt, *Leg. of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 201; two wells, one clear and one muddy, the Eng. Voy. of Brendan, Percy Soc. xiv, p. 12. Instances of other kinds may be worth recording: the island in the *Imram Maelduin* (*Rev. Celt.*, ix, pp. 480-1, § XIII) where all objects placed on one side of a brazen palisade become black, those on the other become white; cf. the Welsh *Peredur*, Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, p. 87, where the sheep on one side of the river are white, those on the other are black; and the tree in the *Peredur* half green and half in flames; the island in the *Imram curaig UaCorra*, Zimmer, *ZDAIth.* xxxiii, pp. 189 ff.: one side inhabited by dead men, the other by living men. See too the divided valley in the vision of Charles, described in William of Malmesbury, *GRAnl.*, Rolls Series, II, § 111: one fountain of boiling water, one pleasant and cool (noted by Wright, *St. Pat. Purg.*, pp. 20 ff.). See also the Fortuna-like figure of Adam in the *Vision of Thurcill*, who with one eye weeps for the damned and with the other laughs for the blessed (Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 98. Note also his vest of various colors.)

* See the fountain in the *Imr. Mail.* (§ 20), which on Friday and Wednesday gives water, on Sundays milk, and on feast days wine. See also the fountain in the *Imram curaig UaCorra* (Zimmer, *ZDAIth.*, xxxiii, pp. 189 ff.): when the travellers waken from the sleep which has been brought on, they discover that the stones which they collected are transformed.

* See the fountain of nectar in Capellanus' *De Arte Honesti Amandi*, Neilson (*Court of Love*), p. 46, where the wonderful tree has its roots—cf. the Norse Ygdrasil with its roots over the fountains of Mimir and Urd; Aen. Sylvius, "frigidi fontes," *Op. Omnia*, Basileae 1571, Pont. Ep. Lib. I, Ep. cviii; *Echtra Cormaic*, Zimmer, *ZDA*, xxxiii, pp. 264; Baring-Gould, *Our Myths*, p. 535 f. (the spirits drink and obtain life); Brown, *Yvain*, Slothful Giljé, pp. 104 ff.; the fountain in *Yvain*, *Grælent*, *Melusine*, and other stories where the fée appears; the *Mule sanz Fraïn* l. 385; the magic fountain restoring health, in the Babylonian, Jeremias, *Bab. Conc. Heaven and Hell*, pp. 34 ff.; the *Qur' An*, lv, 45; Baring-Gould, *Our Myths*, p. 251 f. and p. 255; the fountain of youth in India, E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the*

The inhabitants were also refreshed, however, by means of the streams which nearly always flow through the fair meadows. Such a stream is fairly common in Celtic lore,⁶⁸ and it is found really everywhere. According to the *Phoenix*, limpid streams water the plains of the distant and desirable land.⁶⁹ In Lucian's *True History*, there are beautiful and transparent rivers rolling down to the Otherworld sea. In the Jewish Eden, there were two hundred and forty-eight rivulets of balsam and attar.⁷⁰ The river of the water of life is described in the *Book of Revelation*.

In Alanus de Insulis' account of Fortune's abode,⁷¹ there are two rivers of contrasting quality:

One is sweet as honey and seduces those who drink of it so that they thirst for more and fall at last afflicted with the dropsy. It sports along its way, gently murmuring, and men desiring more of it actually plunge in and bathe all their limbs in its tide. The

Early Hist. of Mankind, N. Y., p. 363; the two fountains (one of milk, one of pleasure) in Lucian's *True History*; for the Norse fountains of Mimir and Urd, see Rydberg, *Teut. Myth.*, pp. 223, 225, 317, and § 72; see also the well *Hvergelmer*, Rydberg, p. 353. Mimir's fountain seems to be the source of wisdom, see *ibid.*, p. 357. For the position of Ygdrasil over the fountains, see *ibid.*, pp. 225, 285 f. See also the casks of mead in the *Serglige Conculaind* (Brown, *Yvain*, pp. 34 ff.) and in the Norse Otherworld (Rydberg, p. 223); the wells of balm and wine in the *Land of Cockayne*, Furnivall, *Early Eng. Poems and Lives of the Saints*, 156; Fortune offers great urns of good and bad fortune; see too the drink of the blessed in the East Indian heaven, H. Oldenberg, *die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 530 ff.

⁶⁸ See Zimmer's summary of the traits of the Celtic Otherworld, *ZDAIth.*, xxxiii, pp. 280 ff.

⁶⁹ The Anglo-Saxon version, Grein, *Bibl. A.-S. Poesie*, Leipzig, 1897, III², II. 62.

⁷⁰ *Midrash Kohen* (*Hebrew Encycl.*, p. 516). For other streams in the Otherworld gardens, see the river of Paradise in Raoul de Houdaing, Jubinal, *Rutebeuf*, II, 227-260 (*Vote de Paradis*), cited by Wright, *St. Pat. Purg.*, p. 109; see the fairy pavilion of Aalardin del Lac on the banks of a stream, Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, p. 168.

⁷¹ *Anticlaudianus*, referred to above.

other stream is dark and sulphurous. Its color confounds the sight, its savor the taste, its rush the ear, and its odor overcomes the nostril. The stream sweeps along a great throng of people, sucking down some and spuing others forth, burying many in its floods. At length it joins the other stream and makes that one also cloudy and bitter.

Dante also gives us the two rivers, Lethe and Eunoë, of contrasting quality, flowing in the garden of Paradise on the top of Purgatory. This tradition may possibly go back to the twin fountains, Mnemosyne and Lethe, of Greek mythology.⁷²

A constant tradition in the Otherworld is that of four rivers, and this, I think, can be more surely identified. According to the Old Testament, a river went out of Eden to water the garden and it was divided into four sources: Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and the Euphrates. In the Italian legend already mentioned the four rivers are named again: Tigris, Euphrates, Gehon, and Phison; but the similarity is close enough to recognize them.⁷³ In Prester John's letter, the fountain of Adam's Paradise divides into four rivers: Tygris, Geon, Phison, and Eufrates.⁷⁴ In the Jewish *Midrash Kohen*, the fifth chamber of the Paradise borders on the river Gihon, on whose banks are planted aromatic shrubs.⁷⁵ The Norse Eric, who must have been acquainted with Oriental lore therefore, comes to a river which he thinks is the Pison.⁷⁶ There can be little question, then, about the origin of this tradition,⁷⁷ and obviously it is widely known.

⁷² See J. E. Harrison, *Pr. to the Study of Greek Relig.*, Cambridge, 1908, 2d ed., pp. 574 ff.

⁷³ D'Ancona and Bacci, *Manuale*, I, p. 437.

⁷⁴ *Abhandlungen (Sächsische)*, VIII, p. 123, § 14; p. 168, § 40. See also VII, p. 839, § 23.

⁷⁵ *Hebrew Encyc.*, p. 516.

⁷⁶ Rydberg, *Teut. Mythol.*, pp. 208 ff.

⁷⁷ See also the rivers Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates,

Perhaps we may be justified in going even further and in identifying the four streams when they sometimes appear but are not named. The fountain in the tower of Grosse-teste's *Chateau* feeds four such rivulets. In the *Land of Cockayne* there are rivers of oil, milk, wine, and honey.⁷⁸ Maffreth, the preacher, in describing the paradise on a mountain in eastern Asia, said that the waters of the four rivers fell in a cascade down to the lake at its foot with such a roar as to deafen the inhabitants.⁷⁹ And we can now speak with a little more definiteness about the Orchard of the Emir in *Floris and Blanchefleur*, where the neighboring river is the Euphrates:

De l'autre part, cou m'est avis
Court uns flueves de paradis.⁸⁰

Although the maidenland appears here, and that is commonly considered a sure sign of the Celtic paradise, the Celts were far from having a monopoly of such a concep-

Baring-Gould, *Cur. Myths*, p. 251. Although cf. the four streams (springing, to be sure, at the four corners of the earth) in Amer. Indian tradition,—D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, Putnam, 1897, 2d series, pp. 126 f.

⁷⁸ Compare the rivers of milk, wine, honey, and balsam, in the Jewish Paradise, *Hebrew Encyc.*, p. 517.

⁷⁹ Baring-Gould, *Cur. Myths*, p. 255. See also p. 253 and p. 258, the reference to Hugo de St. Victor. The land of Parnapishtim, in Babylonian faith, was "at the confluence of the streams"; see Jastrow, *Relig. Bab. and Assyr.*, p. 489. For other examples of the four rivers, see Avitus, *Mon. Germ. Histor.*, Auct. Antiq., vi, 2, p. 208; see Honorius of Autun, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXII, col. 123; L. Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*, London, 1852, plate xvii, fig. 4, xxxvi, fig. 8; Mone, *Lat. Hymn*, i, pp. 159-160.

⁸⁰ Ed. du Ménil, Paris, 1856, ll. 1721-1844. O. M. Johnston, *Zeits. f. Roman. Philol.*, XXXII, pp. 705-10, noticed the Otherworldliness of this landscape. The romance has Oriental affinities as a whole, and I think that this part of it can be related to Oriental lore with a good deal of certainty.

tion,⁸¹ and all other indications point to an Oriental source.

(b) The trees and birds:

The tree of life must, of course, be represented in the Otherworld, but, as in the case of the fountain, it is a universal conception and there is little to mark any particular form of the tradition. Sometimes the leaves are brilliantly colored,⁸² and sometimes the fragrance is men-

⁸¹The castle has 140 maidens; see Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 709. For the Celtic maidenland, see Weston, *The Leg. of Sir Gawain*, 1897, pp. 32 ff.; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, pp. 169, 198; Zimmer, *ZDAlt*, xxxiii, pp. 280 ff.; Brown, *Yvain*, p. 29; *Imram Mailduin*, §§ 17, 28; *The story of Ciabán*, Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 96, Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 289. There is no need to pile up instances in Celtic. It is generally assumed that this feature is a sure mark of the Celtic Otherworld, although some references to the contrary are cited by MacCulloch, *Relig. Anc. Celts*, pp. 185 ff. See the theme in Oriental literature: the *Qur' An*, LV, 45, the maids of modest glances and the bright and large eyed maids, and see xxxviii, 50, and LVI, 20; note "the well-shapen, strong and tall-formed maid, with the dogs at her side," who "makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Hara-berezaiti," *Vendidad*, xix, 30. See the isle of Calypso and the description in the Tenth Pythian Ode and the isle of the Hesperides. See the twelve red-clad maidens of the Otherworld in the Norse story of Helge Thoreson, Rydberg, *Teut. Mythol.*, p. 211; Saxo, *Dan. Hist.* (trans. Elton, London, 1894), lxviii; the daughters of Gudmund in the story of Gorm, Rydberg, pp. 212-14, Saxo, pp. 344-352. It is interesting to note that the setting of the Arthurian *Castel Puellarum* is not in the west, as that of the Celtic Otherworld, but "in aquilonari parte Britannie." Again, in *Percyvelle of Gaylles*, Lufamour of Maydenland is besieged by the *Sultan* (who, to be sure, was the usual villain of the mediæval story). In *De Ortu Waluuanii* the champion against whom Gawain fights is named Gromundus (cf. the Norse). For the Arthurian material see: Lot, *Romania*, xxiv, p. 330 (Avalon), xxvii, p. 553; Bruce, *PMLA*, xiii, pp. 380 ff.; Brown, *PMLA*, xx, pp. 697. In many of these romances, the *royaume aux demoiselles* is separated from us not by the ocean, as in the Celtic, but by the river, which I shall discuss in the last section of this study.

⁸²See the *Serglige Conculaind*, Brown, *Yvain*, pp. 34 ff., the trees of purple, silver, and the three-score trees nourishing the three

tioned or the rich fruit.⁸³ The Fortune tradition introduces certain original details of its own although it appropriates some details. Thus according to Fregoso, Fortune grows a large tree on her mountain-top and gives away the apples, as prizes apparently, to those who ascend.⁸⁴ De Guileville sends his pilgrim across the sea and in mid-ocean lets him discover a tree standing there, filled with nests high and low, large and small, in which people of varying degrees are nesting, people whom the fickle goddess pulls down occasionally with a forked stick.⁸⁵

hundred men apiece. See Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, p. 187, for the tree of golden leaves. Note the branch of leaves of gold, silver, blue, and green, and wonderfully sweet fruit in the Italian story, D'Ancona and Bacci, *Manuale*, I, pp. 437 ff.

⁸³See the apple brought by the strange lady in *Connla the Fair*, Brown, *Yvain*, p. 28; the "pomeriferous and odoriferous" trees, *de Arte Honesti Amandi*, Neilson (*Court of Love*), p. 46; the interpretation of Avalon as the isle of apples, Lot, *Romania*, xxiv, p. 502. For the Celtic in general see MacCulloch, *Relig. Anc. Celts*, pp. 178 ff. See also the Tree of Life in *Revelation*, which bore twelve manner of fruits and yielded her fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. See the *Vision of Tundale*, Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 84; *Bk. of Enoch*, *ibid.*, p. 24, § xxiv; the Persian Gaokerena, which has the white Haoma (a fruit driving away sickness), Spiegel, *Avesta*, III, LIV; see the tree hung with precious stones found by Gilgamesh, Jeremias, *Bab. Conc. Heav. Hell*, pp. 34 ff.; for the Hindu, see, *Hindu Lit.* (World's Gt. Classics), Col. Press, 1900, Poems of Toru Dutt, p. 463; Bayley, *Lost Lang. of Symb.*, ch. xx, and II, p. 369, the tree in the happy isles of the Eastern Ocean, coiling its leaves 3000 miles high, with the golden cock sitting at the top; see Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, p. 249, the trees in *Barl. and Jos.*, which make music; see Staerk, *Ueber den Ursprung der Grallegende*, p. 45; see the wood where each tree is as straight as an arrow and higher than earthly man ever saw, Baring-Gould, *Cur. Myths*, p. 255; see the tree the emblem of life among the Amer. Indians, Brinton, *Religions of Prim. Peoples*, 1897, 2d series, pp. 126 f.

⁸⁴*Dial di F.*, cap. XIII.

⁸⁵*Le Rommant des Trois Pel.*, ed. 1511, *Pel. de l'Homme*, fol. lxxvj vo. Of the tree in Sir Gilbert Hay, *Buke of the Lauce of Armys*, ed. Stevenson, *STS.*, 1901, I, pp. lxxiii. In the Fortune tradition, Alanus

The Norse Ygdrasil is a unique figure in that it was of importance not because of its fruit but because it seems to have held the world together as a great central source of vitality, or rather as a kind of great cosmic pillar.⁸⁶ In this connection, I may mention that strange phenomenon in Otherworld descriptions, the column or pillar, which appears somehow in most of the accounts, sometimes of silver, sometimes jewelled, sometimes even musical.⁸⁷

Birds, of course, lived in the Otherworld trees and were famous for their singing. In the Court of Love poems, the birds sing matins and other ecclesiastical services.⁸⁸ Possibly this conception comes from some idea of the bird-paradise in the Celtic,⁸⁹ although it is not limited to the

de Insulis has of course two trees—one in full blossom, and one quite barren.

⁸⁶Cf. the mountain conceived as the sacred pillar around which the heavenly spheres revolve, Ragozin, *Story of Chaldaea*, p. 276, and p. 153.

⁸⁷It too is a universal conception. See the pillar of silver and glass, *Serg. Conc.*, Brown, *Yvain*, pp. 34 ff.; the silver column with a net hanging from its summit, *Imram Mailduin*, § 26 (*Rev. Celt.* ix, pp. 447 ff., x, pp. 50 ff.); the columns of heaven, *Bk. of Enoch* (Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 23, § xviii); three pillars, *Vis. of Thurcill*, (Becker, p. 96); the burning pillar reaching to heaven, *Vision of Tundale* (Becker, p. 84); columns of gold, Apuleius (Neilson, *Court of Love*, p. 14); pillars representing the months, Neilson, p. 42; see also *ibid.*, p. 50 and 124; *Sir Orpheo*, l. 353, the fair pillars; the column in the *Imago Mundi*, Wright, *St. Pat. Purg.*, p. 95; pillars in the Hebrew heaven, some of silver and gold, one that plays music automatically, *Hebrew Encyc.*, p. 516. Cf. also the Norse Irminsul.

⁸⁸See Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 216 ff., where the tradition is studied. See for example, the *Messe des Oisais*.

⁸⁹See the bird-songs in the island described by the lady of Mag Mell, *Voy. Bran* (Brown, *Yvain*, pp. 58; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*; Zimmer, *ZDAIth.*, xxxiii, pp. 258 ff.); note the island of birds, *Imram Mailduin* (Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 60); the birds which are really souls in the *Fis Adamnain*, Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, § 33; Schirmer, *Zur Brend. Leg.*, p. 34; (also the old man in white garb of feathers); the birds singing psalms and canticles in the *Imram Snedgusa*

Celtic so far as its use is concerned, for here again the Orient offers striking parallels.⁹⁰ The origin, it seems reasonable to suppose, may be found in the fundamental conception of human souls in the form of birds.

III

THE RIVER

The journey to the Otherworld is nearly always over an expanse of water, frequently across the sea itself. The Celts conceived the Otherworld as separated from us by a mist,⁹¹ as hidden beneath the waves,⁹² or as a remote

(Zimmer, *ZDAlt.*, xxxiii, p. 212; see Boswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 163); the bird matins in the *Eng. Voy. of St. Brendan*, Percy Soc. xiv, p. 10; birds in the *Imram ouraig UaCorra*, Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 189 (the birds are souls which come forth from Hell on Sunday, the three streams of them differentiated by markings); also note the purple-headed birds; the feathered roof in the *Echtra Cormaic*, Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 264. See Zimmer's summary of the Otherworld qualities, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 ff., and Brown, *Yvain*, p. 85. Note also the swan maidens in the Norse and in Celtic, Cross, *Mod. Philol.*, xii, p. 620; the geese in *Cockayne* (Furnivall, *Early Eng. Poems*, 156); the land of the Phoenix.

⁹⁰ For the Oriental, Boswell has noted the sacred birds on the tree in the Persian garden (*Ir. Prec. of Dante*, p. 85; see also p. 174, n. 1, and p. 189); see also Spiegel, *Avesta*, iii, liv; and Bayley, *Lost Lang. of Symb.*, ii, pp. 241 and 301.

⁹¹ See the *Echtra Cormaic*, Zimmer, *ZDAlt.*, xxxiii, pp. 264 ff.; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, i, pp. 187, 190; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 ff.; see the Arthurian *Val sans Retor*, Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, p. 82, p. 84, n. 3; see the Welsh *Geraint*, Loth, *Les Mab.*, p. 170. We must note, however, that the mist also appears in the Norse, see Rydberg, *Teut. Mythol.*, pp. 220 ff., and in the stories in Saxo (Elton's Trans.), pp. 37, 84—the latter noted by Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁹² See *Imram Bran*, Brown, *Yvain*, p. 59; *Gillie of the Ferule*, *ibid.*, p. 101, and Hyde, Irish Texts Soc., London, 1899; *the Slothful Gillie*, Brown, pp. 104 ff.; Baring-Gould, *Our Myths*, p. 540; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, i, pp. 195, 202-3; Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, pp. 168-9, 169, n. 3, p. 185 (*Lanzelet*); Gervase of Tilbury, *Ot. Imper.*, ed. Liebrecht,

island. All these facts are very well known, and it is also recognized that the conception of the island is by far the most common of the three, that in fact one might consider it the typically Celtic idea of the Otherworld. I do not mean to imply that the Celts alone had such a belief,⁹³ but that, so far as the Celts are concerned it is the most characteristic view, among them. And from the very fact of this island myth, it is certainly safe to say that the prevalent account among the Celts of the journey

I, c. 13, p. 2 (cited by Wright, *St. Pat. Purg.*, pp. 27-8); compare the idea that Paradise is situated between heaven and earth, Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 255; Cross, *Mod. Philol.*, XIII, pp. 731 ff.; Hibbard, *Romanic Review*, IV, p. 167, and see note 1, *ibid.*, for a list of Celtic instances; Brown, *Celtic Caldrons of Plenty*, *Kitt. Ann. Vol.*, p. 377; and see the realm of the Fata Morgana in Bojardo's *Orl. Innam.* II, VII, 42.

⁹³See Horace's 16th Epode, Lucian's *True History*, the Greek Hesperides, Elysium, Ogygia, the isle of Calypso, and Atlantis; the Egyptian voyage with the sun-god, Maspero, *Dawn*, p. 197; Jastrow, *Relig. of Bab. and Assyr.*, p. 489 f.; Cockayne is across the sea; the Fortunate isles (mentioned by Pindar; Plutarch's *Lives*, ed. Langhorne, IV, p. 11; Dietrich's *Nekya*, 32; Dante, *de Monarchia*, II, 387 ff.; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. I, c. LXXIX; Aen. Sylv., *Op. Omnia*, p. 355, *Hist. de Asia Min.* LXXVIII); Baring-Gould, *Cur. Myths*, pp. 253, 257, 258, 543; the Phoenix; Bayley, *Lost Lang. Symb.*, II, pp. 225 ff. and 307 f.; the island of Fortune in the *Anticlaudianus*.

Among the Celts, the island theme is found: in the journey to Mag Mell, *Connla the Fair*, *Serglige Conculaind*; see *Ciabán* (Brown, *Yvain*, p. 96); in the *Imram of Bran*, of *Mailduin*, etc.; in the *Voyage of Brendan*. See Zimmer, *ZDAth.*, XXXIII, pp. 280 ff.; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, p. 229; Boswell, *Ir. Prec. of Dante*, p. 136; MacCulloch, *Relig. of the Anc. Celts*, pp. 262 ff. There is no need to add further illustrations of this theme, but see the similar theme of the lake bordering on the Otherworld: Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 255; Curol's home in the *Fled Briorend*, Brown, *Yvain*, p. 51; cf. *Serglige Conco.*, Labraid lives beyond a "pure lake," Brown, pp. 34 ff.; Peredur finds the Grail castle near a lake, Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, p. 56; cf. the sea Pùitika in the Persian, Spiegel, *Avesta*, III, LIV; cf. the realm of the shape-shifter Proteus, *Odyssey*, IV, ll. 414.

to the Otherworld, if it took into account any passage over water at all, required a long voyage.⁹⁴ That is the final impression one would certainly get from the great Imram of the ancient Celtic hero as well as from many other stories dealing with the subject.

Reflections, almost undoubtedly of this Celtic view, turn up in Arthurian romance and have long been clearly identified. Thus there is only a little doubt⁹⁵ that Avalon is an example of the type of remote island accessible only to the voyage we are discussing; so too is the Isle de Voire.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle Mythologique Irlandais*, Paris, p. 351, says that death is always conceived among the Irish as a voyage. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 358, notes the prevalence of the island theme; see pp. 348 ff. for various islands.

⁹⁵ Miss Paton does draw attention to the fact that William of Malmesbury's *insula Pomorum* and that in the *Vita Merlini* are "surprisingly barren of many features characteristic of the Celtic Otherworld," but that they resemble rather the Fortunate Isles (*Fairy Mythol.*, p. 39 f.). I imagine that much more evidence of this kind might be brought forward with little trouble. She notes (pp. 45-6) the possible influence of the *Phoenix* or of other Latin models on such descriptions as are found in Geoffrey's *GRB*. Probably Avalon, originally Celtic, borrowed many traits at a later time from other types of Otherworlds, as I am attempting to show that the Arthurian Otherworld did in general. For evidence that Arthur's pilot Barintus is St. Barri of the Brendan legend and originally a prince of the Otherworld, see Brown, *Rev. Celt.*, xxii, pp. 339 ff.

⁹⁶ For Avalon and the Isle de Voire, see Paris, *Romania*, xii, pp. 510 ff.; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, i, p. 237, and the *Leg. Holy Grail*; Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, pp. 74 ff.; Lot, *Romania*, xxiv, p. 502; xxvii, p. 529; a correction of Lot, *MLN*, xiv, pp. 93-5. For the Isle de Voire and the scene of the Joie de la Cour, see Philipot, *Romania*, xxv, pp. 258 ff. The upshot of the discussion concerning Avalon and Glastonbury seems to be that the former is the earlier, and the latter came to be identified with it in the twelfth century. How Glastonbury achieved such a reputation (except because of its name, Glas-ton) is not entirely explained. (Avalon was originally the realm of the Welsh Evalach, see Rhys, *Arthur. Leg.*, p. 337, and Kempe, *EETS, ES.*, xcv, pp. xi ff. Note also in this connection the Celtic Dun-an-Oir, Paton, pp. 133-5; and the realm in *Huon de Bordeaux*, *ibid.*, p. 131. On the

The Celts, then, laid great emphasis on the long voyage, and the scene of their Otherworld was on an island; but this idea would explain only a small part of the Otherworld descriptions in mediæval literature. Quite frequently the Otherworld is separated from us, not by the ocean but merely by a river.⁹⁷ This point has been noticed but rarely, and even then, it seems to me, without anything like the proper appreciation of its significance. Thus one critic, who shows acute powers of analysis in studying versions of the Otherworld accounts, passes lightly over this situation. Of Otherworld realms his statement is as follows:

C'étaient primitivement des îles lointaines, accessibles aux seuls navigateurs; puis elles se sont rapprochées peu à peu de la terre; elles n'ont plus été séparées de la côte que par un bras de mer; ce bras de mer n'est même le plus souvent qu'une simple rivière, presque un fossé, que l'on traverse sur un pont.⁹⁸

Such a theory of evaporation, while it may seem justified by the shrinking of the ocean to an estuary and while it

realm in the isle of Malta, see Paris, *Romania*, xx, p. 149, and xxxix, pp. 83-86. See the "water wan" in the ballad of Thomas Rymer (*Eng. and Scot. Ballads*, no. 37). See the isle and the bridge, *Hutà Merlin*, SATF, ed. Paris and Ulrich, Paris, 1886, II, p. 59.

"Dante combines ocean and river in the *Purgatorio* and thus uses both the mountain and island themes as well as the river. The river separates him from the garden just before his vision of Beatrice. See the *De Phyllide et Flora* (Neilson, *Court of Love*, p. 34) —at the entrance of the Paradise of Love murmurs a river; see the home of Fortune, "rivo cinctus et muro, duae illic portae et altra cornea, altera candenti nitens elephante," in Aenius Sylvius, *Op. Omnia*, Pont. Ep., lib. I, Ep. oviii (the description shows Virgilian influence obviously enough); the realm of the Fata Morgana (which is underwater, but that does not affect the point) in Bojardo, *Orl. Innam.*, II, VII, 42 ff.; one might add the moat surrounding the Celestial City in *Pilgrim's Progress*, to take a familiar example from a later time. Other examples in the period will be cited in the course of the discussion.

⁹⁸ Philipot, *Romania*, xxv, p. 267.

seems to be the one generally accepted, in no way really accounts for the discarding of the long voyage which, as we have seen, was practically the *sine qua non* of the Celtic Otherworld. The change is not to be explained by the fact that the Otherworld scene in mediæval times was frequently laid in a castle and castles usually were not cut off from the surrounding country by an ocean but rather by a moat. What made the story-tellers allow the important voyage to be lost sight of and the waters, which are very essential to the Celtic version, to dwindle away in this remarkable manner?

It is to be noticed that the rivers, which survive the process, have marked traits of their own. Although they in no way suggest the Celtic oceans, nor does the crossing of them recall the voyages, yet they are clearly not ordinary rivers and they have still the power of telling that they too have been in some Arcady of their own. For instance, the stronghold of the Joie de la Cour in the *Erec* was surrounded by a very deep stream: "Lee et bruians come tanpête."⁹⁹ In the *Chevalier du Papegau*, the river surrounding the country and the Chasteaux Perilleux "ne sembloit autre chose fors que ung enfer."¹⁰⁰ Graellent's lady warns him that the river they are going to cross is very swift and deep and it is death for him to follow her over it.¹⁰¹ Lanval's horse trembles before the fateful

⁹⁹ *Erec*, ll. 5374; see the drawbridge, ll. 5493. Cf. the *Geraint*, Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, p. 156: "Une grande rivière, un pont sur la rivière"—here Chrétien seems to have the earlier version. Note, however, the Celtic mist in the Welsh, p. 170.

¹⁰⁰ Brown, *PMLA*, xx, pp. 697 ff. The original is not accessible to me.

¹⁰¹ Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabl. ou Contes*, I, Choix et Extraits, p. 22, second column, ll. 40:

Parmi le bos lor voie tinrent
De si qu'à la rivière vinrent,

river which he attempts to cross.¹⁰² In the *Mule sanz Frain* flows an ugly stream:

. . . il vint a l'ève noire
 Qui estoit plus bruianz que Loire;
 De li tant voil dire sanz plus,
 C'onques si laide ne vit nus,
 Si orrible ne si cruel.¹⁰³

A similar stream appears in the *Chevalier de la Charrette*, and its effect on Lancelot is indeed strange:

Quant cil sant l'ève, si tressaut,
 Toz estordiz an estant saut,
 Aussi come cil qui s'esvoille,
 S'ot et si voit et se mervoille.¹⁰⁴

Further in the same poem we read concerning this remarkable river:

Et voient l'ève selenesse,
 Roide et bruiant, noire et espesse,
 Si leide et si espoantable
 Con se fust li fluns au deable,
 Et tant perilleuse et parfonde
 Qu'il n'est riens nule an tot le monde
 S'ele i cheoit, ne fust alee
 Aussi com an la mer salee.¹⁰⁵

Ki en une lande sortoit
 Et parmi le foreste couroit.

See also p. 23, l. 1. Graelent nearly drowns.

¹⁰² *Lanval*, ll. 54. The island appears here too, ll. 539, and in *Sir Launfal* (Ritson and Goldsmid, II, 1 ff.); *Landvall* (*Am. J. Philol.*, x, pp. 22, 32); *Sir Lambewell*, *PFMS*, I, p. 164; *Lamwell*, *PFMS*, I, p. 524—note:

The kynges doughter of Mylyon
 That is an yle in fayry
 In oxyan full nere therby.

¹⁰³ Ll. 391 (ed. Hill). See the bridge, ll. 403 ff. Professor Kittredge draws attention to the description of the river (*Gaw. Green Knight*, p. 243).

¹⁰⁴ Ll. 777. See the bridge, ll. 660. Once during the fight Lancelot's shield and lance begin floating away, ll. 846-7.

¹⁰⁵ Ll. 3023. See the sword bridge, ll. 677.

Gawain in the *Perceval* stories finds such a river about the castle of ladies,¹⁰⁶ and Perceval himself must cross such a stream before arriving at the Grail castle.¹⁰⁷

There are many rivers of this kind,¹⁰⁸ and while they might be explained by the ocean myth so far as their depth or even breadth is concerned—the quotation from the

¹⁰⁶ Chrétien, *Contes del Graal* (ms. Paris fr. 794), ll. 7191:

Sor une riviere parfonde
E fu lee que nule fonde
De mangonel ne de perriere
Ne gitast oltre la riviere
Ne arbaleste n'i tressist.

Cf. Wolfram (ed. Bartsch, 1875), x, ll. 962:

ein wazzer daz dâ flöz
schifræhe, snel, unde breit,
da engein er unt diu frouwe reit.

¹⁰⁷ Chrétien, *CG*, ll. 2950:

L'eve roide et parfonde esgarde
Et ne s'ose metre dedanz
Et dist: ha sire dez puissanz
Qui ceste eve passee avroit
Dela ma mere troveroit.

Cf. Wolfram, v, 1173 ff. See also the river near Pelrepär in Wolfram, iv, ll. 47 ff., and Chrétien, ll. 1685. In the Old French *Perlesvaus*, the Grail castle is on a high rock above the sea (branch xi, title 1). In the *Peredur*, the castle is not far from a lake, see Loth, *Les Mab.*, II, p. 56. See Nitze, *PMLA*, xxiv, p. 375.

¹⁰⁸ See for the river, Sommer, *Vulgate Vers. of the Arthur Romances*, VII, Livre d'Artus, p. 144, "la riviere estoit lee et noire et parfonde et plaine de fanc car li pais estoit molt en bas leu et est encores"; see vol. iv, p. ii (Livre de Lancelot), p. 118, also p. 193, p. 200 "roide et noire." Also P. Paris, *RT Ronde*, Paris, 1877, 5, p. 53; *Le Vallon des Faux Amants*, Le Grand D'Aussy, *Fabl. ou Contes*, p. 156; see also the wild mountain torrent in the German *Minneburg*, Neilson, *Court of Love*, p. 124; see the boiling torrent, Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, p. 82; see the river in the Netherlandish poem, clean and fresh and burning like fire, cited by Paris, *Romania*, XII, p. 508 f.; see the *Huth Merlin*, II, 96; see Weston, *Leg. of Sir Gaw.*, p. 230.

Charrette might lend some evidence for that point ¹⁰⁹—yet that certainly would not account for their hideous and fearful quality. Even if we should grant that in an isolated case or two ¹¹⁰ the ocean did become strangely reduced, we surely could not believe the operation to have been almost universal, and even then the nature of the river would remain unexplained. Nothing in Celtic lore, ¹¹¹ be it remembered, seems to account for this peculiar nature, for the quality of connotation which is attached to the river, for the kind of obstacle which it affords or for its strange personality, so to speak. The roaring, ugly river, over which a knight attempts to cross on horseback—by means of a bridge usually—on his way to the Otherworld, cannot in any way be deduced from the Celtic journeys to under-the-wave-land, or to the land beyond the mist, or certainly to the blessed isles.

If we grant this point, it seems to me the rest follows, that the safest conjecture in determining the source of the

¹⁰⁹ See *Chev. Char.*, ll. 3029-30; *Contes del Graal*, ll. 7194-5.

¹¹⁰ If Glastonbury replaced Avalon, its description would in a measure account for the not-very-distant island or the Otherworld surrounded by a river. It was on a piece of land encircled by marshy country. See Rhys, *Arthur. Leg.*, p. 330. Note also Rhys, p. 240, for Rheged on an island connected with the mainland by a bridge. Cf. the peninsular realm of King Beauvoisin in the *Chev. du Papegau*, Brown, *PMLA*, xx, pp. 697. Nitze (*Mod. Philol.*, i, 247 ff.) attempts to show that the *Perlesvaus* description of Avalon was founded on Glastonbury. Perhaps he is right; but the argument for very general influence of this sort depends on the measure of probability in the idea that one locality with its details of local color was universally borrowed by continental as well as by insular poets for their accounts of the Otherworld, not merely in Arthurian accounts but elsewhere. See note 97 above. Also such a theory fails to account for the quality of the river.

¹¹¹ Evidence is slight on the side of Welsh mythology. There is a possibility, of course, that the answer to everything may be found there.

river barrier to the Otherworld is in relating it to non-Celtic material. I should say this even in the case of those rivers where the stormy or turbid element is absent.¹¹² They too are so numerous and are such an easy development from the turbulent rivers (where the reason for the turbulence was forgotten and the main point, that of being a barrier, had to be retained) that they do not seem weak representatives of the old Celtic ocean.

Some evidence supporting my view indirectly has been afforded by scholars in relation to the bridge. Much has been written on this topic, and although it is bold to say so in the face of some excellent scholarship, it seems to me that much of the recent work on the subject has been going astray rather from prejudice than from the nature of the evidence. Nearly everybody seems to grant that the so-called "soul-bridge" is not a Celtic conception but that it comes from the Orient.¹¹³ A turn to this theory was given, however, when Gaston Paris attempted to show concerning the bridge in general that "*Cette croyance était également répandue chez les Celtes.*"¹¹⁴ But his

¹¹² Cf. *Eger and Grime*, *PFMS*, I, p. 360, ll. 187, the "running strand"; *Lancelot of the Laik*, *BETS*, ed. Skeat, London, 1865, p. 21, l. 683, the river near the land of the Lady of Melyhalt; the moat in the *Perlesvaus* (*High Hist. of the Holy Grail*, Evans, Everyman ed., p. 206); the "fair river hight Severn," Malory *xiii*, ch. *xv*; the Anglo-Saxon *Elene*, ll. 136-7; Watriquet de Couvin (ed. Scheler, p. 246), *Tourn. des Dames*, ll. 472; the *Pearl*, ll. 107 ff.; and the rivers mentioned in note 97 above. Good evidence is found in the cases where the river surely cannot represent the Celtic ocean, as surrounding the garden of Dante's *Purgatory*.

+ ¹¹³ See Hibbard, *Romanic Rev.*, iv, p. 175; Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 17; Tylor, *Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind*, p. 359; Kittredge, *Gaw. Gr. Knight*, p. 244, n. 1; Ward, *Cat. Romances*, London, 1893, II, 399; Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 1902, III, p. 168 (for some interesting references).

¹¹⁴ *Romania*, XII, p. 508 f. See also Baring-Gould, *Cur. Myths*, p.

evidence was drawn either from the field of romance, and that begs the question, or it was drawn from mediæval visions which are clearly related to Oriental sources.¹¹⁵

Miss Hibbard's recent study tracing the sword-bridge back to Celtic folk-games and thus removing that form from mythology,¹¹⁶ follows Paris by inclining to hold that the bridge has a natural place in Celtic folklore and religion. Of the six cases of Celtic bridges which she cites as examples of those which are not related to the soul-bridge,¹¹⁷ four can manifestly be thus derived from originally Oriental material¹¹⁸; for they offer the same type of obstacle and the same sort of test as that of the Oriental bridge, although sometimes their methods differ. And any of the Celtic bridges—apparently they are not so very numerous¹¹⁹—may be derived from a Norse con-

248. And see Baist, *Zs. f. rom. Philol.*, xiv, p. 159; Brown, *Yvain*, p. 124.

¹¹⁵ The *Purgatory of St. Patrick* and the *Vision of Tundale*. See Becker, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁶ *Romanic Rev.*, iv, pp. 166 ff. See also for material on the bridge, Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, p. 84, n. 3.

¹¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹¹⁸ The bridge of glass (*Mailduin*, ix)—when anyone stepped on it he fell backwards; the rope bridge, *Tochmarc Emere*, which resembles the rope bridge in Wolfram, iv, ll. 41 ff., which in turn is like the Oriental bridge famous for its thinness; the bridge of the *Echtra Airt*, crossing the icy river; and the bridge (Hibbard, *Romanic Rev.*, iv, p. 180, n. 25) in the Tannhäuser legend which crosses a torrent. With the glass bridge cf. that in *Harv. Studies and Notes*, v, p. 167. The obstacle bridge lends itself easily to variations which the Celtic fancy might contribute.

¹¹⁹ See the previous note. See the water arch in *Imr. Mailduin* (*Rev. Celt.*, x, p. 59); the active bridge of the cliff in the *Wooing of Emer*, Brown, *PMLA*, xx, pp. 688 ff. (*Arch. Rev.*, i, pp. 234-5, 298-306); the bridge spanning the glen in the *Fís Adamnain*, Boswell, *An Irish Precursor*, the nethermost hell; the bridge of fairies in later Irish folklore, Campbell, *Pop. Tales*, ix, p. 74; i, p. 261. Of these it is well to note that the *Fís Adamnain* shows a good deal of

tribution or from the Orient,¹²⁰ if we only conceive that the Celts had a little opportunity to work on them with that peculiar property—the Celtic imagination.¹²¹ But it is obvious that there is no real place for them in the Celtic scheme of the Otherworld.

Our material concerning the river and our argument derived from the bridge mutually support each other. If the bridge¹²² *could* be derived from the Celtic, nothing

non-Celtic material, see Boswell, p. 184-5; p. 197: "The guise in which it [the bridge] appears in the present place, leads us to suppose that the author's immediate source of inspiration was one of the ecclesiastical legends, though we find the usual difficulty of assigning any given item to some one specific source." Also note that the bridge is probably an interpolation; note also the four rivers, p. 204. Cf. p. 112: the "connecting link, passing on to the Irish school the bridge incident, belonging to Oriental myth." Furthermore, the active bridge in the *Wooring of Emer* appears only in a late MS. (dated 1300, although from the evidence of the rest of the story in the *Book of the Dun Cow* it does seem as if the incident had once been there too) and that occurs in a version of the post-Norse type—see Meyer, *Rev. Celt.*, XI, p. 438.

¹²⁰ Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, p. 304, says: "I am by no means certain that the Norse Journey to the Otherworld . . . has not sporadically influenced Irish romance," but he does not make much of the point. Miss Hull (*Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 56 ff.) holds that the bridge in the *Wooring of Emer* came from the Norse. See Boswell, *Ir. Prec. of Dante*, p. 13. For opportunities for Oriental influence on the early Irish, see Boswell, pp. 114 ff.; Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, London, 1900, pp. 169 ff. See the Celtic appropriation of Ygdrasil, Maclagen, *Scot. Myths*, p. 73, and see Nutt's account of the Viking influence in Ireland, *op. cit.*, p. 184 and pp. 177 ff. See Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, p. 193. Of course, the bridge was not the property solely of the Norse or of the Moslems. See Boswell, p. 231 (the Inuits of Aleutia); Tylor, *Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind*, pp. 358 ff.; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, II, pp. 50, 84.

¹²¹ Cf. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884, pp. 21 ff.; and Schiavo, *Zeits. f. rom. Philol.*, XVII, p. 74; Foerster, *Karrewitter*, IV, LXXI. Paris, *Romania*, XII, p. 509, gives evidence to show that mediæval writers considered the bridge of romance and the soul-bridge identical.

¹²² See for bridges outside of mediæval romance: "Nulli accessus

in that field sufficiently explains the brawling torrent.¹²³ If, on the other hand, the bridge comes from the Oriental or the Norse mythology, the river might naturally accompany it. And what is more important, both river and bridge have a fixed and necessary place in the religion of the Norse and the Orient, as they have not among the Celts.

In the Orchard of the Emir in *Floris and Blanchefleur*, already considered, the wife and maidens of the castle had to pass over the *ruissel de la fontanele* once each year; and when the wife of the preceding year had crossed, the waters of the river became muddy and the wife was immediately cast into the fire. Here is a remnant of the Oriental myth of the river, the "swyþe gret watur" that separated heaven from hell in *St. Patrick's Purgatory*,¹²⁴ the black and gloomy river of fetid water that rushes through so many mediæval visions,¹²⁵ corresponding to the river of fire in the *Book*

ad portas nisi per pontes, qui tamen catenis elevati paucis advenientibus dimittebantur," Aen. Sylv., *Op. Omnia*, Pont. Ep., lib. I, ep. CVIII; the bridge with the two armed figures in the Fata's realm in Bojardo, *Orl. Innam.*, II, VII, 42 ff.; see the rood-tree used as a bridge, Forster, *Northern Passion*, I, p. 166.

¹²³ See, however, the river of fire, *Voy. Malduin*, *Rev. Celt.*, IX, p. 483; the fiery river in the fifth heaven, *Fle Adamnain*, § 18, Boswell, *Ir. Prec. of Dante*.

¹²⁴ *EETS*, 87, ll. 405. See the bridge: "smallere ne mizte non beo."

¹²⁵ See Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 219, who has traced this whole matter. He compares the Acheron and the Styx. See also the bridge in Buddhistic lore, *Rig-Veda*, x, 63, 10, and ix, 41, 2; see Hopkins, *Relig. of India*, p. 145, and A. Kaegi, *The Rig-Veda*, trans. Arrow-smith, Boston, 1898, p. 159, n. 273. See for the river of death among the Hindus, Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, I, p. 427. See the bridge in Japanese literature, *World's Gt. Classics*, p. 254, "The Bridge of Heaven." See the river of precious ointment around the city in Lucian's *True History*, Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, p. 279.

of *Enoch*,¹²⁶ and the burning river of the *Vision of Alberic*.¹²⁷ It is quite fitting for these rivers to be filthy, turbid, boiling, or burning, because they are the boundary rivers of hell itself, the barriers between earth and paradise, into which man must fall if his virtues cannot carry him across. The same point is true of the rivers in Old Norse mythology. Eric,¹²⁸ seeking Odainsakr, came to a river which he crossed by means of the dragon-guarded¹²⁹ bridge. King Gorm, after an ocean voyage, finds the realm of King Geirrod and Gudmund cut off from him by a river.¹³⁰ Hadding, on seeking the lower world, pierced a misty cloud and "came on a swift and tumbling river of leaden waters, whirling down on its rapid current diverse sorts of missiles, and likewise made passable by a bridge."¹³¹ As the ocean-voyage is an essential in the Celtic journey to the Otherworld, so crossing the river and the bridge is in the Norse. Whatever the incidental details (for the Norse too sometimes have the long voyage) Norse stories agree concerning the river and the bridge.¹³² Around Asgard, for example, flows a rapid

¹²⁶ § XVII, Becker, *Med. Vis.*, p. 23.

¹²⁷ Becker, p. 44.

¹²⁸ Rydberg, *Teut. Mythol.*, pp. 208 ff.; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, pp. 297 ff.

¹²⁹ Note in Arthurian romance the animals usually guarding the bridge: the lions in the *Perlesvaus* (*High Hist.*, Dent ed., pp. 206); in the *Charrette* Lancelot *thinks* two lions or leopards are at the other end of the bridge. See the two lions, Sommer, *Livre d'artus*, p. 144. Note the two dragons in the *Val sans Retor*, Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, pp. 81 ff.

¹³⁰ Crossed by the golden bridge. See Rydberg, *Teut. Mythol.*, pp. 212 ff.; Nutt, *Voy. Bran*, I, pp. 299; Saxo, pp. 344-352.

¹³¹ Saxo, p. 38, and intro., p. lxviii; Rydberg, pp. 215-16.

¹³² Note the Hadding story, the story of Helge (Rydberg, pp. 211 ff.), the ride of Hermódr, *Gylfaginning*, xlix (trans. Brodeur, *Scand. Classics*, v, p. 72 f.), where the ocean voyage does not appear. See Rydberg, p. 222, on the river.

stream constituting the moat of the citadel and over its eddies floated a dark, shining, ignitable mist.¹⁸³

From the foregoing, it is clear, I think, that both in the vision literature from the Orient and in the Norse mythology, the bridge and the river have a definite and natural place as they have not in the Celtic lore. The river particularly is distinguished by its forbidding qualities, which are easily explained by its function in the Oriental and Norse setting, but which is inexplicable by any appearance in the Celtic. It would take a long bridge indeed to reach to the Celtic isles of the blessed,¹⁸⁴ and the ocean would have to shrink in a manner more magical than even Arthurian romance allows for it to be transformed into the river. So again, in the river we seem to have a borrowing from the Norse Otherworld or from the Oriental or—quite possibly—from both.

IV

CONCLUSION

The points I have tried to make are as follows: The mountain, the four streams, and the river are borrowed from Oriental (and, perhaps in the case of the last, Norse) mythology. There is, of course, nothing new about tracing mediæval material of the Otherworld to the Orient¹⁸⁵:

¹⁸³ Rydberg, p. 162 f. See for the river Gjöll and the Gjallar bridge, Rydberg, p. 222. See for the bridge Bifröst also the *Prose Edda*, *Gylfaginning*, XIII (trans. Brodeur, p. 24), xv (p. 28). The bridge connects Asgard and the lower world.

¹⁸⁴ In the *Wooing of Emer* (*Arch. Rev.*, I, pp. 234-5, 298-306) the island is not far separated from the mainland, but this is not a typical case among Celtic stories. And even here Cuchullin has to cross the ocean to get home, see I, pp. 302-3. In many of the Celtic instances which I have cited (notes 118, 119) the bridge will appear inconceivably out of place in their landscape setting.

¹⁸⁵ See the influence of Greek on Celtic, Paton, *Fairy Mythol.*, p.

the bridge has been traced to Moslem sources (and also to the Norse), and I have attempted to give that theory much greater force. The mountain, the streams, and the river seemed to be essentials in the Oriental mythology as they were not in the Celtic. On the other hand, as has long been demonstrated, the fairy hill came from the Celtic; to this influence I have been inclined to attribute also the religious services of the birds, as due to the development of the bird-paradise. In this review of material it has also become more evident that certain conceptions, such as the island, the tree of life, and the fountain, and perhaps even the maiden-land, are so universally known that they may not be used to identify the source of any particular scene. As peculiarly characteristic of Otherworld scenes, I have mentioned the curious delight in crystal and glass, and the use of the pillar, in the descriptions.

Concerning particular fields, it seems to me it is now obvious that the descriptions in the Court of Love and in the Fortune traditions are often greatly indebted to or based on accounts of the Otherworld. The descriptions of Fortune are marked by their strange use of contrasts; if anything distinguishes the Court of Love scenes, I may here remark that it seems to be the paintings or carvings of love-scenes or the like upon the walls or the interiors.

235. See the studies tracing Oriental material in the Grail, by Hagen and Staerk already mentioned; also by Wesselosky, *Arch. Slav. Phil.*, xxiii, pp. 32 ff.; Iselin, *Der Morganländische Ursprung der Grallegende*, Halle, 1909, see pp. 506 ff.; Peebles, *Leg. Longinus*, p. 196. Also see *A Byzantine Source for G. de Lorrain's Rdle*, *PMLA*, xxxi, n. s. xxiv; and F. Settegast, *Byzantinisch-Geschichtliches in Oliges und Yvain*, *Zeits. f. rom. Phil.*, xxxii, pp. 400 ff. See Hodges in *MLN*, 1917, for a partial rejection of such views in the field of romance; it will be seen that Mr. Hodges' argument holds merely for the ultimate source of the stories and does not affect the view here proposed of later accretions to the romantic scenes.

Much of the Otherworld detail in Arthurian romance, it appears, is non-Celtic. That, of course, does not in the least bear on the question of Celtic origins; for: (1) the Arthurian stories may have been Celtic and have taken on later accretions from other fields; (2) the Oriental material may have passed into Celtic lore, and although not indigenous there, have received the cast of the Celtic fancy. As evidence of the second of these possibilities, the bridge is a good example: it shows all the earmarks of Celtic development, and yet has no place in Celtic lore originally. Of the first possibility, the river is good evidence, since it appears so rarely in unadulterated Celtic narrative.

An apparent weakness in the form of the argument must be noted. The argument holds better for the general course of the material than for the individual cases. But the answer to that point is that it is from the evidence of a number of fairly sure cases that the argument proceeds; moreover, I have not been able to go into detail about all the instances because even the longest paper must have limits, but I have tried to indicate the points concerned in the study of the individual problems. As I have already said, this investigation can be only preliminary and it must be followed by a closer scrutiny of the details. Perhaps I have been too eager to shout "influence" on some occasions; but the strange coincidences, if we must call them that, in the Otherworld are striking, to say the least, and so is the constant employment of certain distinct elements in so wide a field.¹³⁶ There seems to be no

¹³⁶ The idea may have suggested itself that perhaps the appearance of certain Oriental phenomena in the west is due neither to coincidence nor influence, but that it is a case of Indo-European survival. But it is strange that the survivals are so irregular; so much so that there is no place at all for some of the elements in certain religions while they are clearly essentials in others.

particular reason to attribute everything to coincidence of human psychology or to overwork the long arm of chance, if we can explain the phenomena reasonably in some other way.

HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH. .

XXII.—FRISIAN PLACE-NAMES IN ENGLAND

Mr. H. M. Chadwick¹ departs from current views about the early settlers of Great Britain and challenges Bede's long-accepted classification of them as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. He believes them to have been a homogeneous people, their dialectic differences having come about after the immigration and through political and geographical influences. He opposes the prevailing notion that the Anglo-Saxon organization at the time of the migration was "tribal," and thinks that the invasion was accomplished by large organized bands, not by small groups of adventurers acting independently. The migration of the Angli Mr. Chadwick regards as exceptional. Although there was no external pressure, it was on a large scale and extended over a considerable space of time. And, he says, according to the constitution of military forces of the time, the warriors required to make up the forces of invasion were not all drawn from within the territories of the Angli, but came, many of them, from the surrounding regions.²

I believe that the following presentation of Frisian place-names in England will strongly support Mr. Chadwick's theory of the invasion and settlement of Great Britain, as well as give some credibility to the statement of the old Latin writer Procopius,³ who named the Frisians among the three nations, Angiloi, Phrissones, and Britones, that inhabited Britain in his time (the sixth

¹ *Origin of the English Nation*, 1907, ch. 4, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 154; pp. 180-181.

³ Procopius, *Gothic War*, iv, 20. Translated by Chadwick in *Origin of the English Nation*, p. 55; also quoted by Theodor Siebs, *Zur Geschichte der englisch-friesischen Sprache*, I, 1889.

century, nearly two hundred years before the time of Bede). Moreover, if we agree with Mr. Chadwick in holding that the dialectic differences of Anglian and West-Saxon became marked only after the settlement, we must look farther for the causes and influences that set up and accelerated the divergences in language and nationality. Mr. Chadwick, however, does not assert that the Frisians were among the invaders of Britain. In fact, he dismisses the passage from Procopius with the remark, "Apart from this passage we have no evidence that they took part in the invasion of Britain, though their language is closely related to English." And his use of the term *Anglo-Frisian* has reference only to what he regards as a close affinity of the two nations on the Continent before the migration of the Angli. But if, as Mr. Chadwick thinks, the invaders came over to Britain in large military companies, not as tribes, then, as he implies, there is great probability that crowds of people indiscriminately made up the military numbers that came over with the larger and more important body of the Angli; and, because there was no tribal discrimination or limitation, these people would become permanent settlers, being among those more interested in land, cattle, and homes than the military element and the leaders. Thus, the Frisians, who, as Mr. Chadwick shows, were the nearest neighbors of the Angli on the Continent and most closely allied in language, would be found, in greater or less number, among the invader settlers of Britain. How large the number, the Frisian place-names may help to show. I present them, by counties, only in a preliminary way, since the study of place-names in England, although a popular one, has extended only to a few counties and is not yet on a thorough basis.

YORKSHIRE

1. Frisby (Doncaster): 1275 *Friseby*, 1504 *Frysby*.⁴

2. Frising hall (Bradford): Y. I. 1287 *Fresinghale*, D. N. 1287 *Fresinghal*, D. N. 1424 *Frisinghall*, Y. F. 1567 *Frysynghall*. Mr. Goodhall derives the name from *Fresinga*, sons or family of the Frisian, and *healh*, corner or meadow, and refers to Middendorf's explanation of *Frisingmæde* from *Frisa*, *Fresa*, the Frisian.

3. Frisingmæde (Birch 957). See above.

4. Friez land: *Freze Land* in the Parish Register of Saddleworth.

5. Fryston(e) Ferry, Fryston(e) Monk, Fryston Water: Birch, III, 345 (963) *Fryssetune*, D. Book of Y. 1086 *Frystone*, *Fristone*, P. C. 1155 *Fristona*, P. M. 1247 *Fristone*, etc.; Mr. Moorman derives the name from *Frythetune* or *Fryssetune*, which, he says,⁵ appear as variants of the modern *Frystone* in two copies of the same O. E. charter. See Birch, III, 695, 345. These names, he says, are from a still earlier *Frithestun*—the enclosure of Frith. If *Friston* of Yorkshire is to be carried back to *Frith*, *Fryth*, why not to *Firth*, a ford or ferry, since these places really were all on the bank of the same water? Other variants, particularly in other counties, *Fres*-, *Fries*-, indicate that the name, in many cases at least, goes back to *Friesa* or *Fresa*, O. E. for Frisian.

6. Fressain Pas de Calais: formerly, according to Mannier, written *Fresinghem*.⁵ This form would appear to be particularly Frisian, since *-hem*, though claimed by

⁴ A. Goodhall, *Place Names of South West Yorkshire*.

⁵ A. Goodhall, *Place Names of South West Yorkshire*; F. W. Moorman, *Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (1910); Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*; Phillips's *Atlas*; *Index to the Parishes, Townships, Hamlets, Etc., of England and Wales*, 1907.

Lindkvist⁶ as Scandinavian, along with most of the other Old English place terminals, is Continental Frisian and accords with the Frisian *e* for *a* forms in Anglo-Frisian. See W. Crecelius's life of the Frisian, Liudgers, taken from documents of *Chartularium Werthinense*, of the early ninth century. This document contains many names in *-hem* and *-thorp*, showing that these forms are not exclusively Scandinavian.⁷

SUFFOLK

1. Fressingfield: *Fresingfeld*. H. R. (Rotuli Hundredorum vol. 1). W. W. Skeat says that Copinger also reports the forms *Fresyngefeld*, *Fresyngefeld*, etc. Skeat here explains the forms as from *Fresena*, the gen. plu. of *Fresa*, the Frisian. The forms in *-inga*, *-ing* are very common in Barber's list⁸ of Frisian family names and indicate *the family of* or *the sons of*. The ending is found both in Old English and in Scandinavian, but appears to be particularly Frisian.

2. Fressingfield Lodge, also mentioned in Philips's *Atlas of the Counties of England*.

3. Friston, Framlingham, Freston, Ipswich: Skeat gives *Frestune*, H. R.; *Fresetuna*, D. B., p. 230; *Fresantune*, Birch, C. S. III, 602.

4. Friswell, Friswell Hall, Friswell High Warren⁹ (W. Suf.).

⁶ Harald Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin*, Part I, Uppsala, 1911.

⁷ W. Crecelius, *Collectae ad Augendam Nominum Propriorum Saxoniorum et Frisiorum Scientiam Spectantes*, 1869; Theodor Siebs, *Zur Geschichte der englisch-friesischen Sprache*, pp. 104, 257; W. W. Skeat, *Place Names of Suffolk*, 1913, p. 126.

⁸ W. W. Skeat, *Place Names of Suffolk*; Lewis's *Top. Dict.*; *Index to Parishes, etc.*; Philips's *Atlas of the Counties of England*; H. Barber, *British Family Names*, 1903 (2d ed.).

⁹ Philips's *Atlas of the Counties of England*.

LINCOLN

1. Friston, Newark ¹⁰: both *Friston* and *Freston* given in *Index*.

2. Frieston, Boston.⁹

3. Frieston Ten Allotment, Boston, Frieston Ings., Boston and Frieston Shore, Boston, given in the *Index* besides number 2 above.

4. Friesthorpe ¹¹: Lindkvist ¹² and Björkman ¹³ both discuss this word, but unsatisfactorily, and Björkman assumes **Freistein*, while Lindkvist says of *Frestinthorp*, York, that the first member is perhaps a lost O. W. Scand. surname, **Freistingr*. Björkman also refers to a *Frais-thorpe* in Yorkshire, though apparently not as a variant of this name. Lindkvist criticises Wyld and Hirst, who question F. W. Moorman's statement that *-thorp* is met with chiefly in those districts where there are Scandinavian settlements. Wyld and Hirst maintain that when this term occurs in place-names in English, it is a thoroughly sound O. E. word. Lindkvist thinks it uncertain whether the word was used as a place-name element before the Scandinavian period, and says that it is of frequent occurrence on the Continent and in Scandinavia, and when we find it in charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is more probable that we have the Scandinavian word. He is not convincing in argument or proof. In fact, this word, if connected with Frisian settlers, must also have included the Frisian *-thorp*, a common Frisian place-name element ¹⁴; and our study of Frisian place-names appears

¹⁰ *Index to Parishes, etc.*; Lewis's *Top. Dict.*; Philips's *Atlas*.

¹¹ *Index to Parishes, etc.*; Lewis's *Top. Dict.*

¹² Harald Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin*, Part I, Uppsala, 1911.

¹³ E. B. Björkman, *Zur englischen Namen-Kunde*, p. 34.

¹⁴ Crecelius, above mentioned work; W. W. Skeat, *Place Names of Suffolk*, p. 91.

to indicate a Frisian district pretty well covering the Scandinavian district in England and will require that the investigators of the Scandinavian element revise their conclusions with this in mind.

LEICESTER

1. Frisby¹⁵: *Leicestershire Survey*, p. 199, in *Feudal Aids*, by J. H. Rounds, gives *Frisebia*, date 1124-1129.
2. Frisby on the Wreak.¹⁵
3. Frisby Lodge, also in Philips's *Atlas*.
4. Freezeland (N. Leic.).¹⁶

NOTTINGHAM

1. Friezland.¹⁷

WORCESTERSHIRE

1. Frisland.¹⁷

CUMBERLAND

1. Frizington¹⁸: Philips's *Atlas* gives *Frizington Hall* and *Frizington Station*. Sedgefield presents the older forms, *Fresington*, P. R. 1259, *Frisington*, Inq. 1298, *Frysyngton*, F. F. 1409.

SUSSEX

1. Friston¹⁹: R. G. Roberts gives the earlier forms, *Fristone*, 1294, Cal. Rot. ch., p. 126; *Frystone*, 1317, Cal. Inq. D., p. 254; *Friston*, 1328, Cal. Rot. ch., p. 159.

¹⁵ Lewis's *Top. Dict.*; *Index to Parishes, etc.*; Philips's *Atlas*.

¹⁶ Philips's *Atlas*.

¹⁷ *Index to Parishes, etc.*

¹⁸ W. J. Sedgefield, *Place Names of Cumberland and Westmoreland; Index*; Philips's *Atlas*.

¹⁹ R. G. Roberts, *Place Names of Sussex; Index to Parishes, etc.*; Lewis's *Top. Dict.*

WARWICKSHIRE

1. *Fresely* ²⁰: W. H. Duignan gives the older forms, *Freseley*, C. R. 1256 (ch. Rolls), *Freseley*, 13c. (mon. ix), *Freseley*, 1285 C. B. M. Mr. Duignan thinks the name from A. S. *fyrs*, *furze* or *forse*. He says that in certain localities *furze* becomes *frese*, *frieze*, and in the vicinity of old commons we may have *Friese*-, *Frese*-lands. It is not clear whether his case is suppositional or whether there are really such local forms, and he admits that neither H. E. D. nor E. D. D. notices the shifting of the *r*. I can find no Old or Middle English examples of *furze* spelt *frese* or *frieze*. Also, even if such an explanation might be plausible for certain localities, it would not answer for others, and an entirely different explanation must be made for the *-ing* and other forms. There are, also, numerous examples of names that are obviously connected with the word *fir* or *furze*. Compare *Firby*, York, E. and N. R.; *Firgrove*, Lanc.; *Firlane*, York, W. R.; *Firsby*, Lincoln, etc.; *Furze Hill*, Devon, Hants, Glouc.; *Furzley*, Hants; *Fursehill*, Lincoln, etc. Note that these names ²¹ are found in the districts in which *Fris*-, *Fres*- are common.

2. *Frizhill*.

PEMBROKESHIRE

1. *Freystrop*: Björkman thinks this possibly from the name **Freistein*, as Stefanssen (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, p. 594) takes it. If *Fraisthorp* is a variant, as Björkman appears to indicate, the name probably goes back to some personal name.

²⁰ W. H. Duignan, *Place Names of Warwickshire*, 1912.

²¹ Philips's *Atlas*.

STAFFORDSHIRE

1. Frieze-land,²² Walsall Wood and Tipton: See Duignan's explanation above.

GLOUCESTER

1. Freezing-Hill²³: W. St. Clair Baddeley explains, as Duignan, that such names are connected with *furze*. He does not attempt to explain *-ing*.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

1. Friesden.²⁴

HANTS

1. Freeze End.²⁵

WILTS

1. Fresden.²⁶

DEVON

1. Friscomb.

2. Friseham.²⁷

So far as I have been able to investigate old Frisian personal and family names, I find many names represented in English place nomenclature that, though apparently Old English and characterized as such in Searle's *Onomasticon* and other etymological and onomological studies, are Frisian as well; and such names have not always come down as common English personal or surnames. Nor is it significant that they were common among Old English names after the invasion and settlement of

²² W. H. Duignan, *Place Names of Staffordshire*, 1902.

²³ W. St. Clair Baddeley, *Place Names of Gloucester*, 1913.

²⁴ Lewis's *Top. Dict.*

²⁵ Phillips's *Atlas*.

²⁶ *Index to Parishes, etc.*; Phillips's *Atlas*.

²⁷ Mentioned by Goodhall as an example of Frisian remains in Devon, but not in the Atlases and Dictionaries.

Britain by the Anglo-Saxons. Naturally, such names would lose their identity as purely Frisian among the preponderating English population and would pass down with English names, as the Frisian settlers of England lost their identity. The place-names that appear to be made from particularly Frisian names are most common in those districts, the Northeast and the Midland, in which the class name *Frisian* appears as an element of place names. I shall note a few examples, with the admission that I am not yet able to say that these are distinctly Frisian names, not common to the Angles and Saxons before the invasion. They are represented in Barber's list²⁸ of *Old Frisian Family Names* and are not so common later as other English names. I hope, also, to be able later to present Old English forms or spellings that will make more certain the identity of the elements with the personal or family names with which they appear to be connected.

Old Frisian *boy*, *boys*, *boye*, fam. name *Boyen*, *Boyinga*,²⁸: Compare *Boyatt*, Hants; *Boycott*, Buck., Salop; *Boyden*, Glam.; *Boyleston*, Derby; *Boyne Cottage*, Durh.; *Boyne Hill*, Berks.; *Boyne's Wood*, Hants; *Boyn-ton*, York, E. R.; *Boythorpe*, York, E. R.; *Boyn-ton*, Cornwall, Wilts, Suff.

Old Frisian, *Onno* m, *Onna* f, *Onnen* fam. n. Compare *Ones Acre*, York W. R.; *Onn* (little and high), Staff.; *Onnesley*, Staff.; *Onley*, Northamp.; *Onslow*, Northamp., etc.; *Onibury*, Salop, seems to have the earlier form *Aneberie* in Dom., also *Onneley*, Salop, is *Aneleye* in Dem., but *Anne* is a variant of the name *Onno*. *Onn* (high and little), Duignan thinks is derived from Welsh *Onn*, ash tree.

²⁸ H. Barber, *British Family Names*. Digstra, *Friesch Woordenboek*, vol. iv, also mentions many of these names and others, with place-names in England, to illustrate some form of the individual or family name.

O. Fris. *Poppe*, *Poppen*, *Poppinga*²⁹: Compare *Pope*, *Popham*.

O. Fris. *Wet*, *Wets*: Compare *Weeting*, Norfolk; *Weeton*, York, W. R. and E. R.; *Weeton*, Lanc.; *Weetslade*, Northumb.; *Weetwood*, York, W. R., etc.

O. Fris. *Dever* dim. fam. name *Deverke*: Compare *Deverill*, Brixton, Wilts.; *Deverill*, Longbridge, Wilts.; *Deverill*, Kingston, Somerset; *Deverill*, Monkton, Somerset; Dom. *Devrel*, Patent R. *Deverel* (Wilts). J. B. Johnson thinks the name may be connected with O. Keltic *Devr*, for *stream*, or may be Norman *Devereux*.³⁰

O. Fris. *Mes*, *Mewes*: Compare *Mesley*, Hants; *Meston*, W. Sussex. Also compare *Metfield*, Suff.; *Mettingham*, Suff., and *Metham*, York, E. R.; *Metton*, Norf., with Frisian *Meta*, *Metta*.

O. Fris. *Mimme*, *Mimmke*, *Mimmeken*, *Mimste*: Compare *Mimms*, North M., in Herts.; *South M.*, in Middlesex; Dom. *Mimmise*, 1278 *Mymmys*.

O. Fris. *Fekko*, *Feko*, *Feho*, *Fekke*, *Feyken*: Compare *Feckenham* (Redditch) Worc., chart 804 *Feccanhom*, 957 *Feccanham*, Dom. 1156 Pipe Roll *Fechehom*. Also Dom. of Surrey, *Feceha*.

O. Fris. *Egge*, fam. name *Eggen*: Compare *Egton Lane*, York, N. R.; *Egton Bridge*, *Egton Village*, *Egton Grange*, York, N. R.; *Egstow*, Derby; *Egthorpe*, Buck.; *Egdale*, West M.; *Egdean*, Sussex; *Egdon*, Worces.; *Eggborough*, York, W. R.; *Egg Buckland*, Devon; *Eggbury*, Hants; *Eggesford*, Devon; *Eggford*, Somerset; *Eggington*, Bed., etc. J. B. Johnson finds *Egham* (Surrey) in Grant 675 and Dom. *Egeham*, referring, he says, to *Aega*, a personal name. *Egborough*, York, is Dom. *Egburg* and *Acheburg*.

²⁹ H. Barber, *British Family Names*.

³⁰ J. B. Johnson, *Place Names of England and Wales*.

This list might be extended by such names as *Wit*, *Atte* (o.), *Tammo*, *Tanno*, *Sibo*, *Tado*, *Bonno*, *Bano*, *Banke*, *Dodo*, *Dedde*, *Ebbe*, *Ewe*, *Ide*, *Ikke*, *Eppo*, *Ippo*, *Giso*, *Menno*, *Tale*, *Talk*, *Tatje*, *Tam*, *Ubbo*, *Ufo*, etc., all represented numerous by place-names in the counties of the Anglian and Midland districts and in Devonshire and south western parts. They show, at least, an Anglian and Frisian agreement as to names greater than the Saxon and Frisian. Whether these names were distinctly Frisian originally or common to the Old English and Old Frisian and how far affected by the later Scandinavian influence I have not at present a certain opinion. It is enough to say that there is a surprising number of places, usually the small villages and hamlets, which may easily have been named individually from the first settlers as homesteads, and that these settlers, many of them, may from the names have been Frisian. This impression agrees also with the foregoing list of names which I believe to be connected with the class name *Frisa*, *Fresa*, since the same counties, for the most part, are represented.

It is not a new opinion that the Frisians had a greater part in the invasion and settlement of Britain than the known statements of history indicate. But later scholars have not the courage of their convictions equal to the older and perhaps less scientific historian, W. F. Skene, who thought Procopius right in his classification of the inhabitants of Britain in the sixth century as *Angles*, *Frisians* and *Britons*, and who said that the term *Saxons* was a general one, including the Frisians, Angles, and others, and was used for the Teutonic tribes which harassed the coast of Britain in the last half century of the Roman province.³¹ "Of the Saxons who settled in Britain prior

³¹ W. F. Skene, *A History of Ancient Alban*, vol. I, chap. 4, *Etymology of Britain*, pp. 191-192.

to the year 441," he says, "the colony which occupied the northern district above the Roman wall, were probably Frisians, as the *Firth of Forth* is termed by Nennius the *Frisian Sea* and a part of its northern shore was known as the *Frisian Shore*, but the great bulk of the immigrants were Angli." Skene says, also, that the term *Saxons* applied in a general way to those who settled in Britain prior to 441 and that it appears to have been used in a geographical sense. The tribes, he says, who arrived much later and founded the petty kingdoms of the East, West, and South Saxons probably alone belonged to the Saxons proper.³² This seems to be the opinion being arrived at by scholars now, and the evidence of names in the section of the country earliest settled appears to substantiate it.

Then why should not the old saw, "Good butter and good cheese is good English and good Friese," have arisen from the English-Frisian settlers in districts of Britain rather than from scattered Frisian sailors? At any rate, both the Anglian dialect of Anglo-Saxon time and Northern and Midland Middle English show an affinity with the Frisian language that in many particulars may well be the result of the direct contact of those who spoke the two dialects. I shall show later, in my study of *The Affinities of the Anglian and the Frisian Dialects as Shown in Middle English*, that the relations of these people were so definite as to leave certain dialectic marks and colloquial peculiarities in the Northern and Midland dialects of Middle English, sporadic and individual or local forms that defy explanation on any other ground than direct contact of the languages.

JESSIE M. LYONS.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 191-193.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
YALE UNIVERSITY, AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.
DECEMBER 27, 28, 29, 1917

AND OF THE
TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL
DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, AT MADISON, WIS.
ON THE SAME DAYS

MINUTES OF THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST
HELD AT
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
NOVEMBER 30, DECEMBER 1, 1917

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held under the auspices of Yale University at New Haven, Conn., December 27, 28, 29, 1917, in accordance with the following invitation:

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

January 20, 1917.

Professor WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD,
Secretary of the Modern Language Association,
39 Kirkland Street,
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sir:—

I write to inform you that it will give the authorities of Yale University great pleasure should the Modern Language Association decide to hold its meeting in New Haven during the next Christmas vacation.

The professors of our Modern Language department have suggested to the University authorities that a formal invitation be sent to the Association. As the proposal has the hearty approval of the President and Fellows, I take great pleasure in transmitting the invitation in this way.

Hoping that the Modern Language Association may definitely decide to hold its next meeting in New Haven, and assuring its officers that the University will do all in its power to make the meeting a success, I am,

Very truly yours,

ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

At 2.50 p. m. the Secretary of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, cald the meeting to order in Lampson Lyceum and presented President Hadley, of Yale University, who hospitably welcomd the gathering.

The Secretary announced that the President of the Association, Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard University, was prevented by illness from attending the meeting, and that the Vice-Presidents had been delayd in arriving. By unanimes consent Professor C. B. Wilson, of the State University of Iowa, took the chair.

The Secretary red a letter from Professor Francke expressing regret for his enforced absence and conveying good wishes to the Association. On motion of Professor C. H. Grandgent it was unanimously

Resolved: that the Modern Language Association of America profoundly sympathizes with its President in his illness and wishes him a prompt and complete recovery.

The Secretary presented as his Report, Volume XXXII of the *Publications* of the Association, and the same was unanimously accepted.

The Tresurer of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented the folloing Report:

PROCEEDINGS FOR 1917

v

A. CURRENT RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, December 23, 1916, -	-	-	-	-	\$ 702 23
From Members, 1904, -	-	-	-	\$ 3 00	
" " 1907, -	-	-	-	3 00	
" " 1908, -	-	-	-	3 00	
" " 1915, -	-	-	-	24 00	
" " 1916, -	-	-	-	147 00	
" " 1917, -	-	-	-	3,449 75	
" " 1918, -	-	-	-	141 10	
" " Life, -	-	-	-	290 00	
" " APA, -	-	-	-	37 50	
					<u>\$4,098 35</u>
From Libraries, for Publ. I-XXX, -	\$	3 60			
" " " " XXXI, -		3 90			
" " " " XXXII, -		214 15			
" " " " XXXIII, -		111 35			
					<u>333 00</u>
For Publ. I-XXX, -	\$	194 90			
" " XXXI, -		7 30			
" " XXXII, -		34 40			
" " XXXIII, -		2 70			
					<u>239 30</u>
For Reprints from Publ. XXXI, -	\$	18 00			
" " " " XXXII, -		10 00			
					<u>28 00</u>
For Corrections, -	-	-	-	-	11 00
From Advertizers in Publ. XXXI, -	\$	67 50			
" " " " XXXII, -		22 50			
					<u>90 00</u>
Interest, Permanent Fund, -	-	-	-	-	253 50
" Cambridge Savings Bank, -	-	-	-	-	32 10
" Eutaw Savings Bank, -	-	-	-	-	67 90
" Charles River Trust Co., -	-	-	-	-	31 81
					<u>5,184 96</u>
					<u>\$5,887 19</u>

EXPENDITURES**To Secretary-Treasurer,**

for Salary, - - - -	\$ 750 00
" Printing, - - - -	53 75
" Bond, - - - -	12 50
" Postage, - - - -	121 26
" Expressage, - - - -	14 01
	\$ 951 52

To Secretary, Central Division,

for Salary, - - - -	\$ 100 00
" Clerical Services and Postage, - - - -	41 88
	141 88

To J. T. Hatfield, <i>Chairman</i> , - - - -	15 00
To A. R. Hohlfeld, <i>Chairman</i> , - - - -	19 49
To W. A. Neilson, <i>Managing Trustee</i> , - - - -	290 00
For Publications, XXXII, 1, - - - -	\$ 978 83
" " XXXII, 2, - - - -	908 70
" " XXXII, 3, - - - -	811 89
" " XXXII, 4, - - - -	780 45
	3,479 87

For Program, 35th Annual Meeting, - - - -	\$ 157 00
For Program, Central Division, - - - -	124 35
For Liberty Bond, - - - -	100 00
Subscriptions returned, - - - -	8 30
Exchange, - - - -	10
	\$5,287 51
Balance on hand, December 24, 1917, - - - -	599 68
	\$5,887 19

B. INVESTED FUNDS

Bright Fund (Eutaw Savings Bank),

Principal, Dec. 22, 1916,	-	-	\$1,941	88
Interest, April 1, 1917,	-	-	67	90
			<u> </u>	\$2,009 78
Withdrawn, April 1, 1917,	-	-	-	67 90
			<u> </u>	
Principal, Dec. 24, 1917,	-	-	-	- \$1,941 88

von Jagemann Fund (Cambridge Savings Bank),

Principal, Dec. 22, 1916,	-	-	\$1,366	12
Interest, July 26, 1917,	-	-	55	18
			<u> </u>	\$1,421 30
Withdrawn, July 26, 1917,	-	-	-	32 10
			<u> </u>	
Principal, Dec. 24, 1917,	-	-	-	- \$1,389 20
Liberty Bond,	-	-	-	- 100 00
			<u> </u>	
Total, December 24, 1917,	-	-	-	- \$3,431 08

C. BALANCE SHEET, 1917

Deficit, Current Funds,	-	-	-	-	\$ 102 55
Surplus, Invested Funds,	-	-	-	-	- \$ 123 08
					<u> </u>
Surplus, 1917,	-	-	-	-	- 20 53
Added to Permanent Fund,	-	-	-	-	- 290 00
					<u> </u>
Total Increase of Cash Assets, 1917,	-	-	-	-	- \$ 310 53

For Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, *Chairman*, the Secretary briefly reported progress of the Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages, announcing that the final Report of this Committee was nearly ready for the press.

The Secretary reported on correspondence with reference to a Cumulative Index of the *Publications* of the Association, and on his motion it was

Voted: that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to consider and report to the Executive Council the feasibility of publishing a Cumulative Index to the *Publications* of the Association and of cooperating with the publishers of other periodicals in the publication of a Cumulative Index covering all American learned journals in the field of the modern languages and their literatures.

The Secretary called attention to the project of the Bibliographical Society of America to take a census of incunabula in America and invited communication of items to Mr. George Parker Winship, of the Harry Elkins Memorial Library, Cambridge, Mass.

The Secretary transmitted for Professors O. F. Emerson and Karl Young a question whether the Association might undertake to publish a list of such rotographs of manuscripts as are in public or private possession in America, and on the Secretary's motion this question was referred to the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts.

On the Secretary's motion the representation of the Association on the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature was continued. Professor Wm. Gardner Hale, *Chairman*, briefly reported on the state of the Committee's business.

For the Committee of Five on a course of study in

Spanish Professor J. D. M. Ford, *Chairman*, presented the folloing Report:

The Committee appointed to revise the proposed course in Spanish (originally recommended in 1910) begs leave to present the following statement, covering a four years' course in secondary schools or a two years' course in college. The Elementary course corresponds to the first two years in secondary schools or to the first year in college; and the Intermediate and Advanced courses correspond to a third and fourth year respectively in secondary schools or to a second year in college. It is assumed that in secondary schools there will be four or five recitations a week, for at least thirty-two weeks of each year.

In view of the fact that, in our Western Hemisphere, Spanish is the language of millions of men with whom we have many interests in common, it is urged that teachers call the attention of students to the more striking variations of pronunciation from standard Castilian which are in use in Spanish-America, that some of the text-books be by Spanish-American authors, and that the text-books embrace works dealing with the geography, history, and customs of Spanish-America as well as of Spain. Moreover, practical considerations arising in connection with the study of Spanish in this country suggest a certain amount of attention to the training of students in commercial correspondence and usages; teachers are advised to pay regard to such considerations, avoiding, of course, undue specialization in the premises.

The desirable aims and methods of instruction in Spanish may be summarized as follows:

ELEMENTARY COURSE

The primary purposes of the elementary work are to teach (a) accurate pronunciation of Spanish (as spoken in both Spain and Spanish-America), (b) the understanding of spoken Spanish, (c) the translation of simple, idiomatic English phrases and sentences into their equivalent simple, idiomatic Spanish, (d) the expression in spoken Spanish of ideas about the usual experiences of life and also about the content of the texts used in the class. Some of the methods to be followed are: (1) reading aloud by both class and teacher, (2) dictation by the teacher, (3) memorization by the student of Spanish passages of conversational prose and of simple verse (fables, etc.), (4) translation, oral and written, of English into Spanish, with much use of English sentences based on a Spanish text, as well as of a composition-book, (5) questioning the class in Spanish about the material provided by the grammar, composition-book, reader, or

text, and requiring answers in Spanish. Readers of literary texts should not merely be translated into English; students should be trained to reproduce in Spanish the ideas which they have translated and others like them. All this is to be accompanied by constant drill in the rudiments of grammar and, especially, in the inflexion of the verb.

Books: *First half:* A grammar; an elementary reader.

Second half: A grammar; a composition-book; simple texts (200 pages).

ADVANCED COURSE

The advanced work should be a continuation of the elementary work, with certain added features, such as (a) conversation and, in general, much expression in spoken Spanish of connected ideas and (b) the translation of connected English prose into Spanish. Some of the advisable methods are (1) the discussion in Spanish by the class of the content of the texts read or of the main facts of Spanish or Spanish-American geography, history, and customs, for the study of which the teacher will provide the material, (2) the preparation of résumés of Spanish material, which the students deliver in writing or give orally in the class-room, (3) the reproduction, orally or in writing, of Spanish anecdotes, jokes, or newspaper articles, told or read to the class by the teacher, (4) the writing of themes and letters in Spanish about events of current or personal interest or about the books which are being studied in class, (5) the use of a composition-book. All this is to be accompanied by continued review of the grammatical rules with particular attention to the verb system and to salient facts of syntax.

Books: *First half:* A grammar; a composition-book; intermediate texts (300-400 pages).

Second half: A grammar; a composition-book or, possibly, a manual of commercial correspondence; advanced texts (400-500 pages).

Repeating the reserves already established by the Committee of Fifteen for French and German (see *Publications*, vol. xxvi, no. 1, p. xiii), to the effect that the list is invested with no canonical authority and is intended to be merely suggestive of standards, this Committee ventures to propose the following

TYPICAL TEXTS, REPRESENTING APPROXIMATELY THE GRADE OF
READING TO BE DONE EACH YEAR

- 1st Year:* A carefully graded reader for beginners; Juan Valera, *El pájaro verde*; Pérez Escrich, *Fortuna*; Altamirano, *La navidad en las montañas*.
- 2nd Year:* A collection of short stories by different authors; a collection of brief comedies; a collection of easy lyrics (Spanish and Spanish-American) or of verse fables; a Spanish or Spanish-American historical reader; Alarcón, *El Capitán Veneno*; Carrión and Aza, *Zaragüeta*; Frontaura, *Las tiendas*; Quintana, *Vasco Núñez de Balboa*; Jorge Isaacs, *Marta*; Palacio Valdés, *José*; Mármol, *Amalia*.
- 3d Year:* Taboada, *Ouentos alegres*; Isla's version of the *Gil Blas*; Selgas, *La mariposa blanca*; Pérez Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*; Palacio Valdés, *La Hermana San Sulpicio*; a collection of essays dealing with Spanish or Spanish-American life and customs; Moratín, *El sí de las niñas*; Larra, *Partir a tiempo*; plays of the Alvarez Quintero brothers; plays of Benavente.
- 4th Year:* Novels of Blasco Ibáñez, Fernán Caballero, Pardo Bazán, Pereda, and Valera; Cervantes, *Don Quijote* (selections); plays of Benavente, Bretón de los Herreros, Echegaray, García Gutiérrez, Gil y Zárate, Gómez de Avellaneda, Hartzzenbusch, López de Ayala, Martínez Sierra, Núñez de Arce, Pérez Galdós, Tamayo y Baus; an anthology of verse; Bécquer (selections).

The Committee also urges every secondary school in which Spanish is taught to have in its library several Spanish-English and English-Spanish dictionaries, the dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, and such manuals of the history of Spanish and Spanish-American literature as those of Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Ticknor, and Coester.

Respectfully submitted,

J. D. M. FORD, *Chairman*,
J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD,
E. R. GREENE,
R. H. KENISTON,
F. B. LUQUIENS.

On motion of Professor F. M. Warren the foregoing Report was unanimously adopted.

The Chair appointed the following committees:

To nominate officers: Professors W. A. Hervey, Albert Schinz, J. S. P. Tatlock.

To audit the Treasurer's accounts: Professors J. F. Mason, W. A. Adams, Frederick Tupper.

On resolutions: Professors M. W. Croll, Mary V. Young, D. B. Shumway.

On a cumulative index: Professors E. H. Wilkins, William Kurrelmeyer, W. W. Lawrence, W. H. Chenery, Lane Cooper.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The Cadences of the Collects." By Professor Morris W. Croll, of Princeton University.

[During 1912 Mr. John Shelly published a paper in the *Church Quarterly Review* asserting the fairly regular observance in the Collects of the three cadence-forms of medieval Latin prose. In the first part of Professor Croll's paper his statements were tested by a re-examination of the Prayer-Book. In the second part some new principles were formulated concerning the influence of the Latin cadence in English, with a view to placing this subject on a broader and sounder basis.—*Twenty minutes.*]

2. "Henry James as a Critic of the French Novel." By Professor James F. Mason, of Cornell University.

[James's knowledge of the French novel. His point of view as a critic. His critical judgments. The influence and importance of his critical articles in England and America.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors H. A. Todd and D. S. Blondheim.

3. "*Destinées ou Poèmes philosophiques?* Remarques critiques sur le titre du recueil posthume d'Alfred de Vigny." By Professor Fernand Baldensperger, of Columbia University.

[Il est possible que Vigny, hésitant vers 1851-1853 entre le titre de *Poèmes philosophiques* et celui de *Destinées*, ait décidément choisi ce dernier. Il est plus probable que son légataire universel a donné la préférence—pour diverses raisons—à ce pluriel émouvant. Une idée d'irréversible fatalité est évidemment attachée à ce mot: servant d'étiquette, en quelque sorte, au recueil entier, il lui confère une intention, implicite et latente, d'absolu pessimisme. Cette idée n'est conforme, ni à ce que nous savons par ailleurs de la pensée de Vigny, ni à la signification réelle des poèmes philosophiques.—*Twenty minutes.*]

During the reading of this and the following paper Professor H. A. Todd occupied the chair.

4. "An unpublisht Fifteenth-Century English version of Richard Rolle's *Mending of Life*." By Professor William H. Hulme, of Western Reserve University.

[Worcester Cathedral Library ms. 172 contains an unpublisht English version—probably not by Richard Misyn—of Richard Rolle's *Mending of Life*. Its importance and its linguistic peculiarities.—*Twenty minutes.*]

5. "Charles Timothy Brooks as a Translator from the German." By Professor Camillo von Klenze, of the College of the City of New York.

[Charles Timothy Brooks, for many years Unitarian minister in Newport, R. I., was intensely interested in the study of German literature. In the course of a long life he translated not only *Faust*, *Wilhelm Tell*, and a great number of German poems, but also Jean Paul's *Titan*, *Unsichtbare Loge*, and other works, Rückert's *Weisheit des Brahmanen*, Kortum's *Jobiade*, Busch's *Max und Moritz*, several of Auerbach's stories, Grillparzer's *Ahnfrau*, a comedy by Hans Sachs, etc., etc. Som of these remaind in ms., the others ar found in book form and scatterd thru innumerable newspapers and magazines of the day. In all he may be considerd the most prolific and versatil translator from the German that the English-speaking nations hav produced.—*Thirty minutes.*]

During the reading of this paper Professor C. H. Grandgent occupied the chair.

At half-past five o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 27, there was a meeting of the American Dialect Society in Lampson Lyceum.

At half-past seven o'clock in the evening of Thursday, December 27, the members of the Association dined together as guests of Yale University in The President's Room in Memorial Hall.

At half-past nine o'clock in the evening of Thursday, December 27, the Secretary read in Lampson Lyceum an address written by the President of the Association, Professor Kuno Francke, entitled, "The Idea of Progress from Leibniz to Goethe."

SECOND SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

The session began at 9.45 a. m., Professor O. M. Johnston, Vice-President, in the chair.

On behalf of the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts the Secretary reported for Professor J. W. Cunliffe, *Chairman*, that progress was being made; and on the Secretary's motion the Committee was unanimously continued.

Professors W. H. Hulme, W. E. Mead, and A. C. L. Brown spoke on the subjects of rotographs, on the previous day referred to this Committee.

On behalf of the Trustees of the Permanent Fund the Secretary reported for President W. A. Neilson, *Managing Trustee*, that the fund had increased in 1917 by \$290, and amounted to \$7,055.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

6. "The Biliteral Cipher of Sir Francis Bacon." By Professor Jesse F. Mack, of Hillsdale College.

[Modern use of the cipher in military and diplomatic affairs throes much light upon the Biliteral Cipher invented by Sir Francis Bacon and explaind in the *Advancement of Learning* of 1605, and illustrated much more fully in the *De Augmentis Scientiarum* of 1623. Even more light is throen upon the subject by som recent investigations and experiments with Seventeenth-Century type and by som experiments conducted in the distinguishing of type fonts in books of the early Seventeenth Century by youths, uninitiated in any cipher lore.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors A. C. L. Brown, F. W. Chandler, and F. N. Scott.

7. "The Technique of Lessing's *Parabel*." By Professor Luise Haessler, of Hunter College of the City of New York.

[Two parts: description of palace and narrativ of quarrel over plans. Unity achievd by imperceptible transition and recurrence of main theme. Description truly architectural. Sentences and paragraphs fitted together like stones of palace. Massing of duality produces impression of symmetry and stability. The human element of the description and the dramatic close of the narrativ serv to sustain the interest.—*Twenty minutes.*]

Mr. E. H. Babbitt announced at this point a form of national servis in which members of the Association wer invited to coöperate.

8. "Robert Browning and Alfred Austin." By Professor William Lyon Phelps, of Yale University.

[Browning's attitude toward adverse criticism—his allusion to it in *Pippa Passes*, 1841—his long silence—his fierce attacks on the critics in the *Pacchiarotto* volume in 1876—reason for this—his rough treatment of Alfred Austin occasiond by the attack on him made by Austin in 1870—Austin's remarks on the Victorian age in *The Poetry of the Period*—his allusion to Browning—changes made by Browning while reading proof of his new book in 1876—no allusion to Austin in the manuscript—Browning's defense of his own methods in the *Pacchiarotto* volume.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

9. "A Stylistic Study of the Peasant Language in Ferdinand Fabre's *Le Chevrier*." By Professor Ray P. Bowen, of Syracuse University.

[Ferdinand Fabre, chief novelist of French peasant life. *Le Chevrier*, the most important of his *romans-champêtres*, is told entirely in the speech of a peasant. This language, modeled after the style of the sixteenth-century writers, gives in its quaintness the impression of an actual *patois*. Discussion of the author's method. Sainte-Beuve's criticism. The poet Mistral's enthusiastic praise.—*Twenty minutes*.]

10. "*John Hardy*, a West Virginia Ballad." By Professor John H. Cox, of West Virginia University.

[Variants of the song, its inception, growth, and significance in relation to the theories of ballad origins.—*Twenty minutes*.]

During the reading of this paper Professor A. C. L. Brown, Vice-President, occupied the chair.

For the Auditing Committee Professor W. A. Adams reported that the Treasurer's accounts had been found correct; and on motion of Professor L. F. Mott the Treasurer's Report was unanimously accepted.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, December 28, there was a meeting of the Concordance Society.

DEPARTMENTAL MEETINGS

At half-past two o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, December 28, three Departmental Meetings were held as follows:

ENGLISH

Lampson Lyceum

Chairman: Professor Henry Seidel Canby, of Yale University.

Secretary: Professor Wilbur Owen Sypherd, of Delaware College.

11. "English Literature *versus* Literary History." By Professor Frederick Erastus Pierce, of Yale University, and Professor Charles Cestre, of Harvard University.

These papers wer discust by Professors J. H. Cox, C. T. Winchester, Frank Aydelotte, R. A. Rice, and W. H. Hulme.

12. "The Relation of English Composition to the Rest of the Curriculum." By Professor Frank William Scott, of the University of Illinois.

In the absence of the author this paper was red by his colleag, Professor Jacob Zeitlin.

The nominating committee appointed by the Chairman nominated as officers for the meeting of 1918:

Chairman: Professor C. S. Baldwin, of Columbia University; *Secretary*: Professor C. G. Osgood, of Princeton University; and they wer duly elected.

GERMAN

Room 16, Lampson Hall

Chairman: Professor Robert Herndon Fife, Jr., of Wesleyan University.

Secretary: Professor William Addison Hervey, of Columbia University.

A committee on nominations, consisting of Professor E. H. Mensel, *Chairman*, Professor Marian P. Whitney, and Dr. F. W. C. Lieder, was appointed, to report later in the meeting.

13. "The Study of German Literature in Undergraduate Courses." By Professor Camillo von Klenze, of the College of the City of New York.

Discussion:—

- 1) The Arrangement of Reading Matter in Intermediate and Advanced Courses with a View to Literary Development. By Professor Marshall Blakemore Evans, of the Ohio State University.
- 2) The Presentation of Classical Literature. By Professor Karl Detlev Jessen, of Bryn Mawr College.
- 3) The Presentation of Nineteenth Century Literature. By Professor Frederick W. J. Heuser, of Columbia University.
- 4) Synoptic Courses in the History of German Literature. By Professor Albert Bernhardt Faust, of Cornell University.

General discussion of the respective papers and of related questions folloed.

The Committee on Nominations reported the nomination of Professor Daniel B. Shumway, of the University of Pennsylvania, as Chairman, and of Professor Herbert Z. Kip, of the Connecticut College for Women, as Secretary, for the ensuing year. On motion one ballot was cast and Professors Shumway and Kip wer declared elected.

After discussion it was recommended that a sectional meeting devoted to pedagogical topics be held next year. It was further

Resolved: That the German section of the Modern Language Association favors an additional departmental meeting for the presentation of technical papers other than pedagogical.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Room 2, Lampson Hall

Chairman: Professor James Geddes, Jr., of Boston University.

Secretary: Dr. Luther Herbert Alexander, of Columbia University.

14. "Modern Manuscripts." By Dr. Richard Thayer Holbrook, of D. C. Heath & Co.

15. "Teaching American Soldiers a little French." By Professor Charles Alfred Downer, of the College of the City of New York.

In connection with the subject treated in this paper Professor E. C. Armstrong advocated the appointment of a committee to coördinate the work of teachers of Romance languages with the present needs of American soldiers. His motion to this effect was unanimously adopted and recommended to the meeting of the Association on the following morning.

16. "The Study of Italian in the American College." By Professor Ernest Hatch Wilkins, of the University of Chicago.

In the absence of Professor Wilkins this paper was read by Professor Geddes.

17. "The Phonetic Society." By Professor Earle Brownell Babcock, of New York University.

This paper was discussed by Dr. E. C. Hills.

18. "Why Some of us teach the Spanish-American Pronunciation." By Professor Frederick Bliss Luquiens, of Yale University.

19. "The use of Literary Texts in the early stages of Instruction in Spanish." By Mr. Lawrence A. Wilkins, of the High Schools of the City of New York.

After four o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, December 28, the Elizabethan Club was open to members of the Association for an exhibition of rare volumes in the library of the Club; and at the same time there was a Goethe exhibition from the William A. Speck Collection in the University Library.

From five to six o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, December 28, members of the Association were received by President and Mrs. Hadley in the Yale Art School.

At seven o'clock in the evening of Friday, December 28, the ladies of the Association dined together as guests of Yale University in The President's Room in Memorial Hall.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Friday, December 28, the gentlemen of the Association were entertained at a smoker at the Graduates Club. Professor William Lyon Phelps narrated some of his visits to English scenes and to contemporary English men of letters.

THIRD SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

The session began at 9.55 a. m., Professor O. M. Johnston in the chair.

For the Committee on Resolutions Professor D. B. Shumway reported as follows:

Resolved: that we, the members of the Modern Language Association, place on record our grateful appreciation of the generosity and thoughtfulness of our hosts at Yale University. To President and Mrs. Hadley for their hospitable reception, to Professor William

Lyon Phelps for his delightful and witty talk at the smoker, to the directors of the Graduates Club and the Elizabethan Club for the privileges extended by them, to the Library, the Art School, and the School of Music for kindly opening to us their valuable collections, and to the members of the Local Committee for their untiring zeal and uniform courtesy we wish especially to extend our hearty thanks. Everything that could make for our comfort and enjoyment has been foreseen and skilfully provided for.

The foregoing Resolution was unanimously adopted and the thanks of the Association were expressed accordingly.

The Secretary reported that the ladies of the Association had elected as their representatives for the year 1918 the following committee: Professors Marian P. Whitney, Isabelle Bronk, Laura Lockwood, Luise Haessler, Carrie A. Harper. The President constituted these representatives a committee of the Association.

For the Nominating Committee Professor W. A. Hervey reported as follows:

For President: Professor Edward C. Armstrong, of Princeton University.

For Vice-Presidents: Professors Marian P. Whitney, of Vassar College; Ernest H. Wilkins, of the University of Chicago; Frank W. Chandler, of the University of Cincinnati.

On motion of the Secretary the report was unanimously adopted and the nominees were declared elected to their several offices for the year 1918.

On behalf of the Departmental Meeting of Romance scholars held on the previous day Dr. L. H. Alexander presented the following Resolution:

Resolved: that the incoming President of the Association be directed to appoint an executive committee of five on Romance Language Instruction and the War; the functions of said committee being:

to coöperate with the proper Governmental agencies regarding the instruction of our soldiers in the languages of our Allies; to keep the teachers of Romance informd of the opportunities for useful servis; and in general to further in any way within their province the successful prosecution of the War.

That the President of the Association is empowerd, after consultation with the chairman of the said executiv committee, to appoint an advisory committee of such larger membership as shal seem best, to coöperate with the executiv committee.

That the Tresurer of the Association be directed to pay from the funds of the Association the necessary clerical and postal expenses of the committee, as certified by the chairman, to a sum not exceding seventy-five dollars.

The foregoing Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Secretary askt for the opinion of the meeting as to whether in 1918 concurrent Departmental Meetings for the discussion of pedagogical matters wer desirable, and on his motion it was, after discussion in which Professors H. S. Canby and R. H. Fife, Jr., and Mr. H. B. Hinckley participated,

Resolved: that this meeting favors the provision in the program of 1918 of three concurrent Departmental Meetings for the discussion of pedagogical matters.

The Secretary having suggested that concurrent Departmental Meetings for the discussion of the more technical papers in the varius fields of scholarship might also be expedient, a discussion ensued in which Professors A. B. Faust, R. H. Fife, Jr., Marian P. Whitney, L. F. Mott, W. A. Hervey, and Mr. H. B. Hinckley participated, and on motion of Professor W. L. Phelps it was unanimously

Resolved: that a part of the last day of the meeting of 1918 be devoted to separate sessions for the reading and discussion of technical papers, if in the judgment of the Secretary such an arrangement is feasible.

The reading of papers was thereupon resumed.

20. "The Identity of the Gothic with the Early Germanic Vocalism." By Professor Hermann Collitz, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[The opinion that in Gothic the essential features of the Early Germanic vocalism are preserved was expressed by the author in a review of A. Kock's "Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwedischen," *M. L. Notes*, Jan., 1917, p. 44. In the present paper he explained more fully the reasons for his view. Some of the questions examined were: (1) the origin of the Gothic "broken" vowels *ai* and *au*; (2) the nature of the West Germanic *e* in words like *beran*, *wesan*, *geba*; (3) the mutual relation between the Germanic vowels *o* and *u*, e. g., in the Gothic nouns *dauhtar*, *juk*, *kaurn*, *wulfs*.—*Twenty minutes*.]

In the unavoidable absence of Professor Collitz this paper was read by his colleague, Professor Henry Wood.

21. "Bunyan's *Holy War* and the Conflict Type of Morality Play." By Professor James B. Wharey, of the University of Texas.

[Bunyan's *Holy War* contains interesting echoes of the old Moralities of the conflict type. In theme, plot, and scheme of characters the parallelism is striking. The influence of the Moralities was in all probability not direct, but was transmitted through certain pre-Bunyan allegories.—*Fifteen minutes*.]

22. "French *Vers libre*." By Professor Mathurin M. Dondo, of Smith College.

[The reforms of the Romanticists, carried a step farther by Verlaine, led to the *vers libre*. *Vers libre* maintains the essential principles of French versification, namely, the rhythmic elements. It gives the words their phonetic value, it makes the syllabic numeration subservient to the rhythm, and uses rhyme and assonance as a rhythmic or musical effect.—*Twenty minutes*.]

23. "Democracy in Russian Literature." By Professor Clarence Linton Meader, of the University of Michigan.

[I. The fusion since 1775 of western (especially French and German) democratic ideas with those indigenous in Russia. II. Democracy as revealed in the subject matter of Russian literature (Karam-

sin, Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevski, Tolstoi, Gorki, Andreev, the "Back to the Village" movement). III. Democracy in Russian literary stile: (1) Sentimentalism, Romanticism, Realism; (2) the literary language.—*Twenty minutes.*]

24. "Epic Formulas in Lazamon's *Brut*." By Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

[A discussion of epic formulas in Lazamon's *Brut*, and of the light that they thro on its literary relations and on twelfth and thirteenth century literary conditions.—*Twenty minutes.*]

At 12.15 p. m. the Association adjurnd.

PAPERS RED BY TITLE

The folloing papers, presented to the Association, wer red by title only:

25. "Chaucer and Seneca." By Professor Harry Morgan Ayres, of Columbia University.

[Chaucer's acquaintance with Seneca, especially with the *Epistles*, is more extensiv than has yet been recognized, and in the *Troilus* particularly is turnd to interesting artistic account.]

26. "Charles Churchill's Treatment of the Couplet." By Dr. Joseph M. Beatty, Jr., of Goucher College.

[All the verse that Charles Churchill wrote was in couplet form, either heroic or octosyllabic. By his frequent use of run-on lines and run-on couplets he injected into his most impassioned argumentativ passages a welth of oratorical brilliance to which even Dryden and Pope rarely attaind. Investigation shoes that many of these passages ar directly affected by Shakespearean plays acted in London by David Garrick during Churchill's residence there.]

27. "The English Element in Swedish Romanticism." By Dr. Adolph B. Benson, of Yale University.

[An English element is conspicuus in the periodical literature of Swedish Romanticism. The introduction of Shakespeare into the ultra-conservativ Swedish capital necessitated a campain of unusual persistency and vigor. This campain was carried on by the so-cald

Fosforists, who also lauded Milton. Pope was attacked for being a Frenchified rationalist. Altho many contemporary English writers are ignored, a sympathetic attitude is preserved toward those who are best known. The Swedish Romanticists believed that the economic and political development of England had not destroyed its Romantic spirit. The Fosforists knew Shenstone, Sterne, Smollett, Fielding, Richardson, and Mrs. Sheridan; they were favorably disposed toward Dryden, Swift, Goldsmith, Scott, and Ossian; but, after 1820, they warned the Swedish public against the dangerous genius of Byron. The study of the English novel led to some interesting conclusions about Englishmen in general.]

28. "Whitman's Influence on German Poetry." By Dr. Traugott Böhme, of Columbia University.

[Growth of Whitman's popularity in Germany since 1889. Native literary traditions favorable to his reception (Free Verse; Stifter). Assumed similarity of his style and teachings to those of Nietzsche. J. Schlaf, apostle of the Whitman cult and uncritical imitator. Arno Holz's indebtedness to Whitman in poetical theory and practice.—Artistic tendencies acting against Whitman.—Criteria of Whitman's influence among the younger school of lyricists (Schmidtbonn, Lissauer, Werfel).—Whitman and "dynamic" poetry. Alfons Paquet's *Auf Erden*.—Recent translations and critical comments.]

29. "TRACTATUS DE CASTRO MORALITATIS CUSTODIENDO." By Miss Gertrude H. Campbell, of Smith College.

[A British Museum manuscript, written in Germany in the latter half of the fourteenth century, contains a Latin theological treatise, *Tractatus de Castro Moralitatis*, which consists of series of exempla in a homiletical framework. The treatise affords a source for about a fourth of the exempla of the Spanish *Libro de los Enemigos*, as well as analogs and variants of a number of medieval tales, including episodes in the *Seven Wise Masters*, *Solomon and Marcolphus*, and *Virgil the Sorcerer*. The original treatise was evidently composed in Italy, probably not later than the first quarter of the fourteenth century.]

30. "Friedrich Hebbel's Conception of the Function of Poetry." By Professor Thomas Moody Campbell, of Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

[The view advanced by O. Walzel, and before him more cautiously by Anna Schapire-Neurath, that Hebbel essentially modified his idea of the function of poetry as he grew older, is not tenable. Hebbel

did not, in his earlier years, seriously believe that poetry would afford abstract knowledge of life. He held that reason always moves in a straight line, while only some living thing can *symbolize* life. In the same way every work of art is an unfathomable symbol of life, and there is no nearer approach to it. His realism considered from this point of view.]

31. "L'Imagination flamande dans l'Ecole symboliste." By Professor A. J. Carnoy, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[La vision des Flamands est très concrète, très précise dans tous les détails et donne une présence durable, réelle et presque corporelle aux créations de l'imagination. Tous ces traits se remontrent dans les rêveries des mystiques flamands anciens et modernes. On les retrouve non moins nettement dans les poèmes des écrivains belges de la dernière génération (Maeterlynck, Verhaeren, Rodenbach, Van Lerberghe, Le Roy, Elskamp, etc.). Ils ont influencé profondément l'école symboliste française.]

32. "The *Southern Passion* and its Relation to the *South English Legendary*." By Miss E. Beatrice Daw, of Smith College.

[The *Southern Passion*, which occurs in ten manuscripts of the *South English Legendary*, appears to have been written to fill a place in that collection. There is no evidence, however, that it was a feature of the earliest version of the *Legendary*. The date of the poem is fixed by internal evidence as prior to 1290. A study of the relation of the *Southern Passion* to other poems in the *Legendary*, viz., the longer and shorter form of the *Life of Christ*, the *Life of Judas*, and the festal verses for Easter, throws some light on the structural development of the portion of the collection known as the *Temporale*.]

33. "Scholarship and Poetry." By Professor John Erskine, of Columbia University.

[Current misconception of the service or disservice scholarship may render to poetry. Lack of scholarship, and prejudice against scholarship, in verse-writing to-day. The scholarship of great poets as illustrated by their use of traditional material. The contemporary search for untraditional material—the tendency toward an art of immediate experience, of pure sensation. The philosophy of art implied in this tendency.]

34. "The French Influence on Rumanian Literature." By Mr. Léon Feraru, of Columbia University.

[Rumanian literature dates from the sixteenth century. The chief influences are Slavonic, modern Greek, and French. Upon closer observation one notices that even the Slavonic and Greek influences are indirectly French. Religious at the very beginning, primitive and naïve in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the literature of the nation inhabiting Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, Transylvania, Bukowina, and a small part of Macedonia, becomes with the beginning of the nineteenth century graceful, colorful, and original.

As it stands to-day, it has produced writers like Alecsandri, Eminescu, Caragiale, and Anghel. In the great family of Romance literature it has at least the same interest and savor as the Provençal literature. In 1887, when Alecsandri and Mistral met in Montpellier, the bard of *The Song of the Latin Race* and the bard of *Félibrige*, drinking to the health of Romania, decided the fate of the future development of Rumanian literature.]

35. "The Element of Homely Realism in Middle High German Literature." By Professor Christabel F. Fiske, of Vassar College.

[The comparative stress laid in medieval German literature upon the element of homely realism is illustrated, in this article, by its tendency toward localization; towards naturalistic treatment of simple emotions, of common people, women, children, animals, food, etc. (with frequent figures drawn from cookery); towards exploding by common sense current superstitions; and towards translating dignified conceptions into terms of familiar simplicity.]

36. "The Geats in *Beowulf*." By Dr. Alexander Green, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[A new investigation based on the cultural and historical environment of the poem, which sets up the theory that the Geatas were neither the Goths of Sweden nor the Jutes of Jutland, but those Danish occupants of Jutland who supplanted the emigrating "English" Jutes. This view clears up a number of inconsistencies not hitherto accounted for, such as the Finn Episode, Unferth's taunt, and *Beowulf's* charge of Danish cowardice.]

37. "Chaucer's Prioress." By Mr. Henry Barrett Hinckley, of Northampton, Mass.

[Chaucer admires the personal appearance of the Prioress, but treats her conduct with urbane irony. The latter appears especially in her excessive demonstrativeness about small animals. The key to the Prioress's character is esthetic and not moral. She is an enthusiast about music, and is the only Pilgrim to make the theme of her

Tale a fine art. The "clergeoun" also is artistic rather than moral. The Prioress studies the art of conduct, or etiquette, without specially understanding its meaning.]

38. "John Foster and the Epithet 'Romantic.'" By Mr. J. Paul Kaufman, of Yale University.

[Foster's essay *On the Application of the Epithet Romantic*, 1805, strangely ignored, is the first extended treatment of this term, at least in English, and sums up to an extraordinary degree many of the characteristics of what we now call the romantic movement.]

39. "The Influence of the English Conception of Humours on the Conception of Original Genius." By Mr. J. Paul Kaufman, of Yale University.

[The conception of the humors shows a steady development in the seventeenth century. We may distinguish three elements in the idea emerging more and more clearly; (1) individual peculiarity, (2) emotion, (3) impossibility or difficulty of control. Working thru the idea of the "ruling passion" the conception of the humors vitally affects the distinctively English idea of original genius.]

40. "Property Rights of the Author in His Work during the Elizabethan Age." By Dr. David Klein, of the College of the City of New York.

[Sir Sidney Lee holds that the author was without legal protection against unscrupulous publishers. In this view he is opposed by Alfred W. Pollard. This paper attempts to marshal the evidences in the case. The inferences drawn therefrom constitute, in the main, a corroboration of Sir Sidney Lee's view.]

41. "Who was 'my master Bukton'?" By Dr. Ernest P. Kuhl, of the University of Minnesota.

[Two Buktons—one of Yorkshire and one of Suffolk—have been mentioned as Chaucer's friend. Recent investigation has disclosed the fact that the Yorkshireman was a prominent resident of Holderness—where Chaucer localized one of his tales. It is probable, therefore, that he is referred to in the well-known poem.]

42. "Addison's first contribution to the *Tatler*." By Dr. Ernest P. Kuhl, of the University of Minnesota.

[Further evidence that Addison contributed the entire essay (No. 18), instead of the latter half—the generally accepted view. The

subject matter of the first part reflects Addison's rather than Steele's point of view.]

43. "The Dragon in *Beowulf*." By Professor William Witherle Lawrence, of Columbia University.

[A study of the interpretation of the passages in the epic which deal with the Dragon, and of their relation to analogous material elsewhere.]

44. "Current Misconceptions of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*." By Dr. Percy W. Long, of Harvard University.

[Experience among teachers in University Extension and examination of notes in school editions show that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are usually taken as strictly parallel poems describing a typical day and a typical night of two contrasted and separate personages. The lyric intention and the element of sequence in the poems are lost sight of. It would seem, indeed, in spite of the general superficial knowledge of Milton, that there exists no thoroughly accurate exposition of their purpose and meaning.]

45. "*Les Fortunes et Adversitez* of Jean Regnier." By Mr. Lander MacClintock, of Swarthmore College.

[An account and an analysis of the poems of Jean Regnier, Bailli of Auxerre in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. His *Fortunes et Adversitez*, first printed in 1526, has been reprinted only once, in an edition limited to one hundred copies. It throws much light on conditions of life during the Hundred Years' War. Regnier wrote a Testament in verse which antedates the *Grand Testament* of Villon by several years. His book is "un document humain de premier ordre" (Gaston Paris).]

46. "Renan and Matthew Arnold." By Professor Lewis F. Mott, of the College of the City of New York.

[The influence of Sainte-Beuve upon Arnold's critical writings is commonly recognized, but little has been said of the considerable influence of Renan. Arnold's acquaintance with Renan seems to date from 1859, and the book that chiefly attracted his attention was *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, which furnished him suggestions, both general and in detail, of which he made use in the next few years. Later these two writers diverged more and more widely.]

47. "Some Elements in Medieval Descriptions of the Otherworld." By Dr. Howard R. Patch, of Bryn Mawr College.

[There has been a tendency to refer Otherworld scenes in romance to Celtic origin. By means of further classification it now appears that some elements should not be so derived, since they do not accord with the characteristics of native Celtic descriptions. They are much more easily explained on the ground of adoption from religions where they are clearly indigenous. Thus Oriental mythology will account for the mountain, the four streams, and the surrounding river.]

48. "New Verse and New Prose." By Dr. William Morrison Patterson, of Columbia University.

[An attempt at a sharper analysis of verse and prose. Seven types: (1) "metrical verse," in which the effect of a repeated stress-pattern is in evidence; (2) "unitary verse," in which equal time-intervals (marked by chief accents and filled in with a quite variable number of less accented syllables) form a satisfying succession of units; (3) "polyphonic prose," in which tone-color patterns are more in evidence than in ordinary prose; (4) "spaced prose," in which the balancing of broader groupings in prose rhythm is accentuated by printing the phrases on separate lines; (5) "fluid prose," in which the rhythm as rhythm is less obvious than in "spaced prose"; (6) "mosaics," in which verse and prose, or the several kinds of verse and prose, alternate successively; and, finally, (7) "blends," in which effects not commonly found together are superimposed.]

49. "The Study of Human Nature in the College Curriculum." By Professor Richard Rice, Jr., of Smith College.

[Present neglect of biography. How biography may be studied as a unifier of the college course, bringing into closer contact studies in philosophy, history, and literature. Representative biography. The study of human nature as tending to disillusionment and idealism. The pleasure of reading biography.]

50. "Los gitanos en la literatura española: Siglos XVI y XVII." By Dr. M. Romera-Navarro, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[Opúsculos de pretensiones históricas, científicas o sociales que tienen por asunto el gitanismo.—Entremeses, comedias y novelas en que los gitanos hacen importante papel.—Particular examen de *La gitanilla* de Cervantes, y comparación de sus descripciones con las que de la vida y los usos gitanos hallamos en cuatro sucintos tratados de sus contemporáneos y en la parte expositiva de textos legales de la época: Cervantes es el primero, y en todo tiempo el único, en reconocer a los gitanos españoles algunas brillantes

cualidades y describir su vida serena e imparcialmente, resultando por tanto *La gitanilla* el más precioso documento del gitanismo español.]

51. "The Style of Olivier de Serres." By Dr. William H. Schei-
fey, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[The style of Olivier de Serres has been compared to that of Montaigne, and yet his *Théâtre d'Agriculture*, simple, direct, authoritativ, didactic, persuasiv (often with a tint of Gallic *bonhomie*), contains neither discursiv meditation nor skeptical dilettantism. Altho the maxims intersperst in this famus work recall the Proverbs of Scripture, De Serres, as a calm optimist, was free from the visionary exaltation of Bernard Palissy, his co-religionist, and the scathing satire of Agrippa d'Aubigné. Thanks to his terseness, his purity of diction, and predilection for nativ French words, he might be cald an unconscious collaborator of Malherbe. For broadmindedness and sound judgment, for psychological penetration of man and the humbler creatures, he is not exceld by any great French writer of the sixteenth century.]

52. "Das Wesen des deutschen Humors. Ein geschichtlicher Versuch." By Dr. F. Schoenemann, of Harvard University.

[Humor und Volkscharakter.—I. Der allgemeine Begriff des deutschen Humors, mit Erläuterungen. Witz, Parodie; Anekdote, Herzenshumor. Volkshumor und literarischer Humor. Humor als poetische Stimmung. II. Zur Geschichte des deutschen Humors. Luther und Till Eulenspiegel. Goethe. Die Wochenschriften. Der Poetische Realismus.—Die humoristische Gedankenwelt von Jean Paul, Gottfried Keller, Reuter und Raabe. Zum neuen Deutschland. Heinrich Seidel.—Spuren deutschen Humors in Amerika. Wilhelm Busch und Thomas Nast.]

53. "Wordsworth's *Tract on the Convention of Cintra*." By Professor John Edwin Wells, of Connecticut College.

[Groing realization of the permanent value of Wordsworth's political writings, and their great significance for the present war. The *Tract on the Convention of Cintra*. The several original texts. Unique copies. Variants in texts, and their significance. Facts of composition and publication. The extent and the nature of the collaboration of Coleridge and DeQuincey. A demonstration of the injustis of the common criticism of DeQuincey's work on the piece.]

54. "A Definition of the Lyric." By Dr. C. E. Whitmore, of Harvard University.

[Historically, the lyric is intimately associated with vital poetic production. This association, sometimes taken for granted, sometimes—as in neo-classic periods—ignored, or misunderstood, offers, when analyzed, the basis for a consistent definition of the lyric as the most purely imaginative type of poetry, thus accounting for its peculiar traits, and distinguishing it from other poetic forms.]

55. "Notes on Sex-Dialects." By Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, of the State University of Iowa.

[An attempt at differentiation in the vocabularies of the sexes and a search for linguistic or psychological causes of the differences, with reference to the possibility of throwing light upon the subject of grammatical gender.]

56. "The Background of the Parkerian Pageant." By Professor Robert Withington, of Smith College.

[Mr. Louis N. Parker is emphatic in declaring that his "historical folkplays"—the first of which was produced at Sherborne, Dorset, in 1905—owe nothing to the earlier English pageantry, but were inspired by the German *Festspiel*. A study of The Lord Mayor's Show of the later nineteenth century, together with other pageantic shows of England, however, indicates that these probably prepared the public for the new Pageant, the chief novelty of which lies in technique and manner of presentation.]

57. "The First Literary Circle in America." By Dr. Thomas G. Wright, of Yale University.

[Judge Sewall the center of a group, unnoticed by historians of American literature, who encouraged each other to write poetry and criticized each other's work (ca. 1700). Most of the poems lost; those preserved of no especial merit, but include the first original poem in any American periodical. Little or no direct literary influence; may have prepared for later movements.]

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION

The twenty-third annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Madison, Wisconsin, under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin, December 27, 28, 29, 1917.

The sessions were held in the Law Building of the University of Wisconsin. The commodious University Club was general headquarters. The Chairman of the Division, Professor Thomas Edward Oliver, of the University of Illinois, presided at all the sessions, except as noted hereafter.

The attendance at the meeting was good, considering the times, the distance, and the weather. The register showed 136 names. The attendance at the luncheon was 135, and at the smoker 130. Universities represented by three or more persons were: Wisconsin 38, Minnesota 20, Northwestern 8, Illinois 7, Chicago 5, Iowa 5, Vanderbilt 3, Missouri 3. Remoter universities deserving mention for sending delegations were: Texas 2, North Dakota 2, Arkansas 1, Utah 1, Michigan 1. All the middle-western States were represented.

The Executive Committee of the Division held its principal session December 27, at 11 a. m., and prepared its report, which was acted on at the business session.

The local arrangements were admirably carried out by the following committee: Henry Burrowes Lathrop, *Chairman*, Barry Cerf, Miss Lucy M. Gay, O. J. Campbell, Miss

Lily Campbell, C. D. Cool, John L. Kind, Bayard Quincy Morgan, and Julius Olson.

FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

The meeting was cald to order at 2.30 p. m. by the Chairman, Professor Thomas Edward Oliver, of the University of Illinois.

The Secretary of the Division, Professor Bert Edward Young, of Vanderbilt University, presented a brief report, reviewing the work of the year. The officers and Executiv Committee had been activ in plans for the improvement of the work of the Association. In view of the enormusly augmented expense of all our publications, the Secretary urged the coöperation of all members in increasing the membership. Upon motion, the report was approved.

The Chairman appointed the folloing committees:

To nominate officers: Professors Colbert Searles, A. R. Hohlfeld, J. M. Thomas, G. H. Stempel, R. H. Griffith.

On place of meeting: Professors J. T. Hatfield, J. D. Fitz-Gerald, Lucy M. Gay, R. P. Jameson.

On Resolutions: Professors R. S. Crane, R. L. Ramsay, W. C. Curry.

The Chairman recognized Professor Thomas A. Knott, of the University of Chicago, who made a presentation of the work and scope of the American Dialect Society and invited coöperation by members of the Division.

The Chairman cald for the report of the Committee on the Modern Language Scholarship Society, appointed in 1916. Professor Carl Schlenker, of the University of

Minnesota, reported progress, and askt to hav the committee continued. Upon motion of Professor J. T. Hatfield, of Northwestern University, it was so orderd.

The Chairman recognized Professor John D. Fitzgerald, of the University of Illinois, who announced the organization of the national Association of Teachers of Spanish and invited the coöperation of members of the Division.

Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan, of the Local Committee, announced arrangements for the entertainment of the visitors.

The Chairman gave notis that meetings wud be opend on time and readers of papers held strictly to time allotments.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. "Imitation of the Elizabethans in the Erly Eighteenth Century—a New Document." By Professor Ronald S. Crane, of Northwestern University.

[Altho students ar agreed concerning the imitativ and neo-classical caracter of the Spenserian and Miltonic "revivals," there is inquiry as to when and why poets began imitating Spenser and Milton. Passages in Felton's *Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style* (1713) sho imitation of Elizabethans recognized erlier than is supposed, and regarded as consistent with a strict neo-classical point of view.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

2. "Literary Ideals in Eighteenth-Century France." By Professor Colbert Searles, of the University of Minnesota.

[It is generally asserted that French literature of the eighteenth century was utilitarian and propagandistic; hence the failure to attain artistic excellence. As a matter of fact, writers paid great attention to the processes by which literature in its highest forms is made, and wer actuated by ideals similar to those of the seventeenth century. The work of Voltaire is discust in this connection. Other causes for decline in artistic quality.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors Barry Cerf and Hugh A. Smith, of the University of Wisconsin.

3. "Wordsworth's Three Ages of Man." By Professor Arthur Beatty, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Wordsworth's use of the conception of the Three Ages and its sources. Uses of this conception in noting the development of the poet and in interpreting his poetry.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

4. "Italian Fabulists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." By Professor Kenneth McKenzie, of the University of Illinois.

[A comprehensiv bibliographical and critical study of fables and fabulists in France, Italy, and other cuntries since La Fontaine is stil to be made. The paper attempted to classify the Italian fable writers of this period and to sho that, while few ar important as individuals, their work as a whole is significant.—*Twenty minutes.*]

5. "An Experiment in Intonation Curvs." By Professor Sarah T. Barrows, of the Ohio State University.

[The ear is not so wel traind as the eye. By means of intonation curvs we visualize the variations in pitch and quantity, which often ar not detected by the ear. The experiment was made for the purpose of testing the practical value of intonation curvs in the teaching of foren languages.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

During the reading of this paper Professor Kenneth McKenzie, of the University of Illinois, occupied the chair.

This paper was discust by Professors A. R. Hohlfeld, S. H. Goodnight, and Mr. A. W. Aron, of the University of Wisconsin.

6. "The Relation between French Farce and the Secular Elements in the Towneley Cycle." By Mr. Louis Wann, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The supposed influence of French farce upon secular elements in Towneley whose sources hav remaind unidentified. Banzer's claim of *Pathelin* as the source of the Mak farce in the Second Shepherd's Play refuted. Other parallels in French farces, mystères, etc.

Sources of the secular elements in Towneley ar to be sought, not in France, but in England.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors T. E. Oliver, and Charles Read Baskervill of the University of Chicago.

7. "How Shakespeare Shifted His Scene." By Professor G. F. Reynolds, of Indiana University.

[The problem of shoing that the scene had changed on the Elizabethan stage, with its simultaneous and symbolic properties, was a real one. In this the dramatists wer assisted by a convention that exit at one door and immediate entrance at another ment a change of scene. The existence of this convention is establisht by certain directions; illustrations of its further use wer cited.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

In the absence of the author the reading of this paper was omitted.

8. "Gottfried Keller's Attitude toward Literary Criticism and Theory." By Mr. August R. Krehbiel, of the State University of Iowa.

[Keller's evaluation of contemporary critics shoes appreciation of lasting values in criticism. His critical writings before *Der grüne Heinrich*, sho keen insight, but ar essentially empirical. In his opposition to any definition of the Novelle form there is an increasing antipathy to systematic criticism and literary theory.—*Fifteen miuutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors A. R. Hohlfeld, H. B. Lathrop, and S. H. Goodnight, of the University of Wisconsin.

The Chairman recognized Professor Ernst Voss, of the University of Wisconsin, who offerd the folloing resolution:

Resolved, That this Division has herd with regret of the serious illness of the President of the Association, Professor Kuno Francke, and that the Secretary be instructed to send him a telegram conveying the sympathy of this body, with earnest wishes for his speedy recovery.

This resolution was adopted by unanimus vote.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Thursday, December 27, the members of the Central Division assembled in the parlors of Lathrop Hall, and heard with pleasure the following:

Address of welcome, Edward Asahel Birge, Dean of the College of Letters and Science, of the University of Wisconsin.

Address of the Chairman of the Central Division, Professor Thomas Edward Oliver, of the University of Illinois. Subject: "The Menace to Our Ideals."

These addresses were followed by an informal reception.

SECOND SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

Departmental Meetings for Presentation of Technical Papers

In accordance with the action of the Division at its 1916 meeting, setting apart one session for sectional gatherings in which the more technical papers in English, Germanic Languages, and Romance Languages should be read and discussed, separate meetings were held at 9.30 a. m. in various rooms in the Law Building. The following were the programs:

ENGLISH

Chairman—Professor Charles Read Baskervill, of the University of Chicago.

Secretary—Professor Samuel Moore, of the University of Michigan.

9. "On Translating *Beowulf*." By Professor William Ellery Leonard, of the University of Wisconsin.

[On the practicability of translating *Beowulf* in modern English couplets made up of variations from both the Old English and the Nibelungen line—a discussion of some simple principles for achieving a mesure of imaginativ equivalence, particularly in rythmical effect, without violating the genius and traditions of English versification; with some illustrativ specimens of a new version.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

10. "Progress Pieces: An Eighteenth-Century Literary Fad." By Professor R. H. Griffith, of the University of Texas.

[The group of fifty or more pieces, generally poems; the best-known example, Gray's "Progress of Poesy." The machinery, the allegory of the birth of some abstraction (music, love, liberty) in one cuntry, and its progress to others. Structural plan, the cameo necklace, conventional design of eighteenth-century poetry. The fad the offspring of caracter-writing and new conceptions of continuity and evolution in history and science. Subsequent influence.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

11. "And Which; and Who." By Professor Henry Burrowes Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Many books on retoric prohibit coördinating words and frases with clauses, especially in the "*and which* construction." This general precept is unsound, adverbial expressions being coördinated freely, substantiv expressions not infrequently. Appositiv adjectiv expressions often coördinated by standard writers. The prohibition a rule of thum, unscolarly and harmful.—*Twenty minutes.*]

The paper was discust by Professors H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri, Samuel Moore, of the University of Michigan, Killis Campbell, of the University of Texas, and W. E. Leonard, of the University of Wisconsin.

12. "Did Shakespeare Write *The Taming of the Shrew*?" By Dr. Ernest P. Kuhl, of the University of Minnesota.

[Arguments for double authorship, based on diction, verse, classical allusions, and scraps of Italian, ar not sound. Good reasons for believing that Shakespeare wrote the entire play; unity of

characterization, firmly nit plot, treatment of sources, use of double endings, etc.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

13. "Costuming on the English Stage between 1660 and 1823." By Miss Lily B. Campbell, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Between 1660 and 1770 we note adherence to certain sloly evold traditions in regard to stage costumes. The period was markt by eccentricities of costuming arising from attemts at accuracy in historical detail and local color. Between 1770 and 1823 artists and managers workt under the influence of groing antiquarian interests and archeological discoveries, while beauty of costume was advanced by increast interest in Greek sculpture and mechanical changes in stage illumination and arrangement.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

14. "Some Predecessors of Shakespeare's Children." By Professor Walter Clyde Curry, of Vanderbilt University.

[Investigation of pre-Elizabethan literature shoes that, with a single exception, the children of Shakespeare's plays ar made out of traditional English material. Most of them belong (1) to the Lay-Figure type; two of them are (2) The Forward or Bad-Boy type; and one of (3) The Pathetic-Figure Type. The fact that he folloes tradition, together with a consideration of the limitations of the stage, may explain Shakespeare's apparent inability to portray childhood with truth.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

15. "Morality Themes in Milton's Poetry." By Professor Robert L. Ramsay, of the University of Missouri.

[The historic morality themes wer an important part of the furniture of Milton's mind. In the development of his career the morality yielded stedily to the parable. The three chief themes of the morality play—viz., the Debate of the Four Daughters of God, the Coming of Deth, and the Conflict of the Vices and Virtues—wer drawn upon in the minor poems; the third supplied the plot of *Comus*; all combined in the original plot of *Paradise Lost*; traces of all remain even in the finisht epics; all hav vanisht from *Samson Agonistes* and been replaced by the parable or concrete type of allegory. Significance for the groeth of Milton's mind.—*Twenty minutes.*]

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor Edwin Carl Roedder, of the University of Wisconsin.

Secretary—Mr. August R. Krehbiel, of the State University of Iowa.

16. "Accent-Mixture and Sound-Changes." By Professor C. M. Lotspeich, of the University of Cincinnati.

[Consonant shifts and umlaut are the result of a mixing of two different types of accentuation, Nordic (North German) and Alpine (in its purest form, French). The Germanic and High German consonant shifts are in origin identical with Celtic "lenition" and arose from *antagonistic muscular reaction*. This theory eliminates increase of force of expiration as a positive factor in sound-changes. Umlaut is the result of accent-mixture, whereby a new and unnatural dominant, or moment of maximum muscular contraction, is substituted for an old habitual one. Phenomenon identical in Celtic, Slavic, and Germanic.—*Twenty-five minutes.*]

In the absence of the author through serious illness the paper was read by Mr. A. W. Aron. It was discussed by Messrs. Hollander and Aron, of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor G. H. Stempel, of Indiana University.

17. "The Middle High German Clitic Preterits *gie*, *fi*, *lie* as Indications of Shifting Speech-Feeling." By Professor Robert James Kellogg, of the James Millikin University.

[That the MHG phenomena of (1) omission of intervocalic *h*, *g*, and *w*, (2) assimilative and sandhi variations of *h*, *k*, *oh*, and *g*, (3) syncope of verb forms, (4) grammatical change (Verner's Law) were entrenched in speech-feeling is shown by their creating analogical formations. It appears (1) that these phonetic equations and variations were associated with and reinforced each other in MHG speech-feeling, and (2) that stem variation between strong preterit singular and plural was of fundamental importance here. It follows (3) that MHG speech-feeling was predisposed to formation of clitic preterits and (4) that, conversely, subsequent stem-leveling of preterit singular and plural favored leveling out of these forms.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

In the absence of the author this paper was not read.

18. "The Earliest Music to Goethe's *Faust*." By Professor James Davies, of the University of Minnesota.

[This paper treated the development of the idea of a musical setting to *Faust* which resulted in the Radziwill arrangement. The evolution of this was traced principally thru the Zelter-Goethe correspondence. The paper was merely a section of a larger scheme now in preparation, which includes consideration of the influence of the *Faust* idea in the world of music.—*Twenty minutes*.]

The paper was discussed by Professors J. T. Hatfield and A. R. Hohlfeld, and by Director Max Griebesch, of the National German-American Teachers' Seminary.

19. "Traces of Matriarchy in Germanic Hero-lore." By Mr. Albert W. Aron, of the University of Wisconsin.

[A review of the theory of matriarchy. Matriarchy among Celts and other Indo-European races. Contemporary mention of matriarchy among Germanic races. Numerous references to close relationship between uncle and sister's son in Germanic hero-lore. Bearing of this question on text interpretation, on the problem of Germanic civilization, and on relationship of Germanic and Indo-European.—*Twenty-five minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professors Roedder, Stempel, and Hohlfeld, and Mr. Hollander.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor R. P. Jameson, of Oberlin College.

20. "The Author of Branches II. and V. a of the *Renard* and Chrétien de Troyes." By Professor Lucy M. Gay, of the University of Wisconsin.

[M. Wilmette in *Romania*, 1915, endeavors to show that the author of the oldest branch of the *Renard* was acquainted with Chrétien. Three passages of the *Renard* are cited as proof. Models for two of these are found in works mentioned in the prolog of Branch II. The third is as probably a borrowing of Chrétien from the *Renard*, as *vice versa*.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discust by Professor Hugh A. Smith.

21. "*Decameron* IV.v and the Sicilian Basil Song." By Professor H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri.

[The Sicilian *canzone*, "Quale esso fu lo mal cristiano," commonly accepted as the source of *Decameron* IV, v, had originally the same meaning as the English *Sprig of Thyme* folk-song. Boccaccio consciously reinterpreted it to fit the lover-murderd-by-brothers theme.—*Twenty minutes.*]

22. "The Background and Date of Gautier's *Eracle*." By Professor Frederick A. G. Cowper, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The date 1164 is generally given for the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras, but the form of the poem and the prolog and epilog indicate a lapse of years between the composition of the first and second parts. Provins furnisht the setting. Striking similarity between the migration of Gautier d'Arras and of Chrétien de Troie from Champagne to Flanders.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

The paper was discust by the Chairman.

23. "Gautier and Sterne." By Professor Francis B. Barton, of the University of Minnesota.

[Gautier's familiarity with Sterne is attested by frequent reference to incidents in *Tristram Shandy*. Clearly markt traces of Sterne's influence on Gautier found especially in Gautier's erlier works: (1) close imitation of specific incidents in Sterne; (2) use of nearly all of Sterne's idiosyncrasies of style; (3) the account of a journey that may be termd "sentimental"; (4) the pert, bantering attitude that Gautier at times assumes toward the reader.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

The paper was discust by Professor A. Coleman, of the University of Chicago.

24. "The Influence of Conservatism upon the Art of Pereda." By Dr. John Van Horne, of the University of Illinois.

[Pereda wrote because he felt within him the impulse to write. Nearly all his works contain something of a polemical nature, which must be attributed to distaste for modernism. This paper aimd to

sho that the controversial spirit is one of the most fundamental and most valuable elements in Pereda's productions, altho it often interferes with formal art.—*Twenty minutes.*]

25. "Les 'Cahiers' de L'Amitié de France." By Mr. Robert Silvercruys, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Plusieurs articles ont paru au cours de ces dernières années où l'on s'est efforcé d'indiquer le caractère et l'importance du courant catholique dans la littérature française d'aujourd'hui. L'histoire des "Cahiers" de l'Amitié de France et l'étude de l'esprit qui s'y manifeste ne peuvent manquer de nous donner des lumières nouvelles.—*Twenty minutes.*]

The members of the Central Division wer entertained at luncheon by the local membership at the University Club at half past twelv on Friday.

THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

Departmental Conference on Instruction

This period was devoted to three departmental meetings, representing the English, Germanic, and Romance Languages, for the discussion of problems of instruction. A definit sequence of work is attempted in these conferences. The sessions wer all held in the Law Bilding, opening at 2.30 p. m. The folloing programs wer presented:

ENGLISH

Chairman—Professor Karl Young, of the University of Wisconsin.

Secretary—Professor Thomas A. Knott, of the University of Chicago.

The conference herd the extended and able report of the special committee on Freshman English, appointed in 1916, consisting of Professors F. A. Manchester, of the

University of Wisconsin, F. W. Scott, of the University of Illinois, and J. M. Thomas, of the University of Minnesota. The report, which was presented by the Chairman, Professor Manchester, was discussed paragraph by paragraph, by the following persons: Miss Frances Allen Foster, of Carleton College, Professors Carleton F. Brown, J. M. Thomas, and Miss Whitney, of the University of Minnesota, Professors F. G. Hubbard, O. J. Campbell, Jr., Karl Young, W. E. Leonard, H. B. Lathrop, Charles S. Pendleton, F. A. Manchester, of the University of Wisconsin, H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri, F. B. Snyder, of Northwestern University, Killis Campbell, of the University of Texas, Samuel Moore, of the University of Michigan. At the close of the discussion Professor Lathrop moved that the report be received and if possible printed and circulated for discussion at the next meeting. The motion was passed.

The conference passed then to the reading of papers:

26. "The Place of Old and Middle English in the Undergraduate Curriculum." By Professor Carleton F. Brown, of the University of Minnesota.

The paper was discussed by Professors Samuel Moore and W. E. Leonard.

Upon the motion of Professor Moore the Chairman was directed to appoint a committee of three to name a chairman of the conference for 1918, this committee to report their choice to the officers of the Division. The Chairman named the following: Professors H. M. Belden, *Chairman*, T. A. Knott, and W. D. Howe of Indiana University.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor James Taft Hatfield, of Northwestern University.

Secretary—Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan, of the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Hatfield, acting as chairman in the absence thru illness of Professor C. M. Lotspeich, who prepared the program, said in substance:

Meeting to-day under exceptional conditions, and with a sense of the straitening of our resources and influence, we have no word of complaint as to hardships. In this heroic time we have full faith in the essential large-heartedness and justice of the American people, and await with confidence the victory of the national cause and the brightening of the horizon.

The following topics were offered for discussion:

27. "Standardization of Editions of German Texts."
By Professor B. J. Vos, of Indiana University.

Professor Vos had hoped up to the last moment that the quarantine on his home would be lifted, and so had made no provision for the reading of his paper, which promised especially animated discussion.

28. "Elementary Work from a Different Angle."
By Professor Walter R. Myers, of the University of Minnesota.

Language training is primarily art training, that is, training in skill in handling the language tool, as opposed to scientific knowledge about language. Greater emphasis should therefore be laid upon the expression of thought from the beginning, even to the exclusion, in the first weeks, of all scientific information about the language, until the beginner has, thru the necessarily close observation and imitation, formed the habit of associating immediately in his sub-consciousness the idea and the expression for the idea. Imitation and practice, being the essentials in all art training, are supported by criticism (grammar) after a basis of skill has been developed.

The application of these principles influences fundamentally the selection of reading material, the methods of preparing assignments and of conducting recitations, as well as the methods of study and the volitional attitude of the student.

This paper gave rise to spirited discussion, in which participated Professors Barrows, Hatfield, Roedder, Morgan, Graves, Koenig, Pflueger, Hohlfeld, and Messrs. Aron and Diehl.

29. "Practical Suggestions on the Methodology of Undergraduate Literary Courses." By Professor John L. Kind, of the University of Wisconsin.

Pointing out that heretofore little attention had been paid to this group of courses, the speaker outlined the steps by which the German department at the University of Wisconsin had classified and arranged these courses, and detailed the present practice of their administration. Two groups of undergraduate literary courses are distinguished, designated respectively as A and B courses. The courses in Group A are primarily language-practice courses. Emphasis is laid on close examination of the text, on grammatical knowledge, on written and spoken German. The courses in Group B are primarily literature-study courses, presupposing the completion of a course in Group A. The amount of reading is here largely increased, emphasis is laid on collateral reading, biographical and cultural background, and literary appreciation. Most of the courses are conducted in German, but there are fewer written exercises. At the completion of such a course, the student is prepared to meet the more exacting requirements of the advanced literary courses.

This paper was discussed by Professors Hatfield and Hohlfeld.

Professor Charles H. Handschin, of Miami University, was elected Chairman of the section for 1918.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Chairman—Professor A. Coleman, of the University of Chicago.

Secretary—Dr. John Van Horne, of the University of Illinois.

A.—Reports of Committees

I. Professor T. E. Oliver, of the University of Illinois, reported on behalf of the program committee that a definite policy had been started which would extend over several years, dealing in turn with first, second, third, and fourth-year work. He recommended that a chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary, be elected annually, and that this committee be charged with the direction of the program. The report was adopted.

Upon the recommendation of the nominating committee, Professors A. Marinoni, Theo. L. Neff, and Lucy M. Gay, the following officers were elected for the 1918 meeting: *Chairman*, Professor H. R. Brush, University of North Dakota; *Vice-Chairman*, Professor A. de Salvio, Northwestern University; *Secretary*, Professor C. E. Leavenworth, Wabash College. These officers constitute the program committee.

II. Reports from the committees appointed last year "to prepare and submit in 1917 standard courses for the first year college classes in French, Italian, and Spanish."

(a) French Committee: Professors A. Coleman, Barry Cerf, University of Wisconsin, and Mark Skidmore, University of Kansas.

The report was divided into an introduction, recommendations, and ways and means. The introduction discussed general tendencies and methods, and made allowance for differences in various institutions and localities. It was recommended that the following points be stressed: pronunciation, grammar, understanding and use of living language, reading, and French life, history, customs, etc. The following ways and means were mentioned: practice in pronunciation, phonetic symbols, extensive drill, reproductions, devices to stimulate interest and to clarify, groupings of words, etc., use of French in class, the reading of about 100 pages in the first semester, and 150 or more in the second, careful translation at first, and the introduction, whenever possible, of maps and historical matter.

This paper was discust by Professors C. E. Young, of Beloit College, H. R. Brush, and R. P. Jameson. On the motion of Professor Young it was voted that the report be accepted, presented to the *Modern Language Journal* for publication, and printed in abbreviated form in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

(b) Italian Committee: Professors A. Marinoni, University of Arkansas; E. H. Wilkins, University of Chicago; and Ruth Shepard Phelps, University of Minnesota.

Italian is alredy more standardized than French or Spanish, particularly in the use of grammars and reading texts, these being few in number. Most classes meet three times a week and read in all from 200 to 300 pages. Altho classes ar small, variations in ability of students make oral practis difficult. To meet this situation the first semester shud be used for training students to understand spoken and written Italian; not very much composition shud be done until the second semester, when many exercises may be written, and free composition introduced. Translation ought to be prominent at the outset, and gro less and less important.

This report was discust by Professor Kenneth McKenzie, of the University of Illinois. Professor T. E. Oliver moved that the report be accepted and presented in form for publication to the *Modern Language Journal*. The motion was carried.

(c) Spanish Committee: Professors John D. Fitzgerald, E. W. Olmsted, University of Minnesota, and Arthur L. Owen, University of Kansas.

A careful comparison of syllabi alredy publiast shoes a remarkable approximation to identity. Radical methods shud be avoided, in favor of a thoughtful policy of choice. In pronunciation Castilian shud be used. Training in grammar must form the background for the work in all beginning classes. Translation into good idiomatic English is essential. It is probably advisable to adopt a grammar

that will give a skeleton of the entire field in one semester, leaving the second semester for review and greater stressing of detail. Syntax should be left for the second year. In reading, some 100 pages should be covered in the first, and 200 in the second semester. Constant oral and written reproduction must accompany both grammar and reading work. Finally, some really good pieces of prose and verse are to be memorized.

This report was discussed by Professor G. T. Northup, of the University of Chicago. On his motion it was voted that the report be accepted and sent to *Hispania* in form for publication.

Professor McKenzie offered a resolution providing that no difference should be made between arts and science students in first year classes in Romance languages. The resolution was adopted.

The Chair ruled that the question of Spanish pronunciation, which was to be taken from the table and decided at this meeting, was settled by the unanimous acceptance of the Spanish committee's report containing the recommendation of Castilian pronunciation. There was no debate or question.

B.—Papers

(Ten-minute introductory talks on the essential elements of second-year college courses in French, Italian, and Spanish.)

30. French: Professor Stephen H. Bush, State University of Iowa.

In the second year students do not notice such rapid improvement as in the first. The gap between good and poor students widens. No purely mechanical solution for these difficulties. Translation must be used as a backbone, the final test to determine whether a class comprehends a text. The danger of too much translation offset by conversation based on the text in every possible variety of method. French summaries of outside reading are useful. Composition plays a great rôle in the grammar work, which should include review and drill in details. A text from which to write French, and free compo-

sition, with a standard grammar, produces better results than a composition book. A special effort must be made to enliven second-year French, so that the student will feel that he is learning something truly helpful.

31. Italian: Professor Ruth Shepard Phelps, University of Minnesota.

Few of the reasons that lead students to elect modern languages are operative in the case of Italian. It can expect only their marginal interest. For this reason, however, second-year students, tho few, are fit. They are fairly well equipped to study Dante, and in most institutions are permitted to do so. But as the Dante course is not open to sophomores, it is not suited to be a so-called second-year course, though the fact that second-year students can read Dante shows that a second-year course will have little in common with the intermediate courses in other modern languages. It can be much more advanced. It should be literary in character, because Italian is less than French an end in itself, and the practical uses for it are not so immediate. The course should be predominantly in poetry rather than prose, leaving prose, which is especially the vehicle of thought, for work in English and French, and emphasizing the peculiarly Italian contribution of beauty, which is felt most in poetry. A tentative recommendation is made of a course in the greatest poets (as Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Leopardi, Carducci) supported by composition work to remind the student of grammar.

32. Spanish: Professor Arthur L. Owen, University of Kansas.

It is advisable to include in the same sections students with utilitarian and cultural aims and present material for both, rather than to separate them. Assuming five hours a week for the course, three hours are devoted to reading and two to composition, oral and written. A long, easy text with steadily increasing assignments should develop the student's ability to read. Translation may perhaps be limited to difficult passages. The reading may be used, from the first, for grammatical and conversational purposes. A comprehensive grammar should be used for reference and intensive study of certain details. In conversation, students must be trained to do more than answer questions. A volume of easy plays is serviceable for oral résumés, etc. A good composition book, varied by free translation into Spanish, is the most practical material for writing. In the

second semester the difficulty of texts red shud be sensibly increast; literary interpretation need not be neglected, but can only be incidental.

On the motion of Professor Hugh A. Smith, University of Wisconsin, it was voted to leav next year's program to the program committee.

C.—Round-Table Discussion

I. The Utilization of the Present Opportunity for the Development of the Study of French.

Professor H. A. Smith presented the results of a circular letter dealing with the problem of securing instruction in French and Spanish, and offerd the folloing resolution:

Owing especially to the demand for those who speak French, many teachers of French and Spanish hav recently entered war servia. At the same time the number of students in French and Spanish has greatly increast. This has brought about a serius situation in the teaching of these subjects. In a number of schools and colleges, to meet this situation in the easiest way, and in some cases also to retain old teachers, there hav been shifted into French and Spanish work teachers from other fields who ar inadequately prepared or not able to enter wholehartedly into the promotion of this work. The section of Romance Languages in the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America desires to call the attention of school and college administrators to the inadvisability of the above mentiond practis, and, at the same time, to pledge to these authorities its best efforts for the immediate training of more French and Spanish teachers. To this end, also, it appeals to administrators of the varius institutions where such teachers can be traind for their coöperation in the development of suitable courses and for the assignment, where possible, of fellowships and scholarships for the aid of candidates in these subjects.

The resolution was adopted.

Professor Smith then moved that an executiv committee of five hav general charge of the matter of urging better facilities for the immediate training of more French and

Spanish teachers, and that this committee be specially charged to secure in each state a strong local committee to undertake the further development of French and Spanish in the high schools and the general promotion of the work with the state as a unit. Professor Barry Cerf, of the University of Wisconsin, proposed as an amendment that the committee consist of Professors Smith, Olmsted, and McKenzie and two others chosen by them. The motion, thus amended, was carried.

II. Military French.

On the motion of Professor Olmsted, it was voted that officers of the Central Division be requested to confer with officers of the Eastern Division with a view to offering the co-operation of this Association with the War Department in providing facilities for the study of French by those in military servis.

FOURTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

The meeting was cald to order at 9.30 a. m.

The Secretary red a letter from Professor William Gardner Hale, *Chairman*, requesting that the representation of the Association upon the Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature be continued. Upon the motion of Professor Kenneth McKenzie, this was unanimously voted. The Committee reported that, in addition to a small French book for our soldiers in France, quite recent grammars of English, Italian, and Spanish hav adopted the nomenclature of the Report of the Committee and that an English grammar now under revision wil adopt it. Some ten English grammars in all hav adopted it.

The Secretary presented the report of the Executiv

Committee, consisting of the Chairman and Secretary and Professors C. R. Baskervill, E. W. Olmsted, and E. Prokosch.

In accordance with the action of the Division in 1916, directing the Committee to take under advisement the general question of the caracter and arrangement of the annual programs of meetings, the Committee recommended, as the result of its considerable deliberation:

That the program of one general session be devoted to some field of general interest, and consist of one leading paper of some length and of such caracter as to interest members in different fields of reserch, with shorter papers groupt about it. The committee further suggests that the Secretary be allowd large discretion in the application of this feature of the programs, which shud not be mandatory in caracter.

In the lively discussion that folloed there participated Professors E. W. Olmsted and J. M. Thomas, of the University of Minnesota; B. E. Young, R. P. Jameson, and Hugh A. Smith. A motion to table the recommendation was lost. After further discussion, in which participated Professors Kenneth McKenzie, Charles E. Young, and Barry Cerf, the question was referd to the Committee for further consideration. The fact that two sessions ar already set apart, one for tecnical papers and one for problems of instruction, was a factor that led many to feel that there was no need for immediate action, altho others activ in the debate favord stil further modifications in the programs.

Professor R. S. Crane presented the folloing report of the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved: that the members of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America express to the authorities of the University of Wisconsin and to the members of the Local Committee their appreciation of the warm curtesy and the cordial hospitality shoен them during the present meeting.

R. S. Crane, *Chairman*, R. L. Ramsay, W. C. Curry, *Committee*.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Committee on Time and Place of the Next Meeting reported, thru Professor R. P. Jameson, in favor of accepting the invitation of Washington University. In the discussion that folloed, members of the Division exprest their deep appreciation of this invitation, but in view of the unusual stress now prevailing and of the difficulty of securing a good attendance at places outside of the central area, the Division went on record by vote as favoring Chicago as the next meeting-place, leaving the whole question, however, to the Executiv Committee, with power to act. There participated in this discussion Professors H. B. Lathrop, Lucy M. Gay, Friedrich Bruns, Hugh A. Smith, B. Q. Morgan, Kenneth McKenzie, B. E. Young, and Dr. John Van Horne. It was evident that there was a strong sentiment in the Division favoring Chicago as the regular meeting-place every year.

Variis questions of law and procedure having arisen in recent meetings, the Chairman, upon the motion of the Secretary, was authorized to appoint a committee to examin the laws of the Division, from the beginning, to make an orderly collection thereof, to formulate proposed modifications therein, and to report its recommendations at the next meeting. The Chairman appointed the folloing committee: Professors E. W. Olmsted, *Chairman*; Thomas A. Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, and Robert A. Law, of the University of Texas.

The Secretary presented the need of more members of the Association and past around cards for nominations to be forwarded to the Secretary of the Association.

The Division adopted the folloing resolution offerd by Professor E. W. Olmsted:

Resolved: that it is the sense of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, in view of wide-spread dissatisfaction among its members with the use of Simplified Spelling, as exemplified in the publications of this Association, that a referendum vote of all members of the Association shud be taken on the question of continuing this policy.

Professor Karl Young presented the folloing resolutions:

Resolved: that the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America favors the compilation and publication of a list of photographic copies of appropriate manuscripts and rare printed books accessible in the United States and Canada; and,

Resolved: that the Executiv Council be requested to appoint a committee with power to forward this project.

Upon motion, these resolutions wer adopted.

On behalf of the Nominating Committee Professor Searles, *Chairman*, presented the folloing report:

The Committee recommended that in the interest of a permanent and effectiv policy the three members who, with the Chairman and Secretary *ex officio*, compose the Executiv Committee be henceforth elected for terms of one, two, and three years, respectively.

With this recommendation the Committee nominated:

For *Chairman*, Professor B. J. Vos, of Indiana University.

For *Secretary*, Professor B. E. Young, of Vanderbilt University.

For the *Executiv Committee*, to serv one year, Professor Otto Heller; to serv two years, Professor E. W. Olmsted; to serv three years, Professor C. R. Baskervill.

Upon motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Division for the report, and the said report with its recommendations was declared adopted.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

33. "Modern Thought in German Lyric Verse." By Professor Friedrich Bruns, University of Wisconsin.

[This paper discuss in outline the development of a modern *Weltanschauung* in the German lyric poets from Goethe and the Romantic school to Nietzsche and Richard Dehmel. Three lines of thought wer taken up: the pantheistic conception of the deity, the problem of free will, and the valuation of life.—*Thirty minutes.*]

34. "The Abbé Prévost and Shakespeare." By Mr. George R. Havens, Indiana University.

[Three men, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century—Muralt, Voltaire, and Abbé Prévost—ar prominent in the diffusion among the French of a knolege of England and the English. The last has generally been considerd the most liberal in his appreciations. A study of his attitude toward Shakespeare, particularly in his periodical, *le Pour et Contre* (1733-1740), leads to a belief that he was less in advance of his time than has been thought.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

35. "The Poe-Griswold Controversy." By Professor Killis Campbell, University of Texas.

[A fresh reviewal of the case in the light of sundry contemporary documents and of our maturer knolege of Poe as reveald by his editors and biografers. Griswold is shoen to have erd less than is commonly supposed in his editing of Poe, but to hav given a very inaccurate account of the poet's life and caracter.—*Twenty minutes.*]

36. "The Beginnings of Rhyme." By Professor George Pullen Jackson, University of North Dakota.

[The hypothesis is advanced that end rime, as it evolvd in medieval times, is not a borroing of the classical *homeoteleuton*, but rather a groth, indigenus to Western Europe, and springing naturally from a rhythmic-melodic environment prepared for it by the peculiar bild of the Latin church hymns and of similar secular songs. The discussion of this environment was the central purpose of the paper.—*Twenty minutes.*]

During the reading of this paper, Professor Lucy M.

Gay occupied the chair, and during the reading of those folloing, Mr. Louis Wann acted as Secretary.

37. "Two Poetic Interpreters of the West." By Mr. John A. Lomax, of Chicago, Ill.

["Out among the big things—the mountains and the plains"—arise voices burdend with the effort to make clear the raw life of the outlands. The desperado, the cowboy, the ranger, the two-gun man, the broncho buster, the bull-dogger, ar the poetic cavaliers; while the open plain, the wide desolate places, the cattle trails, the cow camp, the maverick and the dogies, the sun and saddle, the dance halls, the region where the wil of the individual is the law, provide the stage for stirring scenes. Two poets hav recently written of this life, taking for their hero the cowboy. If cowboys ar not quite as here represented, they ought to be.—*Twenty minutes.*]

38. "English Political Satire in Verse During the American Revolution." By Professor Virgil L. Jones, University of Arkansas.

[All the verse satirists of the period wer mediocre and lacking in originality. They wer usually bitterly partisan and personal. Prior to 1779 a majority of the satirists favord the colonists. After that time there came a decline in production and a change in tone caused by the entrance of France into the war. The increasing seriousness of the conflict tended to destroy satire.—*Twenty minutes.*]

In the absence of the author of this paper, it was not presented.

39. "Childhood in Victor Hugo's Poetry." By Professor R. P. Jameson, Oberlin College.

[Victor Hugo is practically the first French poet to study the child. Remarkable number of poems and allusions. Sources of his inspiration—memories of childhood, periods of family life, etc. Metrical translations of typical poems. Sincerity of emotion shoen especially in the poems on the deth of his daughter. Classification of the pictures and allusions, recurring antitheses, etc. Conclusion.—*Twenty minutes.*]

There being no further business the meeting was declared adjurnd.

PAPERS PRESENTED BY TITLE ONLY

40. "The Authority of O in Reconstituting the Text of the *Chanson de Roland*." By Professor Thomas Atkinson Jenkins, University of Chicago.

[Fluctuations in the estimate of the value of O in Roland text-criticism; Bédier's return to the position of Theodor Müller; Stengel's abandonment of O very frequently inadmissible.]

41. "The Oriental in Restoration Drama." By Mr. Louis Wann, University of Wisconsin.

[This paper presents: *First*, a corpus of all Restoration plays with Orientals in the *dramatis personæ*; *second*, the results of an analysis of these plays on the basis of (1) types of plays, (2) sources, (3) scenes of action, (4) nationalities represented, (5) customs depicted; *third*, the conclusions reached as to the extent and accuracy of the knowledge of Restoration Englishmen regarding the Orient.]

42. "Two Notes on Germanic Syntax." By Professor Morgan Callaway, Jr., University of Texas.

[The first note attempts to show that, in the so-called Dativ-with-Infinitiv Construction in the Germanic Languages, whether after impersonal or personal verbs, the infinitiv is substantival, not predicativ, in function; and that the dativ is more intimately connected with the finite verb of its clause than with the infinitiv. The second note attempts to show that, in the Germanic Languages as a whole, the Present Appositiv Participle originally had not the power of governing an accusativ object, but acquired this power from Greek and Latin.]

43. "Falstaff: Thief, Jester, and Knight." By Professor Charles

[Critics of Falstaff fail to take into account the complexity of the character. Falstaff is (1) a conventional rogue with the buoyancy common in romantic treatment of the rogue; (2) a conventional alehouse jester, but a genuine wit; (3) a conventional braggart soldier, but one who can fight; and (4) a quasi-historical character. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor* conventions of the Pantaloon are added. But so convincingly are the elements harmonized, that Falstaff is far more than an aggregate of type figures in Elizabethan literature.]

44. "The Origin of the Sense of the Sacredness of Childhood Expressed in Wordsworth's Poetry." By Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin, University of Illinois.

[The modern sense of the sacredness of childhood express in Wordsworth's poetry is not, as has been commonly stated, of Platonic, nor even of Greek, origin. It is first found in the Hermetic Books. This mystical literature influenced Wordsworth thru Henry Vaughan. It also, thru Lactantius, had an effect upon early legislation to protect the rights of children.]

45. "The Mastersinger Drama and the Nürnberg Archives." By Professor Neil C. Brooks, University of Illinois.

[An attempt to throw new light upon the mastersinger performances in Nürnberg from study of archival notices published by Hampe and facts about Hans Sachs and the mastersingers. The time and duration of the annual dramatic season and the gradual changes in it, the number and character of the plays given each year, examined especially in the light of Hans Sachs' activity, the social position of the mastersingers, the attitude of the city council toward them, and the gradual changes in it.]

46. "Fielding and the Shakespearean Criticism of His Time." By Miss Helen Sard Hughes, University of Montana.

[Fielding's Shakespearean criticism treats of four points: (1) the excellence of Shakespeare's genius; (2) special characteristics of art in relation to the classical canons of Fielding's day; (3) eighteenth-century methods of editing S.; (4) S. and the theater of Fielding's time. His critical position appears in satires of such editors of S. as Dennis, Theobald, and Warburton; in his friendship for Garrick, and his hostility to the opponents of Garrick, to him opponents of true Shakespearean art; in his attack on the tragedy of Corneille and its English exponents. Fielding the ally of lovers of Shakespeare to whom Johnson brought support in his preface of 1765.]

47. "The German Dramatist of the Sixteenth Century and His Bible." By Dr. Joseph E. Gillet, University of Illinois.

[Complications resulted from the survival of Biblical drama, a product of the Middle Ages and Catholicism, into the Renaissance and Reformation. A theory, regulating the treatment of sacred themes, and divided between esthetic and religious considerations, was evolved. The storm center the Passion Play. To dramatic objections to using Christ as protagonist were added Luther's strictures. This opposition caused Joachim Greff to give up writing a Passion play. On the introduction of the Lord into Nativity or Easter plays, or reading dramas, opinion was more tolerant.]

48. "Primer Diccionario General de Americanismos" (Spanish-Americanisms). By Dr. Homero Serfs, University of Illinois.

[There is no general dictionary of Spanish-Americanisms. There are local dictionaries of *Argentinisms*, *Cubanisms*, etc. Some countries (Panama, Paraguay, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo) have none at all. These dictionaries are incomplete. Many were compiled by persons who lack knowledge in lexicography. As some of these provincialisms are used in two or more countries, they are naturally found in two or more dictionaries. Need of one dictionary which will unify and embrace them all.]

49. "From *Le Misanthrope* to *Le Malade imaginaire*." By Professor Casimir Zdanowicz, University of Wisconsin.

[This paper continues the study of the subjective element in Molière presented at last meeting ("From *Don Garcie* to *Le Misanthrope*"). The author finds the subjective influence stronger in some plays than in others, corresponding to M.'s emotional experiences, particularly his feelings toward his wife. The tone is gay, when he is seeking reconciliation with her, or just reconciled, as in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, than in *George Dandin* or *Amphitryon*, where jealous pessimism predominates. M. generalizes from his own experiences, as does Alceste, but rectifies the evil of his generalizations by broader observations and wider sympathy with all that is human.]

50. "Molière's Debt to Malherbe." By Professor Bert Edward Young, Vanderbilt University.

[Molière probably owed much to the discipline of Malherbe for harmony of verse, purity of style, clearness and order of thought, but remained unaffected by Malherbe's pedantry and purism. In unimportant details he disregards Malherbe. Except for certain apparent reminiscences, like the rejoinder of Alceste (*Misanthrope*, act I, sc. ii), which may have been taken from an anecdote related of Malherbe by Racan (*Vie de M. de Malherbe*), his actual borrowings are scant. His debt abstract rather than concrete.]

MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The nineteenth annual meeting of the PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST was held in San Francisco, November 30 and December 1, 1917. The morning and afternoon sessions of the two days were held at the California School of Fine Arts. The meeting in the evening of the first day was held at the University Club, immediately after the annual dinner. At this meeting the address of the President was read and discussed. The other sessions were devoted to the reading and discussion of papers, and the transaction of business. The President, Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, presided at all the sessions except the second, at which Professor Gilbert Chinard, of the University of California, occupied the chair. The following items of business were transacted:

The annual report of the Treasurer was presented, accepted, and referred to the Auditing Committee.

Report of the Treasurer, 1916-1917

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1916.....	\$156.37
Dues	330.00
Interest	7.83
	\$494.20

EXPENDITURES

Sent to Professor Bill, June 4, 1917.....	\$250.00
Services of stenographer (for Secretary)	25.75
Postage and printing.....	43.20
Addressograph plates.....	.45
Services of janitor.....	2.00
Balance on hand November 30, 1917.....	172.71
	\$494.20

The President appointed the following committees:

Nomination of Officers: Professors Hart, Murray, Caruth.

Auditing: Professors Deutsch, C. G. Allen, Paschall.

Membership: Professors Weber, Gaw, Rees, and Dr. Cox.

Time and Place of Meeting: Professors J. T. Allen, Alden, and Dr. Reining.

Social: Professors Tatlock and Church, and Dr. Kennedy.

The following amendments to the Constitution were unanimously adopted:

Article IV. Members. Section 1, as amended, now reads: "Any one interested in philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of Three Dollars and Fifty Cents (\$3.50) as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual dues."

Section 2 of the same Article now reads, as amended: "The annual dues of members shall be Three Dollars and Fifty Cents (\$3.50). Of this amount the sum of Two Dollars and Fifty Cents (\$2.50) shall be used by the Treasurer to pay for an annual membership in either the American Philological Association or the Modern Language Association of America, according to the preference of the member. Members who pay their dues before the 1st of March shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership for that year in the chosen national organization. Those who pay their dues after the 1st of March shall be entitled to all these rights and privileges, except that of having their names appear in the alphabetical list of members published that year by the chosen national organization. For such members as desire to be enrolled in both national bodies the annual dues shall be Six Dollars (\$6.00)."

The Secretary next read his correspondence with the Secretaries of the American Philological Association and the Modern Language Association of America, for the purpose of making clear the present status of negotiations con-

cerning official affiliation of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast with the two national bodies. It was unanimously voted that the parallel articles of agreement between the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast and the two national bodies, already approved by the two national bodies at their meetings last December and published by them in their Proceedings, be approved.

It was unanimously voted to adopt the recommendation of the Executive Committee, that various questions raised by the national secretaries be answered by the following declarations:

(1) The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast desires to be affiliated with the Modern Language Association of America, as it has hitherto been, and hopes to continue to be, with the American Philological Association, except in so far as the latter relationship has been changed by the new articles of agreement adopted at this meeting.

(2) It is the desire of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast that both national bodies print its minutes and program, the normal amount of space necessary for this purpose being from five to seven pages.

(3) The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast does not expect the annual address of its President to be printed as a matter of course by either national body. It desires only that, in the selection of material for publication in the annual volume of Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association and the quarterly Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, the papers read at the meetings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast be treated as though they had been presented at meetings of the national bodies.

(4) The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast requests that in the alphabetical lists of members of the national organizations the names of its members be printed without any distinguishing mark. Until it is possible for the Modern Language Association of America to amend its constitution to accord with the Articles of Agreement now tentatively entered into between the Modern Language Association of America and the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, *i. e.*, for the years 1918 and 1919, the Executive

Committee is authorized to seek to secure for all our modern language members full membership in the Modern Language Association of America, in order that our modern language and our classical members may derive equal advantages from our relations to the national organizations.

Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee it was voted that hereafter a complete list of our members, together with their addresses, be published and circulated in connection with the program of the annual meeting.

Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee it was unanimously voted that Professor E. B. Clapp be made an honorary member of the Association.

On motion the following officers, nominated by the Nominating Committee, were unanimously elected for the ensuing year:

President: Gilbert Chinard.

Vice-Presidents: H. C. Nutting, J. S. P. Tatlock.

Secretary: W. A. Cooper.

Treasurer: B. O. Foster.

Executive Committee: The above-named officers and M. E. Deutsch, C. G. Allen, H. G. Shearin, and F. O. Mower.

The Auditing Committee reported that it had examined the Treasurer's accounts and found them correct. On motion the report was adopted.

The Committee on Time and Place of Meeting recommended that the meeting of next year be held at the usual time and place. On motion the recommendation was adopted.

A vote of thanks was extended to the California Institute of Fine Arts, the Regents of the University of California, and the directors of the University Club, for their hospitality.

The attendance at the five sessions numbered 38, 45, 45, 30, and 42, respectively.

Twenty-seven new members were elected.

Adjourned.

W. A. COOPER,
Secretary.

PROGRAM

First Session

Friday, November 30, 10 a. m.

1. "The Rôle of the Cook in Plautus' *Curculio*." By Dr. Clinton C. Conrad, of the University High School, Oakland, Cal.
2. "Lope de Vega: his Editors and Critics." By Professor Rudolph Schevill, of the University of California.
3. "The Conclusion of the *Odyssey*." By Professor A. T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.
4. "The Split Infinitive." By Professor W. H. Caruth, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Second Session

Friday, November 30, 2 p. m.

5. "Giacosa's *Resa a discrezione*, viewed as a social drama." By Professor Stanley A. Smith, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.
6. "The Way of the Translator." By Professor Francis G. Allinson, of Brown University, Sather Professor of Classical Literature at the University of California.
7. "Julius Caesar's Reorganization of the Roman Census." By Professor Jefferson Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

8. "Lessing and Dryden." By Dr. Lawrence M. Price, of the University of California.

9. "Light on the Twelfth Century from Lawman." By Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Third Session

Friday, November 30, 8 p. m.

10. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Junior University: "Origin of the Old French Feudal Epic."

Fourth Session

Saturday, December 1, 10 a. m.

11. "The Theory and Practice of Romanticism, Classicism and Realism in the Writings of William Ernest Henley." By Dr. William Chislett, Jr., of the University of California.

12. "The Death of Lepidus, Leader of the Revolution of 78 B. C." By Professor Monroe E. Deutsch, of the University of California.

13. "Greek and Runic Letters and Numbers." By Professor George Hempl, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

14. "The Origin of the Proskênion." By Professor James T. Allen, of the University of California.

15. "The Conceits of the Seventeenth Century Lyrists." By Professor Raymond M. Alden, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

16. "Solon and Salamis." By Professor Ivan M. Linforth, of the University of California.

Fifth Session

Saturday, December 1, 2 p. m.

17. "The Pessimism of Pío Baroja." By Professor Ramón Jaén, of the University of California.

18. "The Thirteenth Book of the *Aeneid*." By Dr. Anna Shipley Cox, of Mills College.

19. "The History of the Sukhōthai Alphabet—A Memorandum." By Professor Cornelius B. Bradley, of the University of California.

20. "A Proposed Definition of the Term 'Romantic' as Used with Reference to German Literature." By Professor Hermann J. Weber, of the University of California.

21. "The Question of Marriage in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*—Influence of J. J. Rousseau." By Mr. Gabriel H. Grojean, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

22. "English Influences on Freiligrath." By Mr. Erwin Gudde, of the University of California.
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THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1917, AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.,
AT THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BY KUNO FRANCKE

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS FROM LEIBNIZ TO GOETHE

At a time when the whole future of civilization is imperilled, when a recrudescence of primitive savagery threatens to put an end to the steady growth of that material culture which was the pride of the modern world, when it looks as though Europe were doomed to centuries of impoverishment, retrogression, and decay—at such a time the realm of ideas offers the only refuge from despair and the only basis for hope in the ultimate return of a happy, just, and well-ordered public life.

I shall attempt to derive some such Boëthian “consolation of philosophy” from a brief consideration of the conception of human progress which inspired German thinkers and poets of the eighteenth century and which was at the bottom of some of their noblest artistic creations.

I

It is a comforting thought, not only to a German but to all believers in mankind, that the idealism of classic German literature and philosophy had its roots in national conditions utterly discouraging, that it grew out of a war which had raged throughout the length and breadth of

German territory for a whole generation, and the ravages of which had left a once prosperous and powerful nation a crippled and bleeding prey both to the internal oppression of princely absolutism and to the oft-repeated horrors of foreign invasion. That the age of Louis XIV should have produced in Germany, not a philosophy of pessimism and cynicism but the enlightened optimism of Leibniz, is indeed a testimony to the ineradicable resiliency and recuperative power of human nature.

Looking back upon Leibniz' philosophy from our own time, we might be tempted to say that it appears as an anticipatory warning and protest against the pernicious materialism, the blindness of passion, the obscuring of reason, the brute excesses of hatred, the destructive fury of ignorant fanaticism, and all the other hideous nightmares by which the world during these last abysmal years has been beset and led astray as never before. For from beginning to end this philosophy is an appeal to the upbuilding forces in human life; it is an appeal for enlightenment, for understanding, for fairness, for harmony, for love. It is based upon the conviction that it is only necessary to see the good and the right clearly in order to make one desire to do it. It puts the will at the service of the intellect; it is a stimulus to incessant constructive activity; and it holds out the hope of an infinite progress of the universe.

In opposition to the empiricism of Locke, Leibniz conceives of the universe as a well ordered system of innumerable spiritual entities, each founded upon itself, each following its own inner impulse, but all held together and harmonized with each other by a supreme spiritual being. And in contrast to Spinoza, Leibniz conceives of the universe not as a world of infinite unity and divine

sameness, but as a world of infinite diversity and never ceasing change. Each of the innumerable spiritual entities of which the world consists contains implanted in itself an impelling incentive for motion. There is indeed no static condition, no absence of motion anywhere; everything is dynamic, everything is inwardly quivering with action. There is no body without a soul, no matter without mind, the animal world and the plant world are separated from the human only by a lower degree of consciousness, and even what is called inorganic matter is only a less perfect organism, not entirely devoid of life.

The human soul is the highest product of this system of spiritual forces of which we have actual knowledge. But in the human soul also, as in everything else, there is no fixedness of conditions, but a constant transition from one state to another. Leibniz, I believe, is the first modern philosopher who has strongly emphasized the large share taken by the unconscious in the life of the soul. What, however, gives to his consideration of the unconscious its special significance is that he sees in it the breeding place, so to speak, of all the higher mental activities. In combating Locke's theory of sense impressions as the only source of human knowledge, he denies his opponent's statement that there are times when the mind is without any thoughts. On the contrary, he says, there is every reason to believe that "at every moment there are a multitude of conceptions in our mind without our being aware of them or reflecting about them; that is, that changes are constantly going on in our soul of which we are not conscious, because their effects upon our consciousness are either too slight or too numerous or merge too much in each other to have anything distinctive in themselves." For example, we come to be unaware of the sound of a

mill wheel or a waterfall, if for some time we have been living nearby. The reason for this is, not that the sound of the mill wheel or the waterfall does not affect our sense organs or that nothing is going on in our mind corresponding to it. A good deal is going on in us as a result of this sound, but these processes going on within us "have lost for us the charm of novelty. They are not strong enough to bring into play our attention and memory. Attention cannot exist without memory. If we are not fixing attention upon some specific one of the conceptions present in our mind, we let it pass. But the moment that somebody calls our attention, for instance, to a noise that has just been heard, we remember and become conscious that we too have heard it." In other words, we recall conceptions existing in our own mind, of which we had not been conscious.

These slight and indistinct, but ever active sensations, stored up in us, says Leibniz, have effects farther reaching than one usually thinks. It is they which produce the *je ne sais quoi*, the general hazy background of our notions, from which clear and distinct knowledge is to spring. They connect the present and the past in us, and thereby help to make individual experience possible. They play the same part in the life of the mind that molecules play in the material world. They are an evidence of the law of continuity which prevails in the intellectual life as well as the physical. For "Nature," in the words of Leibniz, "knows of no leaps and bounds."

What is true of our intellectual processes is also true of our moral volitions. Here also there is constant motion and involuntary activity. Every individual no less than the whole order of nature has the instinctive desire for greater perfection, and this desire produces, according to

Leibniz, in every individual a restlessness which "one feels without knowing it and which in moments of passion as well as when we seem to have attained the most tranquil state of mind impels us to action. Even in indifferent things we are never in complete equilibrium and could not incline toward one side as well as the other." Something in us is incessantly goading us on to improve our condition, to seek pleasure, to avoid pain, to expand our being. And in this very restlessness and involuntary effort we find a large part of our pleasures, indeed often a larger part than in the enjoyment of the desired good itself. "Happiness," Leibniz says, "does not consist in complete possession, which would make insensitive and dull, but in a constant and uninterrupted progress to higher attainments; and this progress is necessarily accompanied by a restless dissatisfaction which serves as an incentive and awakens our will." Thus the whole life of the individual consists in ever-repeated transformations; and even in the life beyond Leibniz holds out to man the prospect not of a blissfulness which would leave nothing more to be desired, but only of infinite progress toward ever new perfection.

In all these observations upon the intellectual and moral qualities of man the underlying hopefulness and progressiveness of Leibniz' system of thought are clearly seen. Most clearly, however, are they brought out in his view of the universe as a whole. Whatever mental reservations we may be inclined to make to-day regarding his attempt to harmonize specific dogmas of Christian theology with his own philosophical constructions, his *Théodicée* remains one of the most inspiring manifestations of Christian thought. It would be misleading to

say that Leibniz explains away in this book the imperfections and inequalities, the misery and suffering, the work of destruction and sin, in the actual world. He acknowledges the existence of these defects and shortcomings of life, he fully recognizes them as bad and painful; but he tries to justify their existence and to make the thought of them bearable to us, by conceiving of them as necessary parts of a grand and wonderful whole. To-day, it seems to me, in the midst of unparalleled misery, suffering, and destruction, we cannot help being in a particularly receptive frame of mind for such an interpretation of evil. Indeed, the future of the race would be shrouded for us in darkness and utter gloom, there would be nothing left for us to hope, for the individual and for society, if we did not believe with Leibniz that the final aim of life is the completeness and the beauty of the universe as a whole, not the happiness of its individual constituents; that only through inequality of conditions can that variety of types be attained which is an essential condition of the perfection of the whole; that the beauty of the world is enhanced through the contrast between good and evil, as the beauty of a landscape through the contrast between lights and shadows; and that evil in the last analysis is a servant of the good and an integral and indispensable part of the divine order.

It is hard to overestimate the enlightening and upbuilding influence which the thoughts of Leibniz outlined here exerted upon the higher life of Germany throughout the larger part of the eighteenth century. Two conspicuous illustrations of this influence occur to us at once: the affinity between Leibniz' definition of happiness as consisting not in the possession of perfection, but in the

progress toward it, and Lessing's famous definition of the truth seeker as finding satisfaction not in the possession of truth, but in the ever repeated efforts to attain it; and the affinity between Leibniz' conception of evil as ultimately helping to produce the good and Goethe's conception of Mephistopheles as

ein Teil von jener Kraft,
Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft—

and therefore as an involuntary aid to Faust's noble dissatisfaction and irresistible onward striding. But perhaps even more significant than this affinity of Leibniz with the greatest minds of the generations succeeding him is the effect produced by him upon the mass of thinking men of those generations. As to this, one needs only to mention the names of Wolff, his academic systematizer and popularizer, and of Brockes, Haller, Uz, and Hagedorn, the poetic interpreters of a philosophy largely derived from him, in order to throw into relief the fact that the prevailing view of life among the average of educated Germans in the larger half of the eighteenth century consisted in the Leibnizian belief in a world which, all things considered, is the best that could have proceeded from infinite wisdom, and which, in spite of constant failures and sufferings of individuals, is constantly progressing toward the beauty and perfection of the whole. Or, as Pope, himself a disciple of Leibniz, expressed it:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul.
All nature is but art, unknown to thee,
All chance, direction which thou canst not see,
All discord, harmony not understood,
All partial evil, universal good,
And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
One truth is clear: whatever is, is right.

II

In tracing the further history of the idea of progress in German literature of the eighteenth century, I shall confine myself to the greatest names only, and in each case I shall select only such features of the subject as seem to me of importance for the intellectual and moral problems of our own day.

If we look back upon Lessing from the point of view of nineteenth-century historicism he seems to us often lacking in appreciation of the laws of gradual growth and decay. In common with the whole Rationalistic age, he was more interested in the criticism of ultimate principles than in the investigation of beginnings and developments. But in one field of human experience at least he clearly anticipated the modern historical view: in the field of religion. His *Education of the Human Race* is the first consistent attempt, though only in the form of a sketch, to represent the religious history of the world as a process of organic evolution. And it does not take away from the originality of Lessing's achievement that it owed fruitful incentives, among others, to Leibniz' *Théodicée*, Turgot's *Discours sur les progrès successifs de l'esprit humain*, and Bonnet's *Palingénésie philosophique*.

Lessing's religious thought, as has often been pointed out, was dominated by the contrast between what the eighteenth century called positive religion and what it called natural religion. Positive religion, that is, religion as embodied in the great church organizations of history, tends to conceive of God as an extramundane, supernatural being, who, having created the world, rules it in the fashion of an absolute monarch, promulgating or sus-

pending laws according to his sovereign pleasure, and announcing his will to mankind by special decrees or revelations. Natural religion, that is, religion as it presents itself to the thinking individual, tends to conceive of God as the inner unity of the universe, as the immanent law of all life, as its hidden spiritual power, whose truest revelations are our own feelings, thoughts, and actions. That Lessing, the friend of the Deists, the student of Leibniz, the admirer of Spinoza, should between these two conceptions of religion have given preference to a religion based upon belief in the immanence of God in the world, is nothing remarkable. The remarkable thing is that, although he declined for himself belief in supernatural revelation by an extramundane God, he emphatically acknowledged that the history of mankind owes to this very belief some of its greatest advances and achievements; and that, instead of joining the majority of Rationalists in regarding the historical churches and dogmas as embodiments of ignorant superstition, he saw in them a succession of ever renewed attempts to approach the final, ideal religion, the religion of reason.

If we wish to reap from Lessing's *Education of the Human Race* the full benefit for our own conception of religious development, we must strip it of a phraseology which belonged to an age accustomed to think in terms of teleological design and pedagogical schemes; we must translate it into a language corresponding to our own view of life as a natural growth. Paraphrased in this spirit, the essence of *The Education of the Human Race* may be formulated thus:

History is to Lessing the gradual unfolding of the intellectual and moral faculties implanted in man, more specifically the gradual unfolding of man's conception of

the divine. To be sure, Lessing believes that—to use his own words—“the first man created was at once endowed with the idea of one single God,” or, as we should say, that the idea of God is a primitive instinct of the human mind. But this idea, he thinks, was something “imparted, not acquired,” or, as we should say, was latent, unconscious, undeveloped. Its earliest manifestation was not monotheism but polytheism, since primitive man, altogether controlled by sense impressions, could not rise to the level of abstract oneness. There were, however, intimations of a purely spiritual conception of the world and approaches toward a strict monotheism even before the Jews, among the Chaldeans and Persians; and indeed among all peoples and at all times there have been individual men who, being ahead of their own age and surroundings, proclaimed the all-pervading nature of the Divine. That the Jews should have become the most consistent upholders of monotheism, Lessing explains out of their peculiar national conditions and experiences.

Two great catastrophes of their history he emphasizes particularly: the bondage in Egypt and the Babylonian captivity. In Egypt, he assumes, the Jewish religious tradition was well nigh blotted out by the tyranny of their conquerors, who found it to their advantage to make the enslaved people believe that there was a God only for the master race. Moses, therefore, in order to revive religious faith in his people, had to represent God to them as the God of their fathers, ready to help them, to deliver them from the foreign yoke, but at the same time demanding “heroic obedience” to his commandments. After the settlement in Canaan, in the constant conflict of the Jews with neighboring tribes, this God of the fathers developed into the one and only powerful God by the side of the

many less powerful gods of their enemies. But it was only through the trials of the Babylonian exile and through the contact received there with a higher civilization that the Jews rose to the conception of a divine power controlling the whole world; it was only through this profound national upheaval that the Jews came to be the religious educators of mankind.

The second great stride in the religious development of man was made by Christianity. Except for a few traces of the influence of Græco-Alexandrian philosophy, the Old Testament is devoid of the idea of the immortality of the soul; its morality is in the main a morality of worldly rewards and punishments. Jesus, as Lessing says, was "the first practical teacher of immortality." For he made "inner purity of heart," such as he demonstrated in his own life, a condition and a pledge of the joys of a future existence. And his message¹ of trust in future rewards and of a life made truly worthy to win them, although addressed in the first place to the Jews only, has become the possession of mankind and has deepened and ennobled moral incentives throughout the world. But goodness based upon the expectation of rewards of any kind cannot be the end of man's moral development. A new gospel, higher than the Christian, the gospel of virtue for its own sake, unincumbered by hopes for happiness resulting therefrom, must in the end supersede even the Christian ideal of self-sacrificing love. Only when the good will be done because it is the good, and from no other motive, will humanity's religious education be complete. It is our task to work for the realization of this ideal, although we know full well that its consummation lies in the infinite distance and can be approached only

¹ We should rather say: the message of his disciples.

through an endless succession of transformations and reincarnations.

Is it necessary to point out that here again, as in Leibniz' conception of evil as servant of the good, we have abundant reason for finding comfort and solace from the agonies now surrounding us? The present devastating conflict would indeed seem utterly senseless, and would leave no room for any higher thought, if we did not cling to the belief that, as the bondage in Egypt and the Babylonian captivity were the two great starting points for the higher religious development of the Hebrews, so the unheard-of convulsion, shaking the very foundations of the world order of to-day, will prove to be the birth throes of a new era in the religious evolution of mankind, and that out of the collapse of a world based on all sides upon national selfishness there will ultimately arise a religion spurning all other motives except the desire to do the good because it is the good.

III

Only most superficially and without doing in any way justice to the great influence exerted by them upon eighteenth-century thought, can I speak here of two men who utilized the Leibnizian conception of a gradual progress toward perfection in ways dissimilar but kindred: Wieland, who applied it to the problem of individual culture; Herder, who applied it to the problem of national civilization.

Wieland's whole career was a succession of ever repeated attempts to find satisfactory formulas and adequate artistic symbols for a view of life which would reconcile individual instinct and universal law. He passed through many stages of conflicting principles, Platonism and Epicureanism, Sensationalism and Spiritualism,

Asceticism and Carnalism, Skepticism and Idealism, Conservatism and Liberalism; he drew from all sources, ancient and modern, of insight and inspiration, sometimes even of intoxication. But final and durable satisfaction he seems to have found in views combining the Leibnizian conception of the perfectibility of human nature with Richardson's glorification of the "beautiful soul" and Shaftesbury's ideal of the "virtuoso," that is, of character as a work of art. No German writer has been more emphatic than Wieland in insisting upon the duty of the individual to make of himself all that nature intended him to be. No German writer has more eagerly tried to embody this harmonious cultivation of one's faculties in literary figures of genuine plausibility and consistency. It was he who added the Wilhelm Meister motif to German life. And to-day, when the dire necessity of the hour threatens to stifle everywhere the growth of free and comprehensive individuality, we have more reason than ever to listen attentively to the golden precepts of Wieland on the obligations of the individual to himself as well as to society. Let me quote a few of these precepts, selected at random. On the training of one's self: "Man as he slips from the plastic hand of nature, is almost nothing but a possibility. He must himself develop and cultivate his being, must himself give to it the truly human touch, must be as it were his own second creator. Or rather, why should it not be Nature who according to definite and universal laws produces in man this development and cultivation of himself—in such wise that, as soon as he neglects to observe her friendly hints in all his undertakings, as soon as he deviates from the plan laid out for him by her, he at once is punished for such transgression by evil and ruin." On methods of teaching:

▲

"Knowledge, I believe, cannot be poured into us, but must be brought out and evolved from the mind of the pupil. The ideas of the true and the good lie in us, and so do the seeds of all virtues; it is only a question of bringing them to light." On the need of fairness: "Truth, like all good things, is something relative. The same thing may be felt by one person from his innermost conviction as true, which another by equally strong conviction is led to consider as a false delusion. We must learn to be fair, fair to Brutus who murdered Cæsar from a sense of eternal justice, and fair to Cæsar who deserved to live forever." On error as a means of progress: "Who does not remember with pleasure the innocent joys of his childhood? But who, on that account, would want to be a child forever? Man is not made to remain a child; and if it is part of his nature that only through a long road of error, self-deception, passions, and misery he can arrive at his higher self, who would quarrel with Nature on that account?" On inner freedom: "The slave of his own passions has no legitimate claim to freedom. He would use it only for his own and other people's ruin. Political liberty is a blessing only if it is subordinated to inner, moral freedom, which cannot be conceived of without the mastery of reason over the senses and passions; and no political constitution, even though it had sprung from the head of Zeus, can guarantee us this inner freedom." On the obligation of the few toward the many: "Great men have a special obligation toward society. They are like solar orbs from which the world is entitled to hope for light and life. The powerful is the natural protector of the weak; his power gives him no right, it imposes only a duty upon him. Happy the man who, more anxious to deserve than to receive the applause of his fellow-men,

simply performs his duty toward them. The mission of the great is to scatter seeds in abundance over the earth and not to mind whether they fall upon good soil or upon sand and naked rocks." On the final ideals of life: "The exalted goal toward which it is for man to strive with all his might is this—that the beautiful concord and harmony which we observe and admire in the revolutions of the heavens, in the unchanging succession of the seasons, and in the order and glory of the whole world of bodies, should come to be a permanent force in the moral world also."

All these views of Wieland's upon striving and progress in rounding out personal individuality are closely akin to Herder's view of life; but Herder adds to them, as his own most characteristic contribution, the idea of national individuality. And here again we meet with an idea which cannot help giving us courage, or inspiring us with the conviction that the clash of national ideals now consuming the world will in the end lead to higher views of national tasks and duties than have obtained heretofore. For Herder knows of no true national character except in so far as it enriches and heightens the composite character of mankind; and the history of the world is to him the slow but inevitable ascent of the race, through competition, friction, conflict, and amalgamation of national individualities, to an all-inclusive and all-uniting world consciousness.

Perhaps it is sufficient to illustrate this truly cosmopolitan nationalism of Herder's by a few quotations from that eloquent apotheosis of humanity, the fifteenth book of his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*: "Our survey of the history of nations has shown us how different, according to place, time, and circumstances, were

the aims upon which the different nations directed their principal efforts. With the Chinese it was a refined pragmatic morality; with the Hindus a kind of abstract purity, tranquil industriousness and receptiveness; with the Phoenicians the spirit of commerce and enterprise. The civilization of the Greeks aimed at a maximum of sensuous beauty, in morals as well as in art, in the sciences as well as in political institutions; while the Romans strove for the virtues of heroic patriotism. But in all these national discrepancies we see the working of one principle—human reason endeavoring to create a unit out of diversity, order out of disorder, out of a variety of forces and aims a whole of enduring harmony and beauty. Thus one continuous chain of culture binds together all these different nations; and although their achievements often exclude each other or collide with each other, they are all parts of one great progressive organism. If nothing in the material world is lost, no sunbeam that ever shone upon our earth, no withered leaf that fell from a tree, no carcass of a decaying animal, no seed blown away by the wind, how much less could the actions of conscious beings have remained without lasting effect! Every one of the generations of the past has progressed within the limits set to it by nature; and the industry of man as well as the madness of his ravages has become an instrument of life in the hands of time. Upon the ruins of destroyed cities there arise verdant fields, cultivated by a new, hopeful people. All organisms—and so all nations—have their centre in themselves; and each stands in a well proportioned relation to all the rest; they all depend on the equilibrium of antagonistic forces, held together by one central organizing power. With this certainty for a guide I wander through the labyrinth of history and see everywhere

harmonious, divine order. For whatever can happen, happens; whatever can work, does work. Reason only and justice abide; madness and folly destroy themselves."

Herder and Kant held fundamentally different views upon the nature of the human intellect and upon the individual's relation to the good and the beautiful. But in their views about the highest aims of national and international life they practically agreed. Kant, like Herder and like Lessing, hoped for the gradual approach of all the nations toward the ideal of common humanity. He protested against Moses Mendelssohn's assertion that there was progress only in individual men and that the human race as a whole, oscillating between advance and retrogression, had been kept throughout the ages essentially upon the same level of morality and effectiveness. For without this belief in universal progress, it seemed to Kant, history would be the most unworthy and discouraging spectacle; without it "no earnest desire to accomplish anything for the common welfare would ever have inspired the human heart." And in the midst of the wars brought about by the French Revolution he proclaimed more clearly and definitely than any thinker before him, as the ultimate goal of international life, universal and permanent peace, to be brought about by submission of all nations to a common tribunal. Toward this goal, he thought, even national selfishness, the foremost cause of all wars, would finally be forced to co-operate. And thus—to quote his own words—"the very conflict of the passions from which evil springs will give free play to reason, and make it possible for her to subjugate them all, and thus instead of evil, which destroys itself, to establish the sovereignty of good, which, once installed, will maintain itself by its own momentum."

IV

And now we have reached that stage in the development of German culture when all these upbuilding thoughts of a whole century seemed to take concrete form in sublime creations of the artistic imagination, when the idea of human progress came to be embodied in the classic figures of Goethe's and Schiller's poetry and in the heavenly sounds of Mozart's and Beethoven's music. That the belief in progress toward higher forms of existence is a fundamental part, nay the very life breath of these immortal creations, is so obvious that it need not be demonstrated in detail. Who could think of Werther, Egmont, Iphigenie, Tasso, Faust, Wallenstein, Wilhelm Tell, The Magic Flute, or the Ninth Symphony, without seeing before his mind's eye a race of beings raised above the limitations of existence as we know it? Who would not feel impelled by them to strive himself after the freer, nobler, and fuller type of life revealed in them?

Let me, therefore, in closing, only point out the fact that both Schiller and Goethe, in addition to embodying their belief in progress in poetic symbols of universal application, have given ample direct testimony to their personal adherence to this belief. Schiller concisely states that "the aim of mankind is none other than the cultivation of all the faculties of man, progress"; and the underlying thought of all his philosophical writings is the striving of man from the lower to the higher, from the fragmentary to the comprehensive, from crudeness to beauty, from the enslavement of the senses to moral freedom, from the discord of conflicting instincts and commandments to harmonious totality of character. Goethe's universal mind applied the conception of progress to the whole of nature.

Not as though he believed that by following the various stages of development of cosmic and terrestrial life the riddle of life itself could be solved. Nature was to him indeed something infinite, without beginning and without end, fundamentally shrouded in mystery. And he believed that before all material experience, nature existed as a purely spiritual power containing in itself the perfect types and forms of all things. In the actual, visible world, however, he recognized a gradual and steady evolution of these hidden types to ever fuller clearness, reality, and completeness of self-unfolding. In the formation of the earth crust, in the development of plant life, in the differentiation of the animal and human species—everywhere he found constant transition, constant metamorphosis; nowhere did he admit the conception of rigidity or of sudden shocks and inhibitions. And the great task of man's moral and intellectual existence he saw in a perpetual flux of aspirations, in the never lagging effort to widen our vision, to broaden our sympathies, to find our true self in self-surrender, to "ennoble either by doing or by suffering" every situation which might confront us. To "die and be reborn"; to undergo incessant transformation and regeneration; by ever-repeated revision of our convictions, by unremitting molding and remolding of our own self, by ever higher spiritualization of our aims and endeavors, to approach the type of personality for which we were destined in eternity—this was the ultimate demand addressed by Goethe to himself and to his fellow-men; this is the ideal which through his *Faust* has come to be an inspiring, consoling, and uplifting watchword for the best in all countries.

To-day we must cling to this watchword and to the whole train of ideas represented by it more earnestly

and resolutely than ever, if we are to save ourselves from losing all faith in the future of humanity. We Americans, in particular, must keep our gaze steadfastly fixed upon the goal, the thought of which fortifies us in our own participation in the world war:—the establishment of a world community, in which every nation will have free play for the development of its own peculiar faculties and for the pursuit of its own peculiar aspirations; in which, however, all nations will acknowledge themselves servants of a common cause, higher than national, the cause of universal human progress.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1917, AT
MADISON, WIS., AT THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA

BY THOMAS EDWARD OLIVER

THE MENACE TO OUR IDEALS

Almost from the day when the Central Division conferred on me the responsibility of this year's chairmanship, my mind sought a theme for the discourse of this occasion which might avoid if possible the pitfalls of that ever-present topic, the great world war. Several subjects in turn claimed my attention for a more or less lengthy period; only to be discarded for others of better omen. In the interim I read over many of the addresses of the presidents and chairmen of past years, not only in the desire to avoid repetition of topic, but also in the hope of catching the inspiration that seemed so sadly lacking to myself. And before passing on, let me say that there is much of great value in these past addresses, much that would bear reading and rereading, especially by the newer members of this Association. The history of the growth of this body, the constant striving for the highest ideals of linguistic scholarship, the inspiring personalities of our most representative leaders are revealed in these addresses on every page.

But, ladies and gentlemen, Satan would not get behind me despite my frantic appeals and entreaties. Unable to resist longer his subtle tempting, I surrendered. I come before you to sustain a thesis which has, indeed, intimate association with the great world conflict.

I realize fully that many may consider such a theme inopportune at the present time. To all such I make my apologies in advance. To me, however, opportuneness in the present instance seemed coincident with opportunity. Who knows what a year may bring forth? Do not, however, be dismayed. I certainly have no mind to discuss the causes of the war, no intention of apportioning blame upon this or that nation, nor have I the slightest idea of attempting a prophecy as to what its political result is to be, although, like every loyal American, I have very definite ideas as to what this result ought to be. I desire merely to ascertain, for my own guidance at least, if not for the guidance of others, what should be the attitude of the teacher of modern languages toward this great crisis of world history, in terms of his professional position, his relations with his colleagues, with his students, and with the larger public. How should our attitude differ from that of scholars in other fields, in history, for instance, in law, in sociology, in economics, in political science?

I think that the mere mention of these other fields of learning will at once suggest that a differentiation exists between their professional interests and our own, as regards the great conflict. I believe that our professional connection with this war is, or should be, slight. In fact, strictly considered, our only professional concern, as interpreters and scholars, is with whatever literature or linguistic phenomena the war shall bring forth. And it may be years before this material is available in a form suitable

for scholarly investigation. The very nature of the historian's task, however, forces him to enter into every phase of the war, to study every military campaign, every economic and social phenomenon, to weigh in the most accurate scales every document, every public utterance of prominent statesmen, to balance one group of war facts against another group, in order to reach a decision that shall approximate the truth, as far as this is humanly possible.

The problem of the student of law, of political science, of economics, of sociology, is perhaps easier. To him the present speaks an urgent message, and he need not wait for the future in the same measure at least as is incumbent upon the historian. He can at once analyze the effect of the war upon political, economic, or social conditions the world over. Never before have the international phases of such study had so great importance. And he must study these effects at once before they pass away, if he would best profit by their having existed at all.

Now, although our professional concern with the war's phenomena is slight, yet as citizens of the world and of our separate nations we, too, must profit by the results of the investigations of our colleagues in the historical fields. We cannot stand aloof from these results, even if we would. No serious student of mankind can ignore them. I have therefore no patience with that individual who declares that he is tired of reading about the war. I can, to be sure, sympathize with him, if he means to express his weariness or his horror at certain phases of the struggle, the numberless, often incomprehensible battles, the awful slaughter, the pettiness of diplomatic evasions, the horrors of famine, the frightful atrocities. To dwell upon these terrible details may well drive one

insane, and now, as at no time in the history of the world, must we make every effort to think clearly. We must envisage the war in its largest aspects, as the most stupendous event in all history, as the most terrible of all epics, upon the outcome of which depends the entire course of civilization for centuries. Only dense ignorance or an inconceivable indifference to the welfare of mankind can prevent any sane man from regarding this war as the most gigantic fact in all history. Every intelligent man must continue to read about it, must endeavor to form sound judgments concerning all its phases, and must earnestly pray that never again shall so terrible a scourge visit the world. If it were not my faith that it is the mission of the United States to exert all its power to make this prayer a reality, I should indeed despair. There is no need to repeat here the reasons that have led our country to this great purpose. I have but to emphasize the fact that we are members of the Modern Language Association of *America* and that this membership in no degree invalidates the larger responsibilities laid upon us as citizens of the Republic.

There are, however, among us some whom birth and education bind with many fond ties to the countries of Europe, some of which are our allies, and others of which are not. What shall be our attitude toward such of our brother members as belong to this latter group? What else, friends, than that of brothers and colleagues still, as long as they shall merit this confidence? Let me illustrate my meaning by citing two personal experiences.

This summer I was asked to deliver an address on the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium with which I was connected for nine months. Up to the entrance of our country into the war, the members of this Commission were under oath, not only to the officers of

the Commission, but more especially to the German Government itself, to abstain from any remarks in public or in private which might endanger the great work of the Commission. Such remarks would have quickly created strained relations between the Commission and the belligerent governments under whose auspices or with whose consent the Commission was operating. Since the break with Germany, however, Mr. Hoover, the chairman, and his colleagues have no longer been bound by this oath. It was, therefore, quite within my discretion to give to my audience in any language I thought fit a truthful picture of the difficulties and the obstacles which the German government had constantly placed in our path. Now, in that audience were many of German blood, and although I told the truth precisely as I knew it, yet my remarks were tempered with sympathetic appreciation of their presence. By this method I carried conviction to them far better than by using violent or extreme words. In what way, forsooth, were they responsible for the criminal acts of the German government or for the harsh and cruelly unjust fate meted out to unhappy Belgium?

It was but a small gathering in a country inn, and my address was preceded by the singing of patriotic and popular songs. Among these was *Home, Sweet Home*. I felt at once that the sentiment of this beautiful old melody was a universal sentiment, that it had a wide international and cosmopolitan significance. If American hearts were stirred by this song to memories of beloved homes relatively near at hand, would not an even deeper feeling arise in the hearts of those whose early homes were far away across the dangerous sea in the beautiful woodlands of Austria and Germany, along the Danube, the Elbe, or the Rhine? Was it incumbent upon me to expect an uprooting of what was nearest and dearest to them? Ought I not to feel that

for such persons it was doubly difficult to sever the associations of years, associations in which the ideas of family and of nationality are almost inseparably interwoven? And is it not our duty as colleagues to have this broad and liberal sentiment toward our fellow members? Can we not imagine ourselves in a similar situation? It goes without saying that our obligation on this point entails a similar duty upon our foreign-born colleagues toward us. As far as my knowledge goes, there have been relatively few cases of failure on their part to meet this obligation, and still fewer since our country entered the war. Even if there had been far more cases, I should still resolutely refuse to generalize from them and thus commit an injustice in my turn.

Perhaps I am unusually placed in respect to such an attitude, for, while of complete Puritan descent myself, my children have German blood in their veins. This fact was known to the German authorities in Belgium (who knew everything about every member of the Relief Commission). In any event I was granted a privilege not allowed to all, of entrance to Germany for the purpose of visiting my wife's relatives. My brother-in-law, Major Wilhelm Reinhardt, in civil life Professor of Mathematics in the Musterschule of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, (whose director, Max Walter, is so well known to us all), was then on sick leave at Wiesbaden. Professor Reinhardt, in inviting me to visit him, had expressed the belief, then at least common among all Germans, that the truth of the Belgian situation had not been vouchsafed to us in America, and had declared that I was in the fortunate position of being able to verify that truth. Now, friends, it *was* my fortunate position of being able to verify *the* truth, which was totally at variance with the belief of my brother-in-law. When we met, it was doubtless his expec-

tation that I would talk of my experiences. And indeed I had had many talks with other German officers with whom my duties forced me to associate, and who were, be it said, invariably and insistently eager to talk to us Americans of the Commission. But I did not talk of these things with my brother-in-law. During the six hours of our visit together, not one word of Belgium or of the war crossed my lips. We talked of family affairs only, of our mothers, of our children, of the delightful summers we had passed together in Switzerland, in Hessen, in the Taunus. And was this not wise? Was not my silence more eloquent than any words I could have uttered? Was I not glad that these few hours had not been marred in any way by political differences? And am I not now doubly glad, since fate has decreed that we shall see each other no more on this earth? For he has passed away, having done his duty as it was given him to see it, a true citizen, a brave officer, a gentleman, if ever there was one.

You will pardon, I know, these intimate personal remarks, for they have helped me reveal what in my judgment should be the attitude of us all to those of us whose birth, training, and associations have been similar to those of Major Reinhardt.

Let me, however, not be misunderstood at this point. My words may have suggested an indifference on my part to the immense importance of the political issue now before the world. I assure you most solemnly that such is not the case. From the beginning of the struggle, aye, long ago, when I was a student in German universities, I felt that there were irreconcilable differences between the political system and ambitions of Germany and of my own country, differences that only a great clash could settle. I remember as a youth getting into a serious quarrel

with a German fellow-student because I had likened his government to that of Louis XIV. And in Brussels in 1915 on being asked by a prominent member of the German civil government in Belgium why America did not sympathize with Germany in the war, I summed up my answer in the concluding remark that the American people as a whole felt that Germany had staked all on a gigantic Napoleonic gamble, and that no free people could welcome the advent of a second Napoleonic era.

Now it is quite within the rights of each of us, as citizens of one land or as subjects of another, to formulate and cherish our opinions as to the great world conflict. It is, however, neither our duty nor our right as teachers of modern languages to carry these opinions into the realm of public partisan propaganda. It is, on the contrary, our bounden duty to do nothing of the sort. What would we say of physicians who went about their duties so violently pro-German or pro-Ally as to endanger their skill as practitioners? We surely would not care to entrust our health to such individuals. No, friends, we must not thus be recreant to the high and holy duty that is ours of being the interpreters to American youth of all that is highest and best in European literature as an expression of European culture and civilization. That is our mission as teachers of languages, and there is no other. To do this, we must ourselves be of broad and liberal mind. We must cease to herd in little groups like geese cackling jealously in different corners of the field. We must cease to cry each his own wares like hawkers at a fair. This method of exalting the culture of one nation at the expense, or in neglect, of another is narrowing, belittling, illiberal, and hence unjust. I shall never forget the shock I once received in the early days of my teaching from a colleague

in German who ridiculed the claims of Corneille to a place among the Immortals. And this, too, immediately after I had joined heartily in his laudation of a great German dramatist. It was but slight satisfaction to my feelings to learn later that his knowledge of Corneille did not extend beyond what certain hostile German critics had said of the great French writer, and that he himself had read almost nothing of Corneille. No; I was hurt by the revelation that a colleague could be so illiberal.

And I have known plenty of instances on the other side of the literary ledger, if I may use so poor a simile. Have not the exponents of French culture belittled that of Germany, aye, even that of Spain, a sister nation? Have I not known Romance colleagues who declared (and this long before the war) that they would never admit to their staffs any one with a degree from a German university? Had they then forgotten that Gaston Paris had studied at Göttingen, and had also been the ever-grateful pupil and the intimate friend of Friedrich Diez at Bonn, to whom he dedicated his "thèse de sortie," the *Étude sur le rôle de l'accent latin*?¹ Have I not heard other colleagues declare since the war began that every instructor under them must be pro-Ally? Many among my audience can doubtless recall similar instances of illiberality. I do not deny that sympathy with the culture or literature which one interprets is essential to its correct interpretation, and that an avowed enemy of English, French, Italian, German, or Spanish culture would make but a poor interpreter thereof. But I do deny most emphatically that one must be pro-German in terms of the present war, before one can qualify

¹See *Gaston Paris: The Scholar and the Man*, by T. Atkinson Jenkins. *University of Chicago Record*, November, 1903, Vol. VIII, No. 7, pp. 186-194.

as an intelligent interpreter of German culture. I deny that one must approve of the shifting political ambitions of any nation in order to appreciate the greatness and beauty of its contributions in literature to the welfare of mankind. Once again do I denounce the connecting of politics, national or international, with our profession as interpreters.

What then shall we say of that debasement of the interpreter's high mission which manifests itself in actual political propaganda, not only outside the classroom, but even within its holy walls! As I think of these instances, with some of which you are doubtless familiar, my heart is filled with dismay that there should be any among us so unfaithful to their high calling as interpreters of modern literature to the youth of America. Is it not our mission to help enrich our own land with all that is finest in the literature of other lands? Do we not thereby reveal the universality of culture and help bring in that day, so long, alas, in its coming, when the nations of the world by the intermingling of their culture shall live on a higher plane of mutual respect and mutual admiration? Have we then forgotten so soon the mutual interdependence of the scholars of all nations?

There have even been cases of tenseness within one and the same department, simply because some members were of trans-oceanic origin and others were of American birth. And this, mind you, when both groups were interpreters of the same literature. Nor have all these things happened since the outbreak of the war. There was distressingly much of this illiberality before that event, so much that the student body caught its noxious spirit and interpreted us to a large extent in terms of interdepartmental rivalry based upon political conditions in Europe, that

continent of hatreds. All this was most foolish. We should have cultivated in the past decades far more of the solidarity of our mission as interpreters of foreign literatures. Instead, we have emphasized the elements that tended to dissension and division among us. We forgot the great purposes that we all have in common. We have all sinned, all, and we are now suffering for it.

What then must we do? First of all, we must make our peace one with another. This will require some effort for most of us. It is not an easy task to cultivate the conciliatory spirit in time of war. Some persons even think that conciliation has no place in such times. They even go so far as to frown upon conciliation as cowardly, as unpatriotic, as un-American. Did not one of my most esteemed colleagues to whom I outlined once the general trend of this address, say to me: "What! Are you going to talk that conciliation nonsense in these days!" Yes, my friends, I am! And the very remark of my colleague proved a stimulus to my endeavor, since it revealed anew the need of the conciliatory spirit. Let us not confuse the conciliatory spirit with a desire for a Pope's peace or any form of a *pax germanica* whose sole resemblance to the peace of God seems to be that "it passeth understanding." The conciliatory spirit transcends all this infinitely. It is an attitude of mind and heart, not an expression of politics.

Conciliation may go hand in hand with the finest and truest patriotism. Conciliation and sympathy are in no sense inconsistent with bravery in defense of what one considers right. Conciliation, far from being un-American, is eminently American. It has been our guiding spirit all through our national history, and this very day it best symbolizes the purposes for which we stand, even

in the midst of war. In no country under the sun have such efforts been made to sow the seeds of conciliation with other nations. Long is the list of those Americans of mark, of those American associations and societies, whose constant striving it has been to lay sound bases of mutual understanding between the nations. If these efforts seem temporarily to have failed, the cause of the failure certainly does not lie with the spirit of conciliation. I believe that it is the splendid mission of America, by force of arms since no other course is left, to help bring conciliation to final supremacy in the international relations of mankind. In my judgment we are in this war for the sole purpose of silencing the jangling discord of the present world jungle and of creating the peaceful harmony of a permanent world neighborhood. And if we fail, may Almighty God have mercy on mankind!

This great world neighborhood will come. This Association of ours should stand as a symbol of what it shall be. No other group of scholars has a greater power than ourselves to help create this neighborhood. What reasons have I for this great faith?

In the ultimate analysis, what are the larger and deeper purposes of our organization? Let us turn for a moment to our constitution and our records to see if there be anywhere a sufficient expression of our aims:

Before 1903 our constitution contained merely the following brief statement:

"The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the modern languages and their literatures." In the 1903 meeting the Executive Council, through the secretary, Professor Grandgent, presented a draft of a new constitution, in which the above definition of the object of the Association had been lengthened by

adding the phrases: "through the publication of the results of investigations by members, and through the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting."

Moved, doubtless, by the barrenness of this dry statement, Professor W. H. Carruth, then professor of German at the University of Kansas, proposed to amend by prefixing the happy phrase: "through the promotion of friendly relations among scholars." This amendment was heartily approved and the article in question has not been changed since.²

Attention should, therefore, be called to this phrase which declares the importance of friendly relations not only among our own members, but among scholars in general. This phrase expresses our conviction that friendly relations are the very life and soul of our Association, and it is eminently fitting that this idea have precedence in the list of our declared purposes. We all realize deeply that our meetings would indeed be dry and barren, if the feeling of comradeship and solidarity in one and the same cause were absent. And yet, friends, even this phrase, "through the promotion of friendly relations among scholars," does not in my opinion reach down to the deepest purpose of our Association. Shall we be satisfied merely with the increased importance given our subjects in the curricula of college and secondary school? Is our mission fulfilled when even a fair proportion of our students acquire some knowledge of English or foreign literature, or are able to express themselves with reasonable accuracy in one or more foreign languages? Are we content merely to come here for a pleasant time and to maintain from year to year an atmosphere of good fellowship? Or, to assume another point of view, shall we believe that even

² Proceedings for 1903, pages x-xiii.

the continued remarkable increase of linguistic research in America represents the highest ideal for which we exist? Far be it from me to belittle any of these several purposes. I rejoice when there is evidence of prosperity in any or all of them. But I feel still that above and around and through all these activities a higher spirit should prevail. Surely none of us will rest content with being even the most skilled teacher of languages, or the greatest specialist in erudite research. We do not measure our effectiveness as an Association by the quantity or quality of our research, nor by the thickness of the annual publications, any more than we do by the statistics of those who throng our classrooms.

No! Unless we maintain higher ideals than these, we fail of our true mission. In common with our colleagues in every other land we are engaged in a great humanitarian service. We are messengers of the truth as expressed in literature, bringing the message from land to land. To us falls the noble task of creating throughout the world that wonderful composite mosaic of universal literature which is infinitely higher than the product of any one people or nation. We have our share, and a large share it is, in the creation of that mutual appreciation among nations which is yet to come. We must consecrate ourselves anew, here and now, in these days of war, to this great task. We must keep our ideals pure through these dark days. Especially must we hold the ideal of scholarship high above the political discords of the present hour. The world will need us sorely when peace, real peace, shall come. Ours will be the great opportunity and the peculiar responsibility of restoring as rapidly as possible the spirit of liberal appreciation of foreign nations and foreign literatures, and of raising this spirit to a greater height

than it has ever before enjoyed. The task will be great, especially for the Germanists among us, for the wreckage of war will weigh heaviest upon them. If we have real liberality of mind and soul, we must all help our German colleagues in this restoration of the true greatness of that real German culture which is permanent and immortal. I trust that this organization may be the first body of American scholars to renew as an organization scholarly relations with our honorary members and colleagues abroad. If the war shall have brought financial distress to the great German journals of linguistic scholarship, let us be prompt with our support, for their loss is our loss too. Doubtless the healing hand of time can alone restore the former more personal relations, but may we do even more than our share to shorten this time!

Are these purposes too high for weak humanity? Time alone can determine. Let us at least resolve to keep these ideals before us. To attain an ideal, we must certainly not turn our backs upon it, as some would fain do. We must as scholars eliminate from our judgment any argument that has its sole rootage in the present political state of the world. Has the war lowered the value of Diez' *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, or of that of Meyer-Lübke? Should we consult Groeber's *Grundriss* less frequently than before? Shall we lock the shelves where our particular *Zeitschriften* repose? Are we glad that their current numbers now fail to come? Shall we consign Junker's *Grundriss der Franzoesischen Literatur* to the junk heap along with junkerism? Is there any connection between the development of the U-boat and that of the U-umlaut? Shall we be ingrates and belittle the great influence of Göttingen and other German universities upon American scholarship because of our aversion

to "Gott mit uns" ? Would it not be far wiser to aid in restoring Kant to the lofty position, rightfully his, from which Nietzsche and a false philosophy of state have temporarily displaced him ?

We must as scholars oppose resolutely every manifestation of war hysteria that threatens our ideals. If, as I firmly believe, we are all co-workers in the same vineyard, there should be the friendliest feelings among us all. If, nevertheless, suspicion, distrust, aversion, or worse emotions have found any lodging among us, we must banish them at once. Do we of the Romance fold, for instance, rejoice at the phenomenal loss that German has suffered in school and college ? We may be glad that French has come back once more to what we have long felt ought to be its own. We may be content at the failure of any political campaign to foist *Deutschtum* upon us by an exaggeration of the importance of German. But to rejoice in a permanent loss to German is a disloyalty to the highest ideals of our interpretership. It is our duty to help create a proper balance just as soon as conditions shall permit. Our war is certainly not against the German language or literature any more than it is against German music or the scenery of the Rhine. The truly great masterpieces of German literature remain as valuable as before the war. Goethe is still Goethe, the great cosmopolitan. Schiller is still the most international of the dramatists, so international in fact as to have neglected his own nation. Indeed, as a pro-Ally wit has observed, almost the only drama in which Germans are the heroes is *The Robbers* ! Lessing remains the great liberal in *Nathan der Weise*, which soars majestically above the present clouds of international hatred.

What shall we do for students who have been influenced

too hastily by present conditions? Unless military or similar reasons of national service can be shown, is it not wise to ask them to reconsider their rejection of German? Their attitude is too often that of the Illinois student who, on being officially advised to take German because of its manifestly greater value to his special scientific work, refused, declaring that he would not run the risk of being "tainted with that Kultur." I heard of some very excellent young ladies in a high school who, in response to an appeal to sacrifice something for their country, decided to sacrifice German! And it was clearly a real sacrifice, too, because they not only liked the subject, but were also very fond of their young and handsome instructor. In contrast to one large technical school where German has actually increased, another has substituted French for German, largely because the system of instruction in use required in its upper courses the current numbers of certain German technical journals which cannot now cross the seas. Now, while the use of back numbers of the said journals was doubtless far from satisfactory, yet it does seem as if greater effort might have been made to retain German at least for the earlier years of the course. The return to German which absolutely must take place after the war would then be an easier task. It should, however, be added in further explanation that many of the students expected to go on technical work to the front, which fact had its influence on the decision of the faculty. The action of the Philadelphia Board of Education in making absolutely no change in the language curricula met with the approval of all sane men and stands out in contrast with the less wise action of school boards in other localities. As Mr. William Dick stated: "It does not injure the Kaiser to impoverish our own studies." Let me com-

mend here also the efforts of a Romance colleague who succeeded in overcoming the insufficient reasons of a student and kept that student enrolled in German work.

Now it is doubtless true, in some measure at least, that prejudice and a lack of true perspective have helped to crowd to overflowing our French classes. Yet we must also admit that much of this increase is due to a keen realization of our present and probable future relations with our sister Republic. Noticeable at Illinois at least is the increase in men students, who doubtless feel the need of preparing for service in France. Let us, however, be perfectly frank in speaking of one phase of this loss of interest in German. Wherever the effort had been made to substitute the study of German for that of another foreign language or for English in our schools or colleges, and thereby to create or maintain a certain affection for a political system not our own, in other words, in so far as the study of German had become a species of propaganda closely akin to a political proselytism, it is indeed well that German should lose all that it may have gained by such methods. The much-heralded page containing the laudation of the Kaiser in certain readers used in the Chicago public schools, may or may not be an instance of what I mean. In any event, this was the public interpretation of the incident, and German suffered accordingly. If, again, German instructors have used in their courses literature that seemed to be prepared in anticipatory defense of the present military, political, and colonial ambitions of Germany, let it be henceforth rigorously excluded. Jingoistic matter of this kind has no place in any school book, no matter who wrote it, and no matter from which side of the Rhine it come. A "hymn of hate" is not fit literature for youth, any more than one should show monstrosities to a youthful class in physiology.

Wherever, then, the study of German has been thus artificially stimulated in any way, we need not be seriously concerned when this artificial pressure is removed. But we must endeavor to prevent any wholesale injustice to one of the great cultural languages. As an Association we must not cease to emphasize the legitimate importance of German, and I speak here to my English and Romance colleagues especially. Our voice will prove doubly potent at this time. The unreasonableness which has swept over some school boards and some teachers' conventions must be controlled. I feel that we as an Association should raise our voice and raise it loud enough to be heard and heeded throughout the land. The voice of our colleagues in German alone would be powerless in the present state of the country's emotion. In these days when so many things of the spirit seem in deadly peril, let us stand for fairness, for liberality, for justice.

Moreover this is not the whole danger. Have you not heard of efforts to remove *all* modern foreign language instruction from our schools on the absurdly provincial plea that "foreign language study of any kind unfits for American citizenship," and that "except in private schools and colleges, only the language of our patriotic forefathers should be studied"! This last may be but one extreme instance of the present hysteria, but it behooves us all to be keenly alive to the situation. Such absurdity is akin to the threatened change of such an historic name as Germantown, Pennsylvania, about which I read in the *Public Ledger* this summer. While the Modern Language Association should be the first to protest with force and dignity against this threatened impoverishment of our curriculum, other learned societies are almost as vitally affected, and will doubtless join in an effort to establish a sound

condition. Attention must be directed to the historic fact that France yielded to no such foolish idea after 1870, but on the contrary fully realized to what an extent the ignorance of German had contributed to her defeat. And even in the present war there is no serious disposition to eliminate or even reduce the study of the enemy's language in either France, Germany, or England. Rather are the keenest and most far-seeing minds intent upon increasing such study everywhere. In my judgment there is bound to be a great growth in the study of all modern languages, German included, as one result of the war, and this Association may yet have as members in the coming decades teachers of many other living languages than those now represented, the Slavic group for instance, or even the tongues of Japan and China. In these days what man dare prophesy what the next decade may reveal?

The mention of other large groups of languages has brought me by a natural transition to another aspect of our mission as an organization which results from much that has already been said. Representing as we do the various modern literatures of Europe, trained as we are by long years of foreign travel, study, and sojourn, ought we not to be guided by a cosmopolitan spirit broader than that of any other group of scholars? If we are not more liberal and open-minded, we have certainly failed to realize fully the rarer opportunities that have been ours. Now there may be differences of opinion regarding the proper value to be assigned to this word cosmopolitan, which, like most words of large meaning, is often loosely and inaccurately used. The meaning that I cherish for this word comes to me from my associations of the past ten years with the so-called cosmopolitan student movement in the United States with which I have been intimately connected.

These Cosmopolitan Clubs in largest measure are composed of foreign students in our colleges with whom are joined a certain proportion of American youth. The experience of thus associating intimately with men from every land is most illuminating and helpful. One learns rapidly to respect the other man's point of view as never before, and to extend one's conception of liberality of judgment far beyond what had ever seemed possible. For this is the atmosphere and the spirit of these groups of young people. They are organized on an absolutely non-partizan and non-sectarian basis. No member is permitted to exalt his own religious or national egotism above his fellows. Each is on an equality with all the rest, and, if there is any rivalry, it is of the friendliest sort, scarcely more than an emulation in revealing the excellent features of each nationality or civilization. Even in these days of war these clubs are flourishing, and it was an inspiration for me to return from the hatreds of war-stricken Europe to the peaceful home of my Illinois chapter-house where students from nearly all the belligerent nations were living together in perfect amity, eating at the same table and occupying the same dormitory.

Is there not an analogy between these groups of enthusiastic students, animated by a great ideal, and our own Association? We too are cosmopolitans. We too endeavor by presenting the excellencies of foreign literatures to enlarge the vision of our American youth. We too strive to soften, if not dispel, the prejudices born of national selfishness and narrowness. In doing this we must avoid the fatal mistake of exalting the foreign culture to the absurd height to which it has sometimes been exalted. We cannot cure American egotism by grafting another in its place or by belittling the achievements of the American people, as

some of us have done. Our cosmopolitan student brethren have shown greater wisdom than that. The mere presence of so many foreign students among us is the great proof that they find something in our land which is not available to them in their own, at least in the same degree. And so their laudation of their own civilization is invariably tempered with gratitude for what America offers to them. In this latter respect the analogy between our Association and these groups of foreign students is not as perfect as it ought to be. Unfortunately some of our foreign-born members despite their naturalization have failed to become Americans at heart. In one or two extreme cases an alien form of government has been preferred to our own, and the wish has even found expression that in the present clash of arms the victory shall rest with the alien. Let us be thankful that the number of these worse than ingrates has been small. As interpreters of a foreign culture they have utterly failed because they could not or would not adapt themselves to their environment. They have even by their lack of vision vitiated the message which saner minds would fain have delivered to our American youth.

It is difficult in these days of warfare to maintain a spirit of complete impartiality. The attempt to be fair in the present state of the world is like trying to walk steadily on a swinging wire which is being violently jerked, now by one partizan group, now by another, and now by both together. I am no slack-wire virtuoso, but I have tried honestly to be just to all. It has been my earnest endeavor to maintain the high ideals for which this Association must stand. These ideals seem to me to be seriously threatened in these days of international chaos. Nearly all these dangers come from some attempt to mix political issues with true scholarship. While as citizens

we cannot neglect the duties which arise from the great political issues now at stake, as teachers and scholars we must not permit our vision in the search for truth to be blurred or blinded. The balance will be hard to maintain, but it must be maintained.

Fortunately we are not without illustrious examples to justify this point of view. Long would be the list of great scholars who have held aloft the banner of truth in the darkest days of history. I find much comfort in the words recently uttered by Geheimrat Adolf von Strumpell while Rector of the University of Leipzig in 1915. This eminent scholar gave an address to a party of travellers from countries then neutral in the University Aula a year and more after the outbreak of the war. Referring to the celebration in 1909 of the 500th anniversary of the University of Leipzig he spoke feelingly of the beauty of this event as having symbolized the internationality of science. "Alas," he said, "how could such a festival be possible now—now when hate, jealousy, and hostility are dividing the peoples." Despite such sad thoughts the general tone of the rector's address was one of hope, of vision that science and scholarship would yet perform the great service of healing the wounds of war and of drawing together once more the peoples of the earth. Surely we of the new world ought to have a faith equal to that of this aged German scholar. We should at least resolve here and now to do our full share to make such a faith a reality. "Let us hope," said the rector in closing, "that science and the universities shall spin the first threads which in a time of peace not too remote shall again bind together the peoples of all countries and bring anew to their consciousness the fact that in this world of self-interest and of strife there is also a bright world of the spirit and of thought which counts no cannon

in its equipment and demands no bleeding victim as the price of victory. Beneath the turbulent waves of a dreadful war the quiet streams of scientific work are flowing steadily, streams which have their source in the hope that the dawn of a new peace shall make this work more radiantly known to mankind than ever before." ³

In quoting this liberal modern scholar my mind reverts to another and a greater German, Goethe himself. Throughout his long life his keen, broad mind was kept pure and free from national prejudice. With unflinching interest in every cultural movement, no matter what its origin, he was the admirer of Shakespeare and of English literature; he never forgot the debt that he and the German people owed to the great classic poets of France; his love of Italy is too well known to need emphasis here. His was no destructive cosmopolitanism that would reduce all nations to the one deadening level of an insipid internationalism. On the contrary he felt that each nation could and should help the other to a fuller realization of human solidarity, and at the same time keep intact its own contribution to this closer harmony. This breadth of vision explains Goethe's aloofness from the stirring political events of his day, and contrasts him sharply with the uncompromising nationalists of modern Germany. These latter have indeed found but scant comfort in their efforts to enlist Goethe's help in their Pan-Germanic propaganda.

The Collège de France in Paris has ever been a center of keen appreciation of foreign cultures. Long is the list of its eminent scholars in all fields, but none is greater as an ideal and an inspiration to us all than the Dean of Ro-

³ From the address as quoted by James O'Donnell Bennett in the *Chicago Tribune* of January 22, 1916, p. 8, col. 1, in an article entitled "German School Continues Work Throughout War."

mance Scholars, Gaston Paris. Let me give you a picture of this man's ideals at the age of 31. Imagine if you can a situation more tense from a political standpoint than what I am now to describe. It is the eighth of December, 1870. For over three months the German armies have encircled Paris. The terrible Sedan has passed into history. Strasbourg and Metz have surrendered. All the French armies in the field have been out-manceuvred or defeated. The bombardment of the inner city of Paris is about to begin. Every attempt to break the iron ring from within or without has failed. It is the darkest period of the war. Within a month the new empire of Germany will be proclaimed on French soil, aye, in the historic Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

A situation like this might well stretch to the breaking point the liberal spirit of any man whose nation was suffering such calamities. And especially would a young Frenchman of 31 be deeply affected. Because of very defective eyesight Gaston Paris had been unable to take his place in the army. He occupies as *suppléant* the post of his distinguished father Paulin Paris. The theme of his opening lecture at the Collège de France that December eighth, 1870, was "La Chanson de Roland et la nationalité française." Surely this were a subject that might well have led a young man away from a dispassionate treatment to a vehement glorification of his country and even to a denunciation of the age-long enemy. But not so with this great soul! A year before in that same hall he had uttered sentiments that reveal well his character. At the close of the *leçon d'ouverture* of December 7, 1869, Gaston Paris had said:—"Above differences of nationality, the sublime idea of human solidarity is being affirmed every day more and more. A social regeneration

whose form has yet to be determined is revealing itself in unmistakable signs. The sun of science has risen to illumine the world." ⁴

Such in 1869 was the faith of Gaston Paris in the evolution of humanity, and out of this faith sprang to full flower his conception of scholarship. Has this faith been altered by the terrible year of 1870? Let me translate his own words as best I can.

I believe as a general principle that patriotism has nothing to do with scholarship. The chairs of higher instruction are in no respect tribunes. To use them in defense of, or in attack upon, anything whatsoever that is outside their spiritual purpose is to pervert them from their true sphere. I profess absolutely and with no reservation that scholarship has no other object than truth, truth for its own sake, with no concern for any consequences good or bad, regrettable or fortunate, which this truth might have in practice. Whoever, for any motive, patriotic, religious, or even moral, permits himself the slightest dissimulation, the smallest alteration in the facts that he studies or the conclusions that he draws, is unworthy of his place in that great laboratory for admission to which probity is a far more indispensable title than skill. When thus understood, studies, pursued in common in the same spirit in all civilized lands, constitute, high above the nationalities that are restricted, divergent, and too often hostile, a sublime country which no war may defile, no conqueror may threaten, and in which souls may find that harmony which the 'City of God' gave to them in earlier days.

With these noble thoughts as his guide Gaston Paris proceeds in the lecture that follows to develop his idea of the grandeur of nationality. He shows how the soul of the Jewish people is still found in the Bible, the soul of the Greek people in the works of Homer. He reveals the beauty of French nationality and its expression in the Song of Roland and other epics of old France. He emphasizes the spirituality and the permanence of this nationality down through the conflicts of the ages. He applies this

⁴ Gaston Paris: *La Poésie du Moyen Age*, Première Série, Paris (Hachette), 1899, pp. 86 ff.

idea of spiritual permanence to other peoples whose political structure had suffered most severely, to the Italians, to the Poles, to the Germans. He gives much praise to Jacob Grimm and other leaders for their great work in the rebirth of German nationality after the calamities through which the German people had passed. He declares that only those nations that have this spiritual permanence in their hearts can survive or should rightfully survive the vicissitudes of history. No mere mechanical empire built upon conquest or upon selfish commerce has ever endured or can ever endure, for such an empire by the very nature of its origin has no soul. Unhappily there has often been opposition of one national ideal to another even when each ideal had in it elements worthy the admiration of all. He then concludes:—

Reduced to its just limits this opposition should give to the different nations only enjoyment of their variety in a loftier unity. This loftier unity is composed of everything that is best in each people. It forms what is called civilization, and more specifically European civilization, an enlarged country in which, even in these cruel times that we now traverse, we do not despair of seeing all the participating nations clasp hands.

Friends, I can find no more fitting words to close this address than those of the great Romanist. Despite the terrible trials through which all humanity is now passing, trials compared with which those of 1870 now seem but trivial, let us have faith in the new order which with God's help shall yet come forth from the darkness of present chaos. Let us do all in our power as teachers of youth to bring in this great new order. We are the bearers of ideals across this fearful chasm of a war-rent world. We must—we shall—carry all our ideals across that chasm, especially the ideal of pure and broad scholarship. He who falters or is faithless now is unworthy of the greater inheritance that is yet to be.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1918

President,

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG,
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Vice-Presidents,

MARIAN P. WHITNEY,
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

ERNEST H. WILKINS,
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

FRANK W. CHANDLER,
University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.

Secretary-Treasurer,

WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

CENTRAL DIVISION

Chairman,

BERT J. VOS,
Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

Secretary,

BERT E. YOUNG,
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

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B. E. YOUNG,
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EXECUTIV COUNCIL

THE OFFICERS NAMED ABOVE AND

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OLIVER F. EMERSON,
Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.

JOHN A. LOMAX,
Lee, Higginson & Co., Chicago, Ill.

JAMES GEDDES, JR.,
Boston University, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON,
Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

T. ATKINSON JENKINS,
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

HUGO K. SCHILLING,
University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1908

AMENDED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1915

I

The name of this Society shal be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II

1. The object of this Association shal be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of frendly relations among scholars, thru the publication of the results of investigations by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shal be held at such place and time as the Executiv Council shal from year to year determin. But at least as often as once in four years there shal be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the cuntry shal be chosen.

III

1. Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary-Tresurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

2. Persons who for twenty years or more hav been activ

members in good and regular standing may, on retiring from activ servis as teachers, be continued as activ members without further payment of dues.

3. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successiv years. Persons who for fifteen years or more have been activ members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of twenty-five dollars.

4. Distinguisht foren scolars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executiv Council. But the number of honorary members shal not at any time excede forty.

IV

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shal be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Tresurer; an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shal be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and three other members; and an Executiv Council consisting of the aforementioned officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shal be elected by the Association, to hold offis for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shal be chosen by the respectiv Divisions.

4. The other officers shal be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold offis until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shal be fild by the Executiv Council.

V

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall, furthermore, have charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII

1. When, for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select; but no Division meeting shall be

held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIV COUNCIL

- I. In accordance with propositions of date January 1, 1918, *Voted*:
 1. To accept the invitation of Vassar College to hold the next annual meeting under its auspices, provided public exigencies do not require that there be no meeting.
 2. To accept the invitation of The National Security League to be represented at its Congress of National Service in Chicago on February 21, 22, and 23; and to appoint as Delegates to this Congress Professor Alger-non Coleman and Mr. Edward Manley.
- II. In accordance with a proposition of date April 18, 1918, *Voted*:
 To accept the invitation of The League to Enforce Peace to be represented by three or more Delegates at a convention in Philadelphia on May 16, 17, and 18; and to appoint as Delegates Professors E. C. Armstrong, G. M. Priest, W. A. Hervey, C. G. Child, and J. P. W. Crawford.
- III. In accordance with a proposition of date May 7, 1918, *Voted*:
 To communicate to the Central Division the folloing opinion:
 The Executiv Council favors the appropriate submission to the entire Association of questions of general policy in the sense of the Resolution past by the Central Division December 29, 1917, but is of opinion that under the present circumstances a referendum wud yield no decision and is therefore inexpedient.

IV. In accordance with propositions of date October 11, 1918, *Voted*:

1. That the annual meeting of the Association be omitted in 1918, and that the Executive Committee of the Central Division be urged to take similar action with reference to the corresponding meeting of the Division.
2. That the officers elected for the year 1918 be declared re-elected for the year 1919.
3. That on behalf of the Executive Council Professors James Geddes, Jr. and J. L. Lowes be requested to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

W. G. HOWARD,
Secretary.

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE
ASSOCIATION

Names of Life Members are printed in small capitals

-
- Adams, Arthur, Professor of English and Librarian, Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn.
- ADAMS, EDWARD LARRABEE, Assistant Professor of French and Span-
ish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1333 Washtenaw
Ave.]
- Adams, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English and Faculty
Adviser in Undergraduate Literary Activities, Yale Univer-
sity, New Haven, Conn.
- Adams, Joseph Quincy, Assistant Professor of English, Cornell
University, Ithaca, N. Y. [169 Goldwin Smith Hall]
- Adams, Warren Austin, Professor of German, Dartmouth College,
Hanover, N. H.
- Adler, Frederick Henry Herbert, Assistant Professor of English,
Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. [490 College Ave.]
- Albaladejo, José M., Instructor in Spanish, University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kas. [1420 Ohio St.]
- Alberti, Christine, Head of the French Department, Allegheny High
School, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. [318 W. North Ave.]
- Albright, Evelyn May, Instructor in English, University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill. [1227 E. 57th St.]
- Alden, Earle Stanley, Acting Associate Professor of English, Denison
University, Granville, O.
- Alden, Raymond Macdonald, Professor of English, Leland Stanford
Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Alderman, William E., Instructor in English, University of Wiscon-
sin, Madison, Wis. [1918 Vilas St.]
- Alexander, Luther Herbert, Instructor in Romance Languages,
Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Allen, Beverly Sprague, Assistant Professor of English, New York
University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
- Allen, Clifford Gilmore, Associate Professor of Romance Languages,
Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

- ALLEN, EDWARD ARCHIBALD, Professor Emeritus of the English Language and Literature, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Allen, F. Sturges, Springfield, Mass. [83 St. James Ave.]
Allen, Hope Emily, Kenwood, Oneida, N. Y.
Allen, Louis, Assistant in Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1002 W. California Ave.]
Allen, Philip Schuyler, Assistant Professor of German Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Allen, William H., Bookseller, Temple, Pa. [R. F. D.]
Almstedt, Hermann, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Altrocchi, Rudolph, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5756 Blackstone Ave.]
Amberton, Clare, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [23 Lynwood Place]
Amos, Flora Ross, Assistant Professor of English, College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Anderson, Frederick Pope, Instructor in Spanish and Italian, Yale College, New Haven, Conn. [277 Dwight St.]
Andrews, Albert LeRoy, Instructor in German and Scandinavian, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Andrews, Clarence Edward, Assistant Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [635 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.]
Arbib-Costa, Alfonso, Instructor in Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [500 W. 144th St.]
Armstrong, Edward C., Professor of the French Language, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Arnold, Frank Russell, Professor of Modern Languages, State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.
Arnold, Morris LeRoy, Professor of English Literature, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. [2628 Park Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.]
Aron, Albert W., Instructor in German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [24 Lathrop St.]
Ashby, Stanley Royal, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [University Station]
Ashley, Edgar Louis, Associate Professor of German, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass. [M. A. C. Faculty Club]
Atkin, Ernest George, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
Atkinson, Geoffroy, New York, N. Y. [434 W. 120th St.]

- Atkinson, Thomas Prater, Instructor in Romance Languages, Lebanon University, Lebanon, O. [Camp Director of French, Camp Sheridan, Ala.]
- Austin, Herbert Douglas, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Aydelotte, Frank, Professor of English, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
- Ayer, Charles Carlton, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
- Ayres, Harry Morgan, Assistant Professor of English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Westport, Conn.]
- Babbitt, Irving, Professor of French Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Kirkland Road]
- Babcock, Charlotte Farrington, Instructor in English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass.
- Babcock, Earle Brownell, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
- Babson, Herman, Professor of German and Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.
- Bach, Matthew G., Instructor in German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Livingston Hall]
- Bachelor, Joseph Morris, Editor, 215 W. 23d St., New York, N. Y.
- de Bacourt, Pierre, Instructor in Romance Languages and Literatures, School of Journalism; Lecturer, School of Business, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Bagster-Collins, Elijah William, Associate Professor of German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Baillot, Edouard Paul, Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Baker, Asa George, In Charge of Editorial Work, G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers of Webster's Dictionaries, Springfield, Mass.
- Baker, Fannie Anna, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Fort Smith High School, Fort Smith, Ark. [515 N. 15th St.]
- Baker, Franklin Thomas, Professor of English, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [525 W. 120th St.]
- Baker, George Pierce, Professor of Dramatic Literature, Department of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [195 Brattle St.]
- Baker, Thomas Stockham, Head Master, Tome School for Boys, Jacob Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md.
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